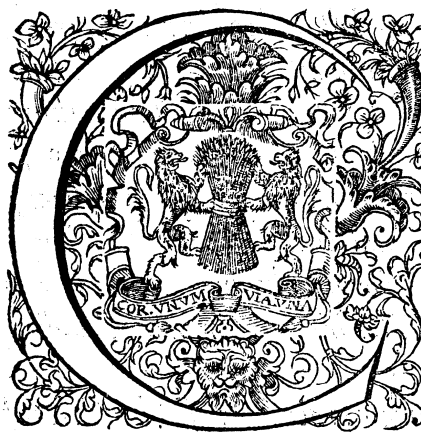




TO THE

Right Honorable and his singular good Lord,
Sir William Cecill, Baron of Burghleygh, Knight of
the most noble order of the Garter, Lord high Treasur-
er of England, Maister of the Courts of Wards and
Lineries, and one of the Queenes Maiesties
priuie Councill.



Considering with my selfe, right Honorable and my singular good Lord, how redie (no doubt) manie will be to accuse me of vaine presumption, for enterprising to deale in this so weightie a worke, and so far aboue my reach to accomplish: I haue thought good to aduertise your Honour, by what occasion I was first induced to undertake the same, although the cause that moued me thereto hath (in part) yer this beene signified vnto your good Lordship.

Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizen Reginald Wolfe late Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well knowne and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole world, and therewith also certaine particular histories of euery knowne nation, amongst other whom he purposed to vse for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hand the collection of those histories, and hauing proceeded so far in the same, as little wanted to the accomplishment of that long promised worke, it pleased God to call him to his mercie, after fise and twentie yeares trauell spent therein; so that by his vntimelie deceasse, no hope remained to see that performed, which we had so long trauelled about. Neuerthelesse, those whom he put in trust to dispose his things after his departure hence, wishing to the benefit of others, that some fruit might follow of that whereabout he had employed so long time, willed me to continue mine endeuour for their furtherance in the same. Which although I was redie to doo, so far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to answere that trust which the decessed reposed in me, to see it brought to some perfection: yet when the volume grew so great, as they that were to defraie the charges for the impresion, were not willing to go

A.ij. through

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

through with the whole, they resolved first to publish the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their descriptions; which descriptions, because they were not in such readinesse, as those of forren countries, they were inforced to use the helpe of other better able to doo it than my selfe.

Moreouer, the Charty, wherein Maister Wolfe spent a great part of his time, were not found so complet as we wished: and againe, vnderstanding of the great charges and notable enterpryse of that worthie Gentleman maister Thomas Sackford, in procuring the Charty of the seuerall prouinces of this realme to be set forth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land so perfectlie, as shall be comparable or beyond anie delineation heretofore made of anie other region; and therefore leaue that to his well deserved praise. If any well willer will imitate him in so praiseworthy a worke for the two other regions, we will be glad to further his endeouour with all the helpes we may.

The histories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greatest part with Maister Wolfe in his life time, to his liking, who procured me so manie helpes to the furtherance thereof, that I was loth to omit anie thing that might increase the readers knowledge, which causeth the booke to grow so great. But receiuing them by parts, and at seuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the matter than the apt penning, I haue not so orderlie disposed them, as otherwise I ought; choosung rather to want order, than to defraud the reader of that which for his further vnderstanding might seeme to satisfie his expectation.

I therefore most humbly beseech your Honour to accept these Chronicles of England vnder your protection, and according to your wisdom and accustomed benignitie to beare with my faults; the rather, because you were euer so especiall good Lord to Maister Wolfe, to whom I was singularly beholden; and in whose name I humbly present this rude worke vnto you, beseeching God, that as he hath made you an instrument to aduance his truth, so it may please him to increase his good gifts in you, to his glorie, the furtherance of the Queenes Maiesties seruice, and the comfort of all his faithfull and louing subiects.

Your Honours most humble to be commanded,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.



THE PREFACE

to the reader.



It is dangerous (gentle reader) to range in so large a field as I haue here vnderaken, while so manie fundrie ment in diuers things may be able to controll me, and manie excellent wits of our countrie (as well or better occupied I hope) are able herein to surpasse me; but seeing the best able doo seeme to neglect it, let me (though least able) craue pardon to put them in mind not to forget their natiue countries praise (which is their dutie) the incouragement of their woorthie countriemen, by elders aduancements; and the daunting of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to which end (as I take it) chronicles and

histories ought cheefelie to be written. My labour may shew mine vttermoost good will, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of fault-finders dispensation till they be more fullie informed. It is too common that the least able are readiest to find fault in matters of least weight, and therefore I esteeme the lesse of their carping, but humblie beseech the skilfull to supplie my want, and to haue care of their dutie; and either to amend that wherein I haue failed, or be content with this mine endeyour. For it may please them to consider, that no one can be eie-witnesse to all that is written within our time; much lesse to those things which happened in former times, and therefore must be content with reports of others. Therein I haue beene so carefull, that I haue spared no paines or helpe of freends to search out either written or printed ancient authors, or to inquire of moderne eie-witnesses for the true setting downe of that which I haue here deliuered: but I find such want in writers for the necessarie knowledge of things doone in times past, and lacke of meanes to obtaine sufficient instructions by reporters of the time present; and herewith the worthie exploits of our countriemen so manie, that it greeueth me I could not leaue the same to posteritie (as I wished) to their well deserued praise. But I haue here imparted what I could learne, and craue that it may be taken in good part. My speech is plaine, without any rhetoricall shew of eloquence, hauing rather a regard to simple truth, than to decking words. I wish I had beene furnished with so perfect instructions, and so many good gifts, that I might haue pleased all kinds of men, but that same being so rare a thing in any one of the best, I beseech thee (gentle reader) not to looke for it in me the meanest.

But now for thy further instruction, to vnderstand the course of these my labours. First concerning the historie of England, as I haue collected the same out of manie and sundrie authors, in whome what contrarietie, negligence, and rashnesse sometime is

The Preface to the Reader.

found in their reports; I leaue to the discretion of those that haue perused their works: for my part, I haue in things doubtfull rather chosen to shew the diuersitie of their writings, than by ouer-ruling them, and vsing a peremptorie censure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leauing it neuerthelesse to each mans iudgement, to controll them as he seeth cause. If some where I shew my fanisie what I thinke, and that the same dislike them, I craue pardon, speciallie if by probable reasons or plainer matter to be produced, they can shew mine error; vpon knowledge whereof I shall be readie to reforme it accordinglie. Where I doe begin the historie from the first inhabitation of this Ile, I looke not to content ech mans opinion concerning the originall of them that first peopled it, and no maruell: for in matters so vncerteine, if I cannot sufficientlie content my selfe (as in deed I cannot) I know not how I should satisfie others. That which seemeth to me most likelie, I haue noted, beseeching the learned (as I trust they will) in such points of doubtfull antiquities to beare with my skill: sith for ought I know, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but still they are in controuersie about it, and as yet *Sub iudice lis est*. Well, howsoeuer it came first to be inhabited, likelie it is, that at the first the whole Ile was vnder one prince and gouernour, though afterwards (and long peraduenture before the Romans set any foot within it) the monarchie thereof was broken, euen when the multitude of the inhabitants grew to be great, and ambition entred amongst them: which hath brought so manie good policies and states to ruine and decay.

The Romans hauing once got possession of the continent that faceth this Ile, could not rest (as it appeareth) till they had brought the same also vnder their subiection; and the sooner doubtlesse, by reason of the factions amongst the princes of the land, which the Romans (through their accustomed skill) could turne verie well to their most aduantage. They possessed it almost fife hundred yeares, and longer might haue doone, if either their insufferable tyrannie had not taken awaie from them the loue of the people, as well here as else where; either that their ciuill discord about the chopping and changing of their emperours had not so weakened the forces of their empire, that they were not able to defend the same against the irruption of barbarous nations. But as we may coniecture by that which is found in histories, about that time, in which the Romane empire began to decline, this land stood in verie weake state: being spoiled of the most part of all hir able men, which were led awaie into forren regions, to supplie the Romane armies; and likewise (perhaps) of all necessarie armour, weapon, and treasure: which being perceiued of the Saxons, after they were receiued into the Ile, to aid the Britons against the Scots and Picts then inuading the same, ministred to them occasion to attempt the second conquest, which at length they brought to passe, to the overthrow not onelie of the British dominion, but also to the subuersion of the Christian religion here in this land: which chanced (as appeareth by *Gildas*) for the wicked sins and vnthankfulnesse of the inhabitants towards God, the cheefe occasions and causes of the transmutations of kingdoms, *Nam propter peccata, regna transmutantur à gente in gentem.*

The Saxons obtaining possession of the land, gouerned the same, being diuided into fundrie kingdoms, and hauing once subdued the Britons, or at the least-wise remcoued them out of the most part of the Ile into od corners and mountaines, fell at diuision among themselues, and oftentimes with warre pursued ech other, so as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the kings grow to any great puissance, either to mooue warres abroad, or sufficientlie to defend themselues against forren forces at home: as manifestlie was perceiued, when the Danes and other the Northeasterne people, being then of great puissance by sea, began miserable to afflict this land: at the first inuading as it were but onelie the coasts and countries lieng neere to the sea, but afterwards with maine armies they entred into the midle parts of the land. And although the English people at length came vnder one king, and by that meanes were the better able to resist the enimies; yet at length those Danes subdued the whole, and had

The Preface to the Reader.

had possession thereof for a time, although not long, but that the crowne returned againe to those of the Saxon line: till shortly after, by the insolent dealings of the gouernours, a diuision was made betwixt the king and his people, through iust punishment decreed by the prouidence of the Almighty, determining for their sinnes and contempt of his lawes, to deliuer them into the hands of a stranger; and therevpon when spite and enuie had brought the title in doubt, to whom the right in succession appertained, the Conquerour entred, and they remained a prey to him and his: who plucked all the heads and cheefe in authoritie so cleerlie vp by the roots, as few or none of them in the end was left to stand vp against him. And herewith altering the whole state, he planted such lawes and ordinances as stood most for his auaille and securitie, which being after qualified with more milde and gentle lawes, tooke such effect, that the state hath euer sithens continued whole and vnbroken by wise and politike gouernement, although disquieted sometime by ciuill diffention, to the ruine commonlie of the first mouers, as by the sequele of the historie you may see.

For the historie of Scotland, I haue for the more part followed *Hector Boece*, *Iohannes Maior*, and *Iouan Ferreri Piemontese*, so far as they haue continued it, interlaced sometimes with other authours, as *Houeden*, *Fourdon*, and such like; although not often, because I meant rather to deliuer what I found in their owne histories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterprise to their owne countrimen: so that whatsoever ye read in the same, consider that a Scottishman writ it, and an Englishman hath but onelie translated it into our language, referring the reader to the English historie, in all matters betwixt vs and them, to be confronted therewith as he seeth cause. For the continuation thereof I vsed the like order, in such copies and notes as Maister Wolfe in his life time procured me; sauing that in these last yeares I haue inserted some such notes as concerned matters of warre betwixt vs and the Scots, because I got them not till that part of the English historie was past the presse.

For Ireland, I haue shewed in mine epistle dedicatorie in what sort, and by what helps I haue proceeded therein; onelie this I forgot to signifie, that I had not *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *Flatburie*, yntill that part of the booke was vnder the presse, and so being constrained to make post hast, I could not exemplifie what I would out of them all, neither yet dispose it so orderlie as had bene conuenient, nor pen it with so apt words as might satisfie either my selfe, or those to whose view it is now like to come. And by reason of the like haste made in the impressiion, where I was determined to haue transposed the most part of that which in the English historie I had noted, concerning the conquest of Ireland by Hen. the second, out of *Houeden* & others, I had not time thereto; and so haue left it there remaining where I first noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Irish histories, because the same commeth there well inough in place, as to those that shall vouchsafe to turne the booke it may appeare.

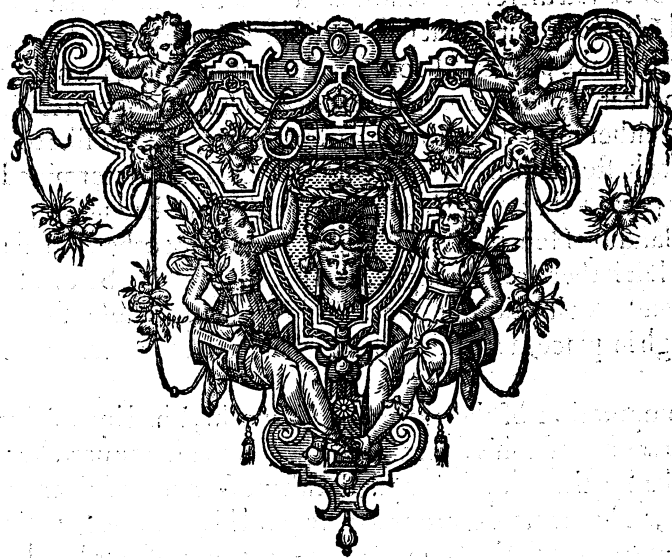
For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maister Wolfes aduise followed *Funtius*; but after his decesse, M. W. H. made me partaker of a Chronologie, which he had gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence, following *Gerardus Mercator*, and other late Chronologers, and his owne obseruations, according to the which I haue reformed the same. As for the yeares of our Lord, and the kings, I haue set them downe according to such authors as seeme to be of best credit in that behalfe, as I doubt not but to the learned and skilfull in histories it shall appeare. Moreouer, this the reader hath to consider, that I doo begin the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lord, which is the surest order (in my fantasie) that can be followed.

For the names of persons, townes, and places, as I haue bene diligent to reforme the errors of other (which are to be ascribed more to the vnperfect copies than to the authors) so may it be that I haue some-where committed the like faults, either by negligence or want of skill to restore them to their full integritie as I wished. But what I haue performed, as well in that behalfe as others, the skilfull reader shall easily perceiue, and

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and withall consider (I trust) what trauell I haue bestowed to his behoofe in this huge volume; crauing onelie, that in recompense thereof he will iudge the best, and to make a freendlie construction of my meaning, where ought may seeme to haue escaped my pen or the printers presse, otherwise than we could haue wished for his better satisfaction. Manie things being taken out as they lie in authors, may be thought to giue offense in time present, which referred to the time past when the author writ, are not onelie tollerable, but also allowable. Therefore (good reader) I beseech thee to weigh the causes and circumstances of such faults and imperfections, and consider that the like may creepe into a far lesse volume than this, and shew me so much fauour as hath bene shewed to others in like causes. And sithens I haue doone my good will, accept the same, as I with a free and thankfull mind doo offer it thee; so shall I thinke my labour well bestowed. For the other histories, which are alreadie collected, if it please God to giue abilitie, shall in time come to light, with some such breefe descriptions of the foreign regions whereof they treat, as may the better suffice to the readers contentation, and vnderstanding of the matters contained in the same histories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I cease further to trouble thy patience, wishing to thee (gentle reader) so much profit, as by reading may be had, and as great comfort as Gods holie spirit may endue thee with.

FINIS.





The politike Conquest of William the first.

Anno. 1.



This William Duke of Normandie, base son of Robert the first Duke of Normandie, and nephew unto Edward King of England, furnished the Conquest, having vanquished the English power; and slaine Harold in

the field (as you may read at large towards the end of the historie of England) began his reigne over England the vi. date of October being fundate, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5033. (as W. Harison gathereth) and after the birth of our Saviour 1066, which was in the tenth yeare of the emperor Henrie the fourth, in the sixt of pope Alexander the second, in the first of Philip king of France, and about the tenth of Malcolm the third, surnamed Canmore, king of Scotland.

Sim. Dun.

Immediately after he had thus got the victorie in a fight (as before ye haue heard) he first returned to Hastings, and after set forward towards London, wasted the countreies of Sussex, Kent, Hampshire, Southerie, Spiddeler, and Herefordshire, burning the townes, and slaing the people, till he came to Weorham. In the meane time, immediately after the discomfiture in Sussex, the two earles of Northumberland and Mercia, Edwin and Mearcgar, who had withdrawne themselves from the battell together with their people, came to London, and with all speed sent their sister quene Alditha unto the citie of Chester, and herewith sought to persuade the Londoners to aduance one of them to the kingdome: as

Edwin and Mearcgar.

Quene Alditha sent to Chester.

Wil. Mal. Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. The bishopps blawed.

The archbishop of yorke & other submit themselves to king William.

Wil. Mal. writeth. But Simon of Durham saith, that Aldred archbishop of Yorke, and the said earles with others would haue made Edgar Etheling king. Holobreit, willett manie of the Nobilitie and others prepared to make themselves redie to giue a new battell to the Normans (how or what soeuer was the cause) the said earles drew homewards with their powers, to the great discomfort of their friends. Wil. Malm. seemeth to put blame in the bishops, for that the lords went not forward with their purpose in aduancing Edgar Etheling to the crowne. For the bishops (saith he) refused to ioin with the lords in that behalfe, and so through eniue and spite which one part bare to another, when they could not agree upon an Englishman, they receiued a stranger, in so much that upon king William his comming into Weorham, Aldred archbishop of Yorke, Wolsfane bishop of Worcester, and Walter bishop of Hereford, Edgar Etheling, and the foresaid earles Edwin and Mar-

gar came and submitted themselves unto him, whom he gentlie receiued, and incontinentlie made an agreement with them, taking their oth and hostages (as some write) and yet neuertheless he permitted his people to spoile and burne the countrie.

But now, when the feast of Christs natiuitie (commonlie called Christmas) was at hand, he approached to the citie of London, and comming thither, caused his haughtie first to enter into the citie, where finding some resistance, he easily subdued the citizens that thus took upon them to withstand him, though not without some bloudshed (as Gemeticen. writeth) but as by others it should appere, he was receiued into the citie without anie resistance at all; and so being in possession thereof, he spake manie friendlie words to the citizens, and promised that he would be them in most liberall & courteous maner. Not long after, when things were brought in order (as was thought requisite) he was crowned king upon Christmas daie following, by Aldred archbishop of Yorke. For he would not receiue the crowne at the hands of Estigand archbishop of Canturburie, because he was hated, and furthermore iudged to be a verie lewd person and a naughty liuer.

Gemeticen.

William Conquerour crowned 1067. according to their account which begun the yeare on the daie of Christs natiuitie.

At his coronation he caused the bishops, and barons of the realme to take their oth, that they should be his true and loiall subjects (according to the maner in that case accustomed.) And being required thereto by the archbishop of Yorke, he took his personall oth before the altar of S. Peter at Westminster, to defend the holie church, and rulers of the same, to gouerne the people in iustice as became a king to do, to ordeine righteous lawes & keepe the same, so that all maner of hating, rapine, and wrongfull iudgements should for ener after be abolished.

After this, he took order how to keepe the realme in god and quiet gouernment, fortifying the necesserie places, and furnishing them with garisons. He also appointed officers and counsellors, such as he thought to be wise and discret men, and appointed ships to be in the hauens by the coast for the defense of the land, as he thought most expedient. After his coronation, or rather before (as by some authours it should seeme) euen presentlie upon obtaining of the citie of London, he took his journey towards the castell of Douer, to subdue that and the rest of Kent also: which when the archbishop Estigand and Egelsin the abbat of S. Augustines (being as it were the chiefe lords and gouernours of all Kent) did perceiue, and considered that the whole realme was in an euill state; & that whereas in this realme of England, before the comming in of the foresaid duke William, there were no bondmen: now all, as well the Nobilitie as the Commonalte were without respect made subiect to the intollerable bondage of the Normans, taking an occasion by the perill and danger that their neighbours were in, to prouide for the safegard of themselves

Polydor.

1067

John Stow.

Tho. Spoc.

Scrutudie & bondage of the Nobilitie and Commonalte to the Normans.

selues and their countrie. They caused all the people of the countie of Kent to assemble at Canturburie, and declared to them the perills and dangers imminent, the miserie that their neighbours were come in to, the pryde and insolencie of the Normans, and the hardnesse and grieve of bondage and servile estate. Whereupon all the people rather choosing to end their unfortunate life, than to submit themselves to an accustomed yoke of servitude and bondage, with a common consent determined to meet duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of their countie. Also, the foresaid Sfigand the archbishop, and the abbat Egelsin, choosing rather to die in battell, than to see their nation in so euill an estate, being encouraged by the examples of the holie Machabees, became captains of the armie. And at a date appointed, all the people met at Swanescombe, and being hidden in the woods, late yfille in wait for the coming of the foresaid duke William.

Now, because it cannot hurt to take great heed, and to be vertie warie in such cases, they agreed before hand, that when the duke was come, and the passages on euerie side stopped, to the end he should no waie be able to escape, euerie one of them, as well hostlemen as footmen should beare boughes in their hands. The next daie after, when the duke was come into the fields and territories neere vnto Swanescombe, and saw all the countie set and placed about him, as it had bene a stirring and mourning wood, and that with a meane pace they approached and drew neare vnto him, with great discomfort of mind he wondered at that sight. And as soon as the capitains of the Kentishmen saw that duke William was inclosed in the midst of their armie, they caused their trumpets to be sounded, their banners to be displayed, and threw downe their boughes, & with their bowes bent, their swords drawn, and their speares and other kind of weapons stretched forth, they shewed themselves ready to fight. Duke William and they that were with him stood (as no maruell it was) soe astonied, and amazed: so that he which thought he had already all England fast in his fist, did now despaire of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentishmen, were sent vnto duke William the archbishop Sfigand, and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines, who told him their

meslage in this sort.

My lord duke, behold the people of Kent come forth to meet you, and to receiue you as their liege lord, requiring at your hands the things which pertaine to peace, and that under this condition, that all the people of Kent shall for ever their ancient liberties, and may for ever enjoye the lawes and customes of the countie, other while they are ready presentlie to bid battell against them that he with you are minded rather to die here altogether, than to depart from the lawes and customes of their countie, and to submit themselves to bondage, whereof as yet they neuer had experience.

The duke seeing himselfe to be driuen to such an exigent, & may to pinch, consulted a while with them that came with him, prudentlie considering, that if he should take any repulse or displeasure at the hands of this people, which he the king of England, all that he had done before, should be disannulled and made of none effect, and all his hope and safetie should stand in danger and reoparie: not so willinglie as wille he granted the people of Kent their request. Now when the covenant was established, and pledges given on both sides: the Kentishmen being topfull, conducted the Normans (who also were glad) vnto Rochester, and yielded up to the duke the earldome of Kent, and the noble castell of Dover. Thus the ancient liberties of England, and the lawes and customes of the countie, which before the coming of duke William out of Normandie, were equallie kept throughout all England, do (through this industrie and earnest trauell of the archbishop Sfigand and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines) remaine intiolable obserued untill this daie within that countie of Kent. ¶ Thus far Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne writteth the same. Of the which the former (that is Spot) liued in the daies of king Edward the first, and William Thorne in the daies of king Richard the second.

The ancient liberties and lawes of England remaine in Kent onlie.

Wil. Thorne.

But now, before we proceed any further in recitall of the Conquerours doings, we haue here in a table noted all the noble capitains and gentlemen of name, as well Normans as other strangers, which assisted duke William in the conquest of this land: and first, as we find them written in the chronicles of Normandie by one William Tailleux.

The Catalog of such Noble men, Lords, and Gentlemen of name, as came into this land with William the Conquerour.

O Do bishop of Bay-eulx.	Le feig. de S. Martin.	Osmond feig. du Pont.	Le feig. de Bacqueuille.
Robert erle of Mortaing.	Le feig. de Puis.	Le feig. de Estouteuille.	Le feig. de Preaulx.
Roger erle of Beaumont	Guillaume Crespin.	Le feig. de Torchy.	Le feig. de Jouy.
turnamed <i>A la Barbe.</i>	Guillaume de Moyenne	Le feig. de Barnabost.	Le feig. de Longueuille.
Guillaume Mallet feig-	Guillaume Desmoul-	Le feig. de Breual.	Le feig. d Aquigny.
neur de Montfort.	lins.	Le feig. de Seeulme.	Le feig. de Passy.
Henrie feig. de Ferrers.	Guillaume Desgaren-	Le feig. de Houme.	Le feig. de Tournay.
Guillaume d Aubelle-	nes.	Le feig. de Souchoy.	Le feig. de Colombieres
mare feign. de Foug-	Hue de Gourney, <i>alias</i>	Le feig. de Cally.	Le feig. de Bolleber.
gieres.	Geneuay.	Le feig. de la Riure.	Le feig. de Garenieres.
Guillaume de Roumare	Le feig. de Bray.	Euldes de Beanien.	Le feig. de Longueile.
feig. de Lithare.	Le feig. de Gouy.	Le feig. de Roumilly.	Le feig. de Houdetot.
Le feig. de Touque.	Le feig. de Laigle.	Le feig. de Glorz.	Le feig. de Mallerot.
Le feig. de la Mare.	Le feig. de Touarts.	Le feig. du Sap.	Le feig. de la Haie Ma-
Neelle Viconte.	Le feig. de Aurenchin.	Le feig. de Vanuille.	lerbe.
Guillaume de Vepont.	Le feig. de Vitrey.	Le feig. Branchou.	Le fei. de Porch Pinche.
Le feig. de Magneuille.	Le feig. de Traffy, <i>alias</i>	Le feig. Balleul.	Le feig. de Iuetot.
Le feig. de Grosmenil.	Tracy.	Le feig. de Beaufault.	The erle of Tanqueruile
	Le feig. de Picquigny.	Le feig. de Telleres.	The erle d Eu.
	Le feig. d Espinay.	Le feig. de Senlys.	The erle d Arques.

The

The erle of Aniou.	Eustace de Hambleuile.	nolles.	Le seig. de S. Sain.
The erle of Neuvers.	Geoffray Bournom.	Anguerand erle of Her-	Le seig. de Breanfou.
Le seig. de Rouuile.	Le seig. de Blainuile.	court.	Le seig. de Saffy.
Le prince de Ale-	Le seig. de Mauneuile.	Roger Marmion.	Le seig. de Naffy.
maigne.	Geoffrey de Moienne.	Raoul de Gaiel.	Le vidam de Chartres.
Le seig. de Pauilly.	Auffray and Mauger de	Auenel de Viers.	Le seig. de Ieanuile.
Le seig. de S. Cler.	Carteny.	Pauuel du Montier Hu-	Le vidam du Passais.
Le seig. d'Espinau.	Le seig. de Freanuile.	bert.	Pierre du Bailleut seig.
Le seig. de Bremetot.	Le seig. de Moubray.	Robert Bertraule Tort.	de Fescampe.
Alain Fergant erle of	Le seig. de Iasitay.	Le seig. de Seulle.	Le seneschal de Tor-
Britaigne.	Guillaume Patais seig.	Le seig. Doruial.	chy.
Le seig. de la Ferte.	de la Lande.	Le seig. de la Hay.	Le seig. de Griffey.
Robert fils Heruays duc	Eulde de Mortimer.	Le seig. de S. Iohn.	Le seig. de Bassey.
de Orleans.	Hue erle of Gournay.	Le seig. de Saussy.	Le seig. de Tourneur.
Le seig. de la Lande.	Egremont de Laigle.	Le seig. de Brye.	Guillaume de Colom-
Le seig. de Mortimer.	Richard d'Aurinchin.	Richard Dollebec.	bieres.
Le seig. de Clare.	Le seig. de Bearts.	Le seig. du Monfiquet.	Le seig. de Bonnebault.
Le seig. de Magny.	Le seig. de Soulligny.	Le seig. de Bressey.	Le seig. de Ennebault.
Le seig. de Fontnay.	Bouteclier d'Aubigny.	Le seig. de Semilly.	Le seig. de Danuillers.
Roger de Montgomery.	Le seig. de Marcey.	Le seig. de Tilly.	Le seig. de Beruile.
Amaury de Touars.	Le seig. de Lachy.	Le seig. de Preaux.	Le seig. de Creueceur.
Le seig. de Hacqueuile.	Le seig. de Valdere.	Le seig. de S. Denis.	Le seig. de Breate.
Le seig. de Neanhou.	Eulde de Montfort.	Le seig. de Meuley.	Le seig. de Coutray.
Le seig. de Perou.	Henoy de Cahieu.	Le seig. de Monceaux.	The erle of Eureux.
Robert de Beaufou.	Le seig. de Vimers.	The archers of Breuile.	Le seig. de seint Valery.
Le seig. Meauuon.	Guillaume de Mouion.	The archers of Vaudre-	Thomas erle d'Aumale.
Le seig. de Soreuile.	Raoul Tesson, de Tig-	uile.	The erle de Hiesmes.

With other lords and men of account in great numbers, whose names the author of the chronicles of Normandie could not come by (as he himsele confesseth.) In consideration whereof, and because diuers of these are set forth onlie by their titles of estate, and not by their surnames; we haue thought it conuenient to make you partakers of the roll which sometime belonged to Battell abbeie, conteining also (as the title thereof importeth) the names of such Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came at this time with the Conqueror, whereof diuerse maie be the same persons which in the catalog aboue written are conteined, bearing the names of the places whereof they were possessours and owners, as by the same catalog maie appeare.

The roll of Battell abbeie.

A	Brebus and Byseg	Beauchampe	Beteruile	Bernon
Vmarle	Bardolfe	Bray and Bandy	Bertin	Boels
Aincourt	Bassett and Bigot	Bracy	Bereneuile	Belesfroun
Audeley	Bohun	Boundes	Bellewe	Brutz
Adgillam	Bailif	Bascoun	Beuery	Barchampe
Argentoune	Bondeuile	Broilem	Busshell	C
Arundell	Brabafon	Broleuy	Boranuile	Amois
Auenant	Baskeruile	Bunriell	Browe	Camuile
Abell	Bures	Beller	Beleuers	Chawent
Anuerne	Bounilaine	Baudewin	Buffard	Chauncy
Aunwers	Bois	Beaumont	Botelere	Conderay
Angers	Botelere	Burdon	Bonueier	Coluile
Angenoun	Bourcher	Berteuilay	Boteuile	Chamberlaine
Archere	Brabaion	Barre	Bellire	Chamburnoun
Anuay	Berners	Busseuile	Bastard	Comin
Asperuile	Braibuf	Blunt	Bainard	Columber
Albeuile	Brande & Bronce	Beaupere	Brasard	Cribett
Andeuile	Burgh	Beuill	Beelhelme	Creuquere
Amouerduile	Busby	Barduedor	Braine	Corbine
Arcy and Akeny	Banet	Brette	Brent	Corbett
Albeny	Blondell	Barrett	Braunch	Chaundos
Aybeuare	Breton	Bonret	Belesuz	Chaworth
Amay	Bluat and Baious	Bainard	Blundell	Cleremaus
Aspermound	Browne	Barniuale	Burdet	Clarell
Amerenges	Beke	Bonett	Bagot	Chopis
B	Bickard	Barry	Beauuise	Chaunduit
Ertram	Banastre	Bryan	Belemis	Chantelow
Buttecourt	Baloun	Bodin	Beifin	Chamberay

Cressy

Cressy	Durant	Graunfon	Louell	Morell
Curtenay	Drury	Gracy	Lemare	Mainell
Coneftable	Dabitot	Georges	Leuetot	Malelufe
Cholmeley	Dunfteruile	Gower	Lucy	Memorous
Champney	Dunchampe	Gaugy	Luny	Morreis
Chawnos	Dambelton	Goband	Logeuile	Morleian Maine
Comiuile	E	Gray	Longefpes	Maleuere
Champaine	E Strange	Gaunfon	Louerace	Mandut
Careuile	Eftuteuile	Golofte	Longechampe	Mountmarten
Carbonelle	Engaine	Gobion	Lascales	Mantelet
Charles	Eftriels	Grenfy	Lacy	Miners
Chereberge	Efturney	Graunt	Louan	Mauclerke
Chawnes	F	Greile	Leded	Maunchenell
Chaumont	F Errerers.	Greuet	Lufe	Mouet
Caperoun	F Foluile	Gurry	Loterell	Meintenore
Cheine	Fitz Water	Gurley	Loruge	Meletak
Curfon	Fitz Marmaduke	Grammori	Longeuale	Manuile
Couille	Fleuez	Gernoun	Loy	Mangifere
Chaiters	Filberd	Grendon	Lorancourt	Maumafin
Cheines	Fitz Roger	Gurdon	Loions	Mountlouel
Cateray	Faucourt	Gines	Limers	Mawreward
Cheremourt	Ferrers	Griuil	Longepay	Monhaut
Cammile	Fitz Philip	Greneuile	Laumale	Meller
Clerenay	Filiot	Glateuile	Lane	Mountgomerie
Curly	Furniuus	Gurney	Louetot	Manlay
Cuily	Furniuus	Giffard	M	Maulard
Clinels	Fitz Otes	Gouerges	M Ohant	Mainard
Chaundos	Fitz William	Gamages	M Mowne	Menere
Courteney	Fitz Roand	H	Maundeule	Martinaft
Clifford	Fitz Pain	H Aunteney	Marmilon	Mare
D	Fitz Auger	H Haunfard	Moribray	Mainwaring
D Enauille	Fitz Aleyn	Hastings	Moruile	Matelay
Dercy	Fitz Rauff	Hanlay	Miriell	Malemis
Diue	Fitz Browne	Haurell	Manlay	Maleheire
Dispencere	Fouke	Hufec	Malebraunch	Moren
Daubeny	Freuil	Hercy	Malemaine	Melun
Daniell	Front de Boef	Herioun	Mortimere	Marceans
Denife and Druell	Facunberge	Herne	Mortimaine	Maiell
Deuans	Fort	Harecourt	Mufe	Morton
Dauers	Frifell	Henoure	Marteine	N
Dodingfels	Fitz Simon	Houell	Mountbother	N Oers
Darell	Fitz Fouk	Hamelin	Mountfoler	N Neuile
Delaber	Filioll	Harewell	Maleuile	Newmarch
Delapole	Fitz Thomas	Hardell	Malet	Norbet
Delalinde	Fitz Morice	Haket	Mounteney	Norice
Delahill	Fitz Hugh	Hamound	Monficher	Newborough
Delaware	Fitz Henrie	Harcord	Maleherbe	Neiremet
Delauache	Fitz Waren	I	Mare	Neile
Dakeny	Fitz Rainold	I Arder	Mufegros	Normaule
Dauntre	Flamuile	Iay	Mufard	Neofinarch
Defny	Formay	Ieniels	Moine	Nermitz
Dabernoune	Fitz Eufiach	Ierconuife	Montrauers	Nembrutz
Damry	Fitz Laurence	Ianuile	Merke	O
Daueros	Formibaud	Iasperuile	Murres	O Teuell
Dauonge	Frifound	K	Mortiuale	O Olibef
Duilby	Finere and Fitz	K Aunt	Monchenefy	Olifant
Delauere	Robert	K Karre	Mallory	Ofenel
Delahoid	Furniuale	Karrowe	Marny	Oifell
Durange	Fitz Geoffrey	Koine	Mountagu	Olifard
Delee	Fitz Herbert	Kimaronne	Mountford	Orinall
Delaund	Fitz Peres	Kiriell	Maule	Orioll
Delaward	Ficher	Kancey	Monhermon	P
Delaplanch	Fitz Rewes	Kenelre.	Mufett	P Igot
Damnot	Fitz Fitz	L	Meneuile	Pery
Danway	Fitz Iohn	L Oueny	Manreuenant and	Perapount
Dehenfe	Flefachampe	L Lacy	Manfe	Perfhale
Deuile	G	Linneby	Menpincoy	Power
Difard	G Vrnay	Latomer	Maine	Painell
Doiuille	G Grefly	Loueday	Mainard	Perche and Pauey
				Peurell

Peurell	Riuers	Sorell	Tollemach	Venoure
Perot	Riuell	Somerey	Tolpus	Vilan
Picard	Rous	Sent Iohn	Tanny	Verland
Pinkenie	Rufhell	Sent George	Touke	Valers
Pomeray	Raband	Sent Les	Tibtote	Veirny
Pounce	Ronde	Sesse	Turbuile	Vauruile
Pauley	Rie	Saluin	Turuile	Veniels
Paiffrere	Rokell	Say	Tomy and Tauer-	Verrere
Plukenet	Rifers	Solers	ner	Vschere
Phuars	Randuile	Saulay	Trencheuile	Veffay
Punchardoun	Rofelin	Sent Albin	Trenchelion	Vanay
Pinchard	Raftoke	Sent Martin	Tankeruile	Vian
Placy	Rinuill	Sourdemale	Tirell	Vernoys
Pugoy	Rougere	Seguin	Triuet	Vrnall
Patefinc	Rait	Sent Barbe	Tolet	Vnket
Place	Ripere	Sent Vile	Trauers	Vrnafull
Pampilioun	Rigny	Souremount	Tardeuile	Vafderoll
Perclay	Richemound	Soreglife	Turbuile	Vaberon
Perere & Pekeny	Rochford	Sanduile	Tineuile	Valingford
Poterell	Raimond	Sauncey	Torell	Venicorde
Peukeny	S	Sirewaft	Tortechappell	Valiue
Peccell	Souch	Sent Cheueroll	Trusbote	Viuille
Pinell	Shenuile	Sent More	Treuerell	Vancorde and Va-
Putrill	Seucheus	Sent Scudemore	Tenwis	lenges
Petiroll	Senclere	T	Totelles	W
Praus	Sent Quintin	T Oget	V	W Ardebois
Pantolf	Sent Omere	Tercy	V Ere	Ward
Peito	Sent Amond	Tucher	Vernoun	Wafre
Penecord	Sent Legere	Tracy	Vefcy	Wake
Preudirlegast	Someruile	Trousbut	Verdounce	Wareine
Perciuale	Siward	Trainell	Valence	Wate
Q	Saunfouere	Taket	Verdeire	Watelin
Q Vinci	Sanford	Truffel and Tri-	Vauafour	Wateuil
Quintiny	Sanctes	fon	Vendore	Wely
R	Sauay	Talbot	Verlay	Werdonell
R Os	Saulay	Touny	Valenger	Wefpaile
Ridell	Sules	Traies	Venables	Wiuell.

Sim. Dunel.

King William
goeth ouer in-
to Normandye
Hen. Hunt.
Polychron.
Sim. Dun.

Epicke Syl
uaticus.Richard Fitz
Scrope.

Theriuier
of wyke.
King William
returneth into
England.

When king William had set all things in order through the most part of the realme, he deliuered the guiding thereof vnto his brother Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, and his cosine William Fitz Osborne, whom he had made erle of Hereford. In Lent following he sailed into Normandye, leading with him the pledges, and other of the chiefe lords of the English nation: among whom, the two earles Edwin and Marchar, Stigand the archbishop, Edgar the king, Walteof sonne to Siward sometime duke of Northumberland, and Agelnothus the abbat of Gloucestre were the most famous. Some after his departing, Epicke, surnamed Syluaticus, sonne to Alfricke that was brother to Epicke de Strecona, refusing to submit himselfe vnto the king, rebelled and rose against such as he had left in his absence to gouerne the land. Whereupon those that late in the castle of Hereford, as Richard Fitz Scrope and others, did oftentimes invade his lands, and wasted the goods of his farmers and tenants: but yet so often as they attempted to invade him, they lost manie of their owne souldiers and men of war. Whereupon the said Epicke calling to his aid the kings of the Welshmen, Blethgent and Rithwall, about the feast of the assumption of our Ladie, wasted the countie of Hereford, euen to the bridge of the riuer of Wyke, and obtained out of those quarters a marvellous great spoile. In the winter also following, and after king William had disposed his busines in Normandye, he returned into England, and euen then began to handle the Englishmen somewhat harshlie, supposing thereby to keepe them the more easilie under his obedience. He also tooke awaie

from diuerse of the Nobilitie, and others of the better sort, all their liuinges, and gaue the same to his Normans. Whereupon, he raised great taxes and subsidies through the realme: nor any thing regarded the English Nobilitie, so that they who before thought themselves to be made for euer by bringing a stranger into the realme, did now see themselves traded vnder foot, to be despised, and to be mocked on all sides, in so much that many of them were constrained (as it were for a further testimonie of seruitude and bondage) to shane their beards, to round their heare, and to frame themselves as well in apparell as in seruice and diet at their tables after the Norman manner, bezie strange and farre differing from the ancient customes and old blages of their countie. Others utterly refusing to susteine such an intolerable yoke of thralldome as was dante laid vpon them by the Normans, chose rather to leaue all both gods and lands, & after the maner of outlaws, got them to the woods, with their wiues, children, and seruants, meaning from thenceforth wholie to liue vpon the spoile of the countie adioining, and to take whatsoeuer came next to hand. Whereupon it came to passe within a while, that no man might trauell in safetie from his owne house or to his next neighbors, and euer quiet and honest mans house became as it were an hold or fortreffe furnished for defense with bowes and arrowes, bills, pole-ares, swordes, clubs and staves, and other weapons; the doores kept locked and strongly bolted in the night season, for feare to be surprized as it had bene in time of open warre, and amongst publike enemies. Prayers were said also by the maner of the

H. Hunt.

Math. Paris.

Englishmen
withdrew
them to the
woods as out-
laws.

house, as though they had bene in the middell of the seas in some stormie tempest, and when the windows or doores should be shut in and closed, they were to saie *Benedicite*, and others to answer, *Dominus*, in like sort as the priest and his penitent were wont to do at confession in the church.

Notwithstanding all this, W. William sought to taine & vanquish those of the English Nobilitie, who would not be at his becke. They againe on the other side made themselves strong, the better to resist him, choosing for their chiefe capteines and leaders, the earles Edwine & Edgar Etheling, who valiantlie resisted the Normans, and slue many of them with great rage and crueltie. And as they thus proceeded in their matters, king William being a politike prince, forward and painefull in his businesse, suffered them not altogether to escape cleere awaie, but did sore annoy and put them off to remedles losses, though he abode in the meane time many laborious tourneys, slaughters of his people, and damages of his person. Hereupon the English Nobilitie ever after, yea in time of peace, were hated of the king and his Normans, and at length were kept so short, that being moued partlie with disdain, and partlie with dread, they got them out of the realme, some into Scotland, some into Denmarke, others into Norway; and among these, the two earles Edwine and Marghar, with certeine bishops & others of the cleargie, besides manie also of the tempoialtie, escaped into Scotland. Earle Edwine & Gospatrick, with a great number of other the Nobles of Northumberland, Edgar Etheling with his mother Aegitha, and his sisters Christine and Margaret, chanced also to be driven into Scotland by tempest, as they sailed towards the coasts of Germanie, purposing to haue returned into Hungarie, where the said Edgar was borne: howbeit being arriued in Scotland, he found so friendlie entertainment there, that finally Malcolm the third then king of that realme, took his sister Margaret to wife, and Christine became a nunne, as in the Scottish chronicles more plainelie doth appere. King William hereby perceiving daily how unwilling the Englishmen were to be under his obessance, was in feare of rebellious commotions; and therefore to subdue them the better, he builded foure castles, one at Nottingham, another at Lincoln, the third at York, and the fourth nere unto Hastings, where he landed at his first coming into England.

Whereupon, to reduce the English people the sooner unto obedience and awe, he took from them all their armour and weapons. He ordeined also that the maister of euerie household about eight of the clocke in the evening, should cause his fire to be raked up in ashes, his lights to be put out, and then go to bed. Besides this, to the end that euerie man might haue knowledge of the houre to go to rest, he gaue order, that in all cities, townes, and villages, where anie church was, there should a bell be rung at the said houre, which custome is still vsed euen unto this daie, and commonlie called by the French word, *Couerser*, that is, *Rake vp the fier*.

This yeare on Whitunday, And the wife of king William was crowned Queene by Aelbred archbishop of York. The same yeare also was Henry his sonne borne here in England: for his other two sonnes Robert and William were borne in Normandie, before he had conquered this land. About the same time also, Godwine and Edmund surmamed the great, the sonnes of E. Harold, came from Ireland, and landing in Souerethshire, fought with Adnothus that had bene maister of their fathers hostes, whom they slue, with a great number of others; and so hauing gotten this victorie, returned

into Ireland, from whence they came with a great bottie which they took in their returne out of Cornewall, Devonshire, and other places thereabouts. In like maner, Excester did as then rebell, and likewise the countrie of Northumberland, whereupon the king appointed one of his capteines named Robert Cumin, a right noble personage (but more valiant than circumspect) to go against the northerne people with a part of his armie, whilst he himselfe and the other part went to subdue them of Excester: where, at his coming before the citie, the citizens prepared themselves to defend their gates and walls: but after he began to make his approach to assaile them, part of the citizens repenting their foolish attempts, opened the gates, and suffered him to enter. Thus hauing subdued them of Excester, he graciously punished the chiefe offenders. But the countesse Cita, the sister of Sweine K. of Denmarke, and sometime wife to earle Godwine, and mother to the last E. Harold, with diuers other that were got into that citie, found meanes to flee, and so escaped ouer into Flanders. King William hauing passed his businesse in such wise in Devonshire, passed backe towards York, being aduertised in the waie, that the Northumbers hauing knowledge by their spies, that Robert generall of the Normans being come to Durham, did not so diligentlie cause watch and ward to be kept about the towne in the night season as was requisite, did set upon him about midnight, & slue the same Robert with all his companie, so that of seauen hundred which he brought with him, there was but one that escaped to bring tidings to the king their souereigne.

He heard also, how Edgar Etheling at the same time, being in the countrie, riding abroad with a troope of horsemen, and hearing of the discomfiture of those Normans, pursued them egerlie, and slue great numbers of them, as they were about to saue themselves by flight, with which newes being in no small furie, he made speed forward, and coming at the last into Northumberland, he easilie vanquished the foresaid rebels, and putting the chiefe authors of this mutinie to death, he reserved some of the rest as captiues, and of other some he caused the hands to be chopped off in token of their inconstancie and rebellious dealing. After this, he came to York, and there in like sort punished those that had aided Edgar, which done, he returned to London.

In the meane time, those Englishmen that were fled (as you haue heard) into Denmarke, by continuall sute made to Sweine then king of that realme, to procure him to make a iourne into England for recoverie of the right descended to him from his ancestors, at length obtelined their purpose, in so much that king Sweine sent his sonnes Harold and Canutus toward England, who with a naue of two hundred saile, in the companie of. Osborne their vncle, arriued in the mouth of Humber betwene the two later ladie daies, and there landing their people with the English outlaues, whom they had brought with them, they straightwaies marched towards York, waisting and spoiling the countrie with great crueltie as they passed. Some after also came Edgar, and such other English exiles as had before fled into Scotland, and joined their forces with them. When the newes of these things were brought to York, the people there were stricken with a maruelous feare: insomuch that Aelbred the archbishop (though verie graue and anguished of mind) departed this life. The Normans also which late there in garrison, after they vnderstood by their spies that the English were come within two daies iourne of them, began not a little to mistrust the faith of the citizens, and because the suburbs should not be any aid

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

This chaunced the 28. of
Januarye on a
Wednesday.
Polydor.

Polydor.

1069

Sweine and
Osborne hath
Matth. Paris.

These hund-
red sailes
saith M.W.
but Sim. Dun.
hath 240.

Polydor.
Anno Reg. 2.
Matth. Paris.
Matth. West.
Diuers of the
English Nobilitie forsake
their native
countrie.

Polydor.

Two at York,
wherein he
left five hun-
dred men in
garrison.
Simon Dun.

The Conque-
ror taketh from
the English-
men their ar-
mour.

Couerser first
instituted.

1068
Matth. West.

Edmund the
great.

Yorke burnt.

Normans
slaine.

Simon Dun.

A sharpe winter,
an enemy
to warlike en-
terprises.The Danes
where they
wintered.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

Math. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Sim. Danel.

Earle Edo-
wines lands
giuen unto Al-
ane earle of
Britaine.

unto them, they set fire on the same, which by the hugeness of the wind that suddenlie arose, the flame became so big, and mounted such a height, that it caught the citie also, and consumed a great part thereof to ashes, together with the minster of S. Peter, and a famous librarie belonging to the same. Hereupon the Normans and citizens in like manner were constrained to issue forth at the same time, and being upon the enemies before they had any knowledge of their approach, were forced to trie the matter by disordered battell: whose number though it was far inferiour unto theirs, yet they valiantlie defended themselves for a time, till being oppressed with multitudes, they were overcome and slaine, so that there perished in this conflict, to the number of three thousand of them. Panic of the Englishmen also that came with them to the field, were saved by the enemies, to the end they might gaine somewhat by their ransomes, as William Pallet thirfe of the shire, with his wife, and two of their children, Gilbert de Gaunt, and diuers other. This slaughter chanced on a saturdaye, being the nineteenth day of September; a dismall daie to the Normans.

The two brethren having thus obtained this victory, went on further into the countrie of Northumberland, and brought the same whole to their subiection, insonmuch that all the north parts were at their commandement. Upon this they meant to haue gone towards London with the like attempt in the south parts, if the extreame and hard winter which chanced that yeare, had not staid their enterpryse, as it did king William from assailing them; who hearing of all their doings in the north countrie, would else full gladlie haue set upon them. In the meane time, the Danes wintered in Northeshire, betwixt the two riuers Ouse and Trent; but so sone as the snow began to melt, and the yce to thaw and waste away, king William sped him with great hast toward his enemies into Northeshire, and comming to the riuer of Trent, where it falleth into Humber, he pitched his tents there, to refresh his people, for his enemies were at hand. The daie following he brought his armie into the field to fight with the Danish princes, who likewise in battell arae met them. Then began a right foye and terrible battell, continuing a long space in equall balance, till at length in one of the Danish wings the Norman horsemen had put their enemies to flight. Which when the residue of the Danes perceiued, and therewith put in a sudden feare, they likewise fled. Harold and Canutus with a band of hardie souldiers that carried about them, retired backe (though with much a do and great danger) unto their ships. Edgar also, by helpe of good horses, escaped into Scotland with a few in his company. Earle Maltcol, who had fought most manfully in that battell, & slaine manie Normans with his owne hands, was reconciled into the kings fauour: but the residue were for the most part taken prisoners, and killed. William of Malmesburie writeth, that king William comming at that time into the north parts, besieged the citie of Yorke, and putting to flight a great armie of his enemies that came to the succour of them withut, not without great losse of his owne souldiers, at length the citie was deliuered into his hands, the citizens and other that kept it, as Scots, Danes, and Englishmen, being constrained thereto through lacke of vittels. After this, how the Danes, being laden with riches and spoiles gotten in the countrie, departed to their ships before the comming of king William. Here is not to be forgotten, that (as John Leland hath noted) whilste the Conquerour held siege before Yorke, at the earnest request of his wife Quene Maude, he advanced his nephew Alane earle of Britaine, with the gift of

all those lands that sometime belonged unto earle Edwine, the tenor of which gift insueth:

Ego Gulielmus cognomine Bastardus, do & concedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britannia comiti, & heredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas & terras, qua nuper fuerunt comitis Eadwini in Eboracshira, cum feodis militum & alijs libertatibus & consuetudinibus, ita libere & honorifice sicut idem Eadwinnus ea tenuit. Dat. in obsidione coram ciuitate Eboraci: that is, I William surnamed Bastard, doo giue

and grant to thee my nephue Alane earle of Britaine, and to thine heires for euer, all those townes & lands that latelie were earle Eadwines in Northeshire, with the knights fees and other liberties and customes, so freelie and honourable as the said Eadwine held the same. Giuen in our seege before the citie of Yorke.

The earle of Britaine, being a man of a stout stomach, and meaning to defend that which was thus giuen to him, built a strong castell nere to his manor of Cillingham, and named it Richmond. The first original line of the earles of Richmond (that bare their title of honor of this castell and towne of Richmond (as Leland hath set downe the same) is this:

Eudo earle of Britaine, the sonne of Gestepe, begat three sonnes, Alane le Roux, othertwisse Fregaunte, Alane the blacke, and Stephan. These three brethren after their fathers decease, succeeded one another in the earldome of Britaine; the two elder, Alane the red and Alane the blacke died without issue. Stephan begat a sonne named Alane, who left a sonne, which was his heire named Conan, which Conan married Margaret the daughter of William king of Scotland, who bare him a daughter named Constantia, which Constantia was coupled in marriage with Gestepe sonne to king Henrie the second, who had by his Arthur, whom his uncle king John, for feare to be depeiuved by him of the crowne, caused to be made a waite, as some haue written. But now to returne where we left touching the Danes.

Simon Dun. Danel. affirmeth, that Harold and Canute or Cnute the sonnes of Sweine king of Denmarke, with their uncle earle Edbozne, and one Christanus a bishop of the Danes, and earle Turketillus were guides of this Danish armie, & that afterwards, when king William came into Northumberland, he sent unto earle Edbozne, promising him that he would permit him to take up vittels for his armie about the sea coastes; and further, to giue him a portion of monie; so that he should depart and returne home as sone as the winter was passed. But howsoeuer the matter went with the Danes, certaine it is by the whole consent of writers, that king William having thus subdued his enemies in the north, he toke so great displeasure with the inhabitants of the countrie of Northeshire and Northumberland, that he wasted all the land betwixt Yorke and Durham, so that for the space of threescore miles, there was left in manner no habitation for the people, by reason whereof it laie wast and desert for the space of nine or ten yeares. The goodlie cities with their towers and steeples set vp on a statelie height, and reaching as it were into the aire: the beautifull fields and pastures, watered with the course of sweet and pleasant rivers, if a stranger should then haue beheld, and also knowne before they were thus defaced, he would surely haue lamented: or if any old inhabitant had bene long absent, & newly returned thither, had sene this pittifull face of the countrie, he would not haue knowne it, such destruction was made thoroughout all those quarters, whereof Yorke it selfe felt not the smallest portion. The bishop of Durham Egellwinus with his cleargie fled into holie Island with S. Cuthberts bodie, and other ieiwels of the church of Durham, where they tarried three moneths and odd daies, before they returned to Durham againe. The

Castell of
Richmont.

Earle of Britaine.

Simon Dun.

Math. Paris
maketh men-
tion but of
Sweine and
Edbozne
whom he call-
eth brethren.

Wil. Malm.

Simon Dun.

kings armie coming into the countrie that lieth betwixt the riuers Theise and Cine, found nothing but void fields and bare walles; the people with their goods and cattell being fled and withdrawne into the woods and mountaines, if any thing were forgotten behind, these new gess were diligent enough to find it out.

Anno Reg. 4.
1070.
Polydor.

In the beginning of the spring, king William returned to London, and now after all these troubles, began to conceive greater hatred against the Englishmen than ever before; so as doubting that he should never by gentleness win their good willes, he now determined by a harder measure to meete with them; inasmuch that he banished a great number, other some also (not a few) he spoiled of their goods, those especiallie of whom he was in hope to gaine any great portion of substance.

Privileges
and freedoms
revoked.

Thus were the Englishmen generallie in danger to lose life, lands and goods, without knowledge, or orderlie proceeding in iudgement, so that no greater miserie in the earth could be imagined, than that whereinto our nation was now fallen. He toke from the towncs and cities, from the bishops sees and abbeies all their ancient privileges and freedoms, to the end they should not onelie be cut short and made weaker, but also that they (for the obtainment of their quietnesse) might redeeme the same of him for such summes of monie as pleased him to exact. Among other things, he ordeined that in time of warre they should aide him with armor, horse and monie, according to that order which he should then prescribe: all which he caused to be registred, inrolled, and laid up in his treasure. But diuerse of the spirituall persons would not obey this ordinance, whom he banished without remorse.

Math. Paris

Stigand,
Alexander
bishop of Lincolne.

Polydor.
The hard dealing of R. William against the Englishmen.

About this time the archbishop Stigand, and Alexander bishop of Lincolne fled to Scotland, where they kept themselves close for a season. But the king still continued in his hard proceeding against the Englishmen, inasmuch that now protesting how he came to the gouernance of the realme only by plaine conquest, he seized into his hands most part of euerie mans possessions, causing them to redeeme the same at his hands againe, and yet retained a proprietie in the most part of them; so that those that should afterwards enioy them, should acknowledge themselves to hold them of him, in yielding a yeerlie rent to him and his successors for ever, with certeine other prouisions, whereby in cases of forfeiture the same lands should returne to him, and his said successors againe. The like order he appointed to be used by other possessors of lands, in letting them forth to their tenants. He ordeined also, that the Termes should be kept foure times in the yeere, in such places as he should nominate, and that the iudges should sit in their severall places to iudge and decide causes and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie, in manner as is used vnto this day. He decreed moreover, that there should be shiriffes in euerie shire, and iustices of the peace to keepe the countries in quiet, and to see offenders punished. Furthermore, he instituted the court of the Exchequer, and the officers belonging to the same, as the barons, the clerks, and such other, and also the high court of Chancerie.

The institution of the four Termes.

The Exchequer.
The Chancerie.

New lawes.

After he had in this sort ordeined his magistrates and ministers of the lawes, he lastlie toke order what ordinances he would haue obserued: whereupon abrogating in manner all the ancient lawes used in times past, and instituted by the former kings for the good order and quietnes of the people, he made new, nothing so equall or easie to be kept, which neuertheless those that came after (not without their great harme) were constrained to obserue: as though it

had bene an high offense against God to abolish those euill lawes, which king William (a prince nothing friendly to the English nation) had first ordeined, and to bring in other more easie and tollerable. Here by the waie I giue you to note a great absurditie; namelie, that those lawes which touched all, and ought to be knowne of all, were notwithstanding written in the Norman tongue, which the Englishmen vnderstood not; so that euen at the beginning you should haue great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the lawes, and partlie by ignorance in misconstruing the same, to be wrongfullie condemned: some to death, and some in the forfeitures of their goods; others were so intangled in suites and causes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continuallie were tossed from post to piller; in such wise that in their minds they curst the time that ever these vnequall lawes were made.

The lawes were written in the Norman tongue.

The manner for the triall of causes in controuersie, was deuised in such sort as is yet used. Twelve ancient men (but most commonlie vblearned in the lawes) being of the same countie where the sute laie, were appointed by the iudges to go together into some close chamber, where they should be shut up, till vpon diligent examination of the matter they should agree vpon the condemnation or acquitting of the prisoner, if it were in criminall causes; or vpon deciding in whom the right remained, if it were vpon triall of things in controuersie. Now when they were all agreed, they came in before the iudges, declaring to what agreement they were growne: which done, the iudges opened it to the offenders or suitors, and withall gaue sentence as the qualitie of the case did enforce and require. There may happlie be (as Polydor Virgil saith) that will mainteine this manner of proceeding in the administration of iustice by the voices of a iurie, to haue bene in use before the conquerors daies, but they are not able to proue it by any ancient records of writers, as he thinketh: albeit by some of our histories they should seme to be first ordeined by Ethelred or Egelred. Whosebeit this is most true, that the Norman kings themselves would confesse, that the lawes deuised and made by the Conqueror were not verie equall; inasmuch that William Rufus and Henrie the sonnes of the Conqueror would at all times, when they sought to purchase the peoples fauor, promise to abolish the lawes ordeined by their father, establish other more equall, and restore those which were used in S. Edwards daies. The like kind of purchasing fauor was used by king Stephen; and other kings that followed him. But now to the matter, king William having made these ordinances to keepe the people in order, set his mind to enrich his cofers, and therupon caused first a tribute to be leued of the commons; then the abbeies to be searched, and all such monie as any of the Englishmen had laid up in the same, to be kept. Besides all this, he seized into his hands their charters of privileges made to them by the Saxon kings of the land, and spared not so much as the Jewels and plate dedicated to sacred uses. All this did he (as some write) by the counsell of the earle of Hertford.

Matters to be tried by a iurie of 12. men.

Math. Paris.
March. West.
Wil. Mal.
Wil. Thorne.
Abbeys searched.
Polydor.
Simon Dun.

Shortlie after betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, a great synod was holden at Winchester by the bishops and cleergie, where Germentred the bishop of Sion or Sitten, with two cardinals John and Peter sent thither from pope Alexander the second, did sit as these commissioners. In this synod was Stigand the archbishop of Cantuarbie depprived of his bishopricke, for three speciall causes.

Wil. Thorne.

Polydor.
Sim. Duncl.

Stigand archbishop of Cantuarbie depprived.

First, for that he had wrongfullie holden that bishopricke, whilst the archbishop Robert was liuing.

2 Secondlie, for that he kept the see of Winchester in his hands, after his investiture unto Canturburie, which he ought not to have done.

3 Thirdlie, for that he had received the pall at the hands of pope Benedict the tenth, whom the cardinals, as one not lawfullie elected, had deposed.

Wherbeit, manie writers burthen king William (who was present at this synod) for the procuring of Stigand his depriuation, to the end he might place a stranger in his roome. For as he had rooted out the English nobilitie, and given alwaie their lands & livings to his Normans; so meant he to turne out the English cleargie from bearing any office of honor within the realme, which meaning of his did well appeare at his counsell, wherin diuers bishops, abbats, and priors were deposed, and Normans preferred to their places. Stigand after his depriuation was kept in perpetuall prison at Winchester, till he died, and yet (as some write) the same Stigand was an helper vnder hand for king William to attaine the crowne.

Agelmaras
bishop of
Chetford
was one that
was deposed.
Simon Dun.
Matt. Paris.

Thomas a
canon of Bay-
eux made
archbishop
of York.
Lanfranke
consecrated
archbishop of
Canturburie.
March. Westm.
hath the eight
Kal. of Maie,
but Wil. Mal.
and Eadmerus
the fourth
Kal. of Sep-
tember.

1071
Anno Reg. 5.
Wil. Mal.
Eadmerus.

Wil. Mal.

In the feast of Pentecost next ensuing, the king being at Windsor, gaue the archbishopricke of York to one Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, and to Walhelme one of his chaplins he gaue the bishopricke of Winchester. After this, calling one Lanfranke an Italian from Caen where he was abbat, he made him archbishop of Canturburie, who was consecrated there in the feast of S. John Baptist, in the yeare folowing, which was after the birth of our Sa-
10 uour 1071. The foresaid Thomas was the five and twentieth bishop that had gouerned in that see of York, & Lanfranke the thirte & thirtieth in the see of Canturburie. But yer long, betwixt these two arch-
20 bishops there rose great contention for the primacie of their churches, in so much that the archbishop of York appealed to Rome, where they both appeared personallie before pope Alexander, in whose presence Lanfranks cause was so much fauoured, that not onelie the foresaid Thomas, but also Remigius the
40 bishop of Dorchester were for reasonable causes depriued of their crosiers and rings: and Lanfranke at their humble request was a meane to the pope for them in the end, that they might be restored to their staues, which was accordingly obtained. For when the pope heard Lanfranke declare in their fauour, how necessarie their seruice might be to the king, in the establishment of his new gotten kingdome, he
60 said to Lanfranke; Well, loke you then to the matter, you are the father of that countrie, and therefore consider what is expedient to be done therein: their staues which they haue surrendered, there they be, take them, and dispose them as you shall thinke most profitable for the advancement of the christian religion in that countrie. Whereupon Lanfranke toke the staues, and deliuered them to the former posses-
80 sours, and so were they in the popes presence restored to their former dignities. One cause why Thomas was depriued (as some writers saie) was, for that he had holpen duke William toward his iour-
100 nie into England when he came to conquer it, for the which pleasure to him then shewed, the duke promised him a bishopricke, if euer he obtained viceroy ouer the English: an other cause, for that he was a priests sonne. Now, when the pope vnderstood the full ground of their contention to be for the primacie of the two sees, Canturburie and York, and had heard that could be alledged on both sides, he remitted the determination thereof to the king and bishops of England, that by the histories and records of the land, the matter might be tried, iudged and ordered.
120 Therefore at their coming home, and after long debating and discussing of the cause (as in William Marleburgh it appeareth more at large) at a synod

holden at Windsor, in the yeare 1072, sentence was
10 giuen on Lanfranks side, so that in all things con-
cerning religion and the faith of holie church, the
archbishop of York should be euer subiect to the
archbishop of Canturburie, and come with all the bi-
shops of his prouince to that place soeuer the arch-
bishop of Canturburie should summon any counsell
within the realme of England. Moreover, when anie
elected bishop of Canturburie was to be consecra-
20 ted, the archbishop of York (for the time being)
should come to Canturburie, and consecrate him
there. And if the archbishop of York was to be in-
stalled and consecrated, then should he come to Can-
turburie, or to what place it should please the archbi-
shop of Canturburie to assigne, and there to be con-
firmed of him, taking an oth with profession of due
obedience vnto the higher see. Now, as the said Tho-
mas of York did yeld obedience to Lanfranke of
Canturburie, so likewise the elect bishop of Glas-
30 cowl in Scotland named Michael, was some after
consecrated of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of
York, and made an oth of obedience vnto the said
archbishop, as to the primate of all Scotland: and
after him Lothade the bishop of S. Andrews the third
of that name king of Scotland, and Margaret his
wife, who thought good by this recognisance of obedi-
ence and dutie, so to prouide against further incon-
uenience to come, that hereafter, one of the bishops
of their realme should not take vpon them to conse-
40 crate an other: or do any thing contrarie to the an-
cient decrees of the old fathers, that might be prei-
diciall to the authoritie of the archbishop of York,
at whose appointment those and the like things were
accustomed to be done. In this controuersie (or the
like) it is left written, that in a court held at Rome
(the time is not mentioned) the pope perceiving the
strife betwixt these two prelates to be but for the hi-
ghest place or primacie in the church; he solemnlie
gaue sentence by decree, that the see of York should
haue in title *Primas Angliae*, & Canturburie *Primas*
50 *totius Angliae*, which titles doe yet remain to them both.

But to leaue this, and to speake of other things
which chanced in the meane time that this contro-
uersie depended betwixt the two archbishops, I find
that Edwin and Margarett earles of Mercia and Nor-
thumberland, hauing of late obtained pardon for
their former misdemeanors, & reconciled to the king,
began now so much to dislike the state of the world
again, as euer they did before. For perceiving how
the Englishmen were still oppressed with thraldome
& miserie on eich hand, they conspired, & began a new
rebellion, but with verie ill successe, as shall hereafter
appeare. The king vnderstanding of their dealings,
and being not onelie armed thoroughlie with tempo-
60 rall force, but also endued with the spirituall power
of his archbishop Lanfranke (who aided him in all
that he might, for the suppressing of those rebels) wa-
sted the countries exceedingly, where he vnderstood
that they had gotten anie reliefe, minding vtterlie to
vanquish them with sword, fire, and hunger, or by ex-
treame penurie to bring them vnder. They on the o-
ther part make as stout resistance; and perceiving
that it stood them vpon, either to vanquish or to fall
into vtter ruine, they raise a mightie strong host, and
make Edgar Etheling their capteine, a comelie
gentleman and a valiant, in whome also the whole
hope of the English nation was reposed, as appea-
reth by this his accustomed by-word, Edgar Etheling
Englands dearling. Amongst other noble men that
were chiefe doers in the assembling of this armie,
Frederike abbat of S. Albons, a prelate of great
wealth and no lesse puissance, was a principall.
The king perceiving his estate to be now in no

Anno Reg. 6.
1072
March. West.
The subiecti-
on of the arch-
bishopricke of
York, to the
archbishopricke
of Canturburie.

Polydor.
The archb-
shop of York,
acknowledged
primate of all
Scotland.

Ranulph. Ce-
stren. lib. 1. cap.
57. & lib. 7.
cap. 2.

Matt. Paris.

small danger, is in a great perplexitie what to do, in the end, he counselleth with the said Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie, how he might remedie the matter; who told him that in such a desperate case, the best waie for him should be to seeke by faire words and friendly offers to pacifie the English Nobilitie, which by all meanes possible would neuer cease to molest him in the recouerie of their liberties. Whereupon he made meanes to come to some agreement with them, and so well the matter proceeded on his side, that the Englishmen being deceived through his faire promises, were contented to communion of peace, for which purpose they came also vnder the conduct of the abbat Frederike vnto Berkhamsted, where (after much reasoning and debating of the matter for the conclusion of amitie betwixt them) king William in the presence of the archbishop Lanfranke and other of his lordes, took a personall oath vpon all the reliques of the church of S. Albons, and the holie euangelists (the abbat Frederike ministering the same vnto him) that he would from thenceforth obserue and keepe the good and ancient approved lawes of the realme, which the noble kings of England his predecessours had made and ordeined heretofore; but namelie those of S. Edward, which were supposd to be most equall and indifferent.

The peace being thus concluded, and the Englishmen growne thereby to some hope of further quietnesse, they began to forsake their allies, and returned each one, either to his owne possessions, or to giue attendance vpon the king. But he warlike cloying his inward purpose, notwithstanding the vnitie lately made, determineth particularlie to assaile his enemies (whose power without doubt so long as it was vnitied, could not possible be overcome, as he thought) and being now by reason of this peace dispersed and dispersed, he thought it high time to put his secret purposes in execution: whereupon taking them at vnwares and thinking of nothing lesse than warres and sudden inuasion, he imprisoneth manie, killeth diuers, and pursueth the residue with fire and sword, taking awaie their goods, possessions, lands, and inheritances, and banishing them out of the realme. In the meane time, those of the English Nobilitie, which could escape his outrageous tyrannie, got awaie, and amongst other, Edgar Etheling fled againe into Scotland: but Edwin was slaine of his owne souldiers, as he rode toward Scotland, earle Marchar, and one Hereward, with the bishop of Durham named Egellinus, got into the Isle of Elic, in purpose there to defend themselves from the iniurie of the Normans, for they took the place (by reason of the situation) to be of no small strength. Howbeit king William endeavouring to cut them short, raised a power, and stopped all the passages on the east side, and on the west part he made a cause through the fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them, and constrained them to yeld. But Marchar, or (as others haue) Hereward, foreseeing the imminent danger likelie to take effect, made shift to get out of the Isle by boote, and so by speedie flight escaped into Scotland. The bishop of Durham being taken, was sent to the abbey of Abingdon, to be kept as prisoner, where he was so sparinglie fed, that within a short space he died for hunger.

In this meane time, and whilst king William was thus occupied in rooting out the English, Malcolm king of Scotland had waisted the countries of Westedale, Cleveland, and the lands of S. Cuthbert, with sundrie other places in the north parts. Whereupon Gospatricke being latelie reconciled to the king, made earle of Northumberland, was sent against him, who sacked and destroyed that part of Cumber-land which the said Malcolm by violence had brought

vnder his subiection. At the same time Malcolm was at Meremouth, beholding the fire which his people had kindled in the church of Saint Peter to burne vp the same; and there hearing what Gospatricke had done, he took such displeasure thereat, that he commanded his men they should leaue none of the English nation aliuie, but put them all to the sword without pittie or compassion, so oft as they came to hand. The bloudie slaughter which was made at this time by the Scots, through that cruell commandement of Malcolm, was pittifull to consider, for women, children, old and yong, went all one way: howbeit, manie of those that were strong and able to serue for drudges and slaues, were reserved, and carried into Scotland as prisoners, where they remained manie yeares after; in so much that there were few houses in that realme, but had one or mo English slaues and captiues, whom they gat at this unhappie boiage. Miserable was the state of the English at that time, one being consumed of another so vnnaturalie, manie of them destroyed by the Scots so cruellie, and the residue kept vnder by the king so tyrannicallie.

But to returne to the purpose in hand, king William hearing of all these things, was not a little moued at the same, but chafelie with Malcolm king of Scots, for that his countrie was the onelie place wherein all the mal-contents of his realme had their refuge. Wherefore, thinking to reuenge the losse of his subiects, and to bring that realme also vnto his subiection, he went thither with an huge armie, about the middle of August, where he first inuaded the bounds of Galloway, because he heard how the English were latelie fled thither. But after he had wearied his souldiers in vaine pursuit of them (who kept themselves in the mountaines and marres grounds) he gaue ouer the enterpryse, and dyed towards Lothian, where king Malcolm late with all his power, & sundrie English fugitiues, with whom he determined by battell either to end his trouble, or else to lose his life. Now as both the kings with their armies were readie to encounter, Malcolm began to doubt somewhat of the fiercenesse of the battell, because he saw the great puissance and readie willes of the English and Normans to fight, whereupon he sent an harbold to king William to treat of peace, wherewith he was content at the last (though with much adoe) and so a vnitie inured betwixt them, vpon these conditions; namelie, that king Malcolm should doe homage to king William for the realme of Scotland, and thereupon deliuer sufficient hostages: and that on the other side, king William should pardon all the English outlawes in Scotland which then rebelled against him. The place where this peace was concluded, was called Abirnetht. After this, king William returned into England, where he perlong took the earldome of Northumberland from Gospatricke, and gaue it to Waltheof the sonne of Siward; because of right it seemed to descend vnto him from his father, but chafelie from his mother Alfrede, who was the daughter of Aldred sometime earle of that countrie.

At the same time also the king caused a castell to be built at Durham, and returned to London, where he receiued aduertisement that his subiects in Normandie toward the parties of Angiew had begun a rebellion against him. Whereupon with all speed he leuied an armie, wherof the most part consisted of English (whose seruice he liked rather in a forren countrie than in their owne) and sailed ouer into Normandie, where he easilie subdued his enemies by the valiance of the English, whom from thenceforth he began somewhat to fauour and better thinke of than before. Posing Edgar also grew in vertie good credit

A bloudie commandement executed vpon the English by the Scots.

Polydor.

March. Paris.

H. Hunt.

The king of Scots did homage to king William for Scotland.

Simon Dun.

The kings iustice.

Ran. Higa.
H. Hunt.
March. Paris.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
March. Paris.

Simon Dun.

Some write that he was so subhorneharted, that after he knew he should remaine in perpetuall prison, he refused his meate, and so gined him selfe to death.

credit with him, for though he had thus broken his oath of allegiance, and run to the Scots as a rebell, yet now of his owne motion, returning to the king and craving pardon, he was not onelie receiued, but also highlie honoured and preferred in his court.

The yeare 1074. three monks of the prouince of Mercia, purposing to restore religion after their manner within the prouince of Northumberland, came into Porke, and required of Hugh Fitz Baldricke (then thirfe of the shire) to haue safe conduct vnto Monkaster, which afterwards hight Petercell, and so is called to this day. These monks, whose names were Aldwin, Alswin, and Remfred, comming vnto the foresaid place, found no token or remanent of any religious persons, which sometime had habitati on there (for all was defaced and gone:) whereupon, after they had remained there a while, they remoued to Farrowe, where finding the ruines of old decayed buildings and churches, pertaining in times past to the monks that there inhabited, they had such assistance at the hands of Walkher bishop of Durham, that at length, by the diligent trauell and sute of these monks, three monasteries were newlie founded and erected in the north parts, one at Durham, another at Porke, and the third at Whitby. For you must consider, that by the inuasion of the Danes, the churches and monasteries throughout Northumberland were so wasted and ruined, that a man could scarce find a church standing in all that countrie, as for those that remained, they were covered with brime or thatch: but as for any abbey or monastery, not one was left in all the countrie, neither did any man (for the space of two hundred yeares) take care for the repairing or building vp of any thing in decay, so that the people of that countrie wist not what a monke ment, and if they saw any, they wondered at the strangenesse of the sight.

Whilest the king remained thus in Normandie, Roger earle of Hereford (contrarie to the kings mind and pleasure) married his sister vnto Rafe earle of Cambridge, or (as other haue) Northfolke, and withall began a new conspiracie against him. Amongst other also of the associates, earle Walteof the sonne of earle Siward was one, who afterward mistrusting the successe of this deuile, first bitered it to archbishop Lanfranke, and by his aduice sailed ouer into Normandie, and there disclosed the whole matter to king William: but in the meane time, the other two earles, namely, Hereford and Cambridge had so farre proceeded in the matter, that they were vp in armour. Holbeitt, Wolsan bishop of Worcester, and Egelswine abbat of Ewelham, with the thirfe of Worcester & Walter Lacie, so resisted the earle of Hereford, that he could not passe the Seuerne to ioine with the earle of Cambridge. On the other side, Wdo the bishop of Bayeux, and Gestepp the bishop of Constances pursued the earle of Cambridge so narrowly, with an other armie, which they had gathered of the English and Normans, that they constrained him to flee into Britaine, whereby the rebellion was verie much appeased.

In the meane time, the king vnderstanding by earle Walteof how the matter went in England, came ouer with all speed out of Normandie, & within a short space brought the residue of the conspirators into such a feare, that they were scattered and put to flight, without attempting any further exploit or conspiracie against him. Many of them also were apprehended and put to death, among whom Roger and Walteof were most famous. And though Walteof (as ye haue heard before) disclosed the treason, yet to the end he should offend no more hereafter, he was beheaded at Winchester by the kings commandement, and his bodie hanging bene first buried

in the same place where he suffered, was after conuied vnto Crowland, and there more honorablie interred.

This earle Walteof or Waldeu was sonne (as ye haue heard) to Siward the noble earle of Northumberland, of whose valure in the time of R. Edward the confessor ye haue heard. His son the foresaid Walteof in strength of bodie and hardinesse did not degenerate from his father, for he was tall of personage, in sinewes and muscles verie strong and mighty. In the slaughter of the Normans at Porke, he shewed proofe of his prowesse, in striking off the heads of many of them with his owne hands, as they came forth of the gates single one by one: yet afterwards, when the king had pardoned him of all former offenses, and receiued him into fauour, he gaue to him in marriage his niece Judith the daughter of Lambert earle of Lens, sister to Stephen erle of Albemarle, and with hir he had of the kings gift, all the lands and liberties belonging to the hono^r of Huntingdon: in consideration whereof, he assigned to hir in name of hir dower, all the lands that he held from Trent southward. She bare by him two daughters, Maude and Alice. We find, that he was not onlie earle of Northumberland, but also of Northampton and Huntingdon.

The countesse of Cambridge or Northfolke (as other haue) wife of earle Rafe, being fled into the citie of Norwich, was besieged in the same by the kings power, which pressed the citie so sore, as it was forced for verie famine to yeld; but yet by composition; namely, that such as were besieged within, should depart the realme, as persons abured and banished the land for ever. This was the end of the foresaid conspiracie. At this verie time the Danes being confederate with these rebels, and by them solicited, set forth towards England vnder the leading of Cnuto, sonne to Sueno, and earle Haco, and (unlooked for) arriue here in England with two hundred sailes. But hearing that the ciuill tumult was ended, and seeing no man readie either to countenance or encourage them in their enterprise, they sailed first into Flanders, which they spoiled, and after into their owne countrie, with little desire or will to come againe into England. King William also vnderstanding that they were thus departed, passed ouer into Britaine, and there besieged the castell of Doll that belonged to Rafe earle of Cambridge or Northfolke: but by the comming of Philip the French king, king William being vnprouided of sufficient vittels for his armie, was constrained to raise his siege, although with great losse both of men and horses.

On the 27. daie of March was a generall earthquake in England, and in the winter following a frost that continued from the first of Nouember vntill the middle of Aprill. A blasing starre appeared on palme sundae, being the thirteenth daie of Aprill, about six of the clocke, when the aire was faire and cleere.

About the same season, pope Gregorie persecuting that married priests did chuse rather to run into the danger of his exile, than to forsake their wives, meaning to hide them by an other prouise, gaue commandment by his bull published abroad, that none should heare the masse of a married priest. King William after his returning from the siege of Doll, remained a certaine time in quiet, during which season, Lanfranke the archbishop called a synod or councell of the cleergie at London, wherein amongst other things it was ordeined, that certen bishops should be reuenged from small townes to cities of more fame, whereby it came to passe that Chichester, Exeter, Bath, Salisbury, Lincoln & Chester

Mount ca-
ster now
Newcastle.

Carle dome of
Huntingdon.

Math. Paris.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
Math. Paris.

Anno Reg. 9.
1075

Rafe Earle of
Cambridge.
Math. West.
Math. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
A rebellion
raised against
R. William.

John Pike.

Anno Reg. 10.
1076

H. Hunt.
Earle Walte-
of beheaded.

Anno Reg. 11.
1077.
Math. Paris.
An earth-
quake, a long
frost, a comet.

Married
priests.

Anno Reg. 12.
1078.
Polydor.
A synod hol-
den at Lon-
don.
Bishops sent
repaired sin
ners.

Woolstan.

Chester were honozed with new sacs and palaces of bishops, whereas before they kept their residence at Selleswey, Kirton, Welles, Shireboyne, Dorchester and Lichfield.

At this synod also Woolstan bishop of Worcester was present, whom Lanfranke would have depofed for his insufficiencie of learning; as he colourable pretended, but indeed to pleasure the king, who saime would have placed a forman in his roine: but (as they saie) by a miracle which he presentlie wrought, in causing his crozier staffe to sticke fast in the toime of saint Edward (to whom he protested and said he would resigne it, for that he obtained the same by his gift) he did put the king and the archbishop into such feare, that they suffered him still to enjoy his bishoppricke without any further veration. These things with other (touching a reformation in the church and cleargie) being handled in this counsell, it was sone after dissolved.

Anno Reg. 13.

1079

Marth. Paris.

Marth. West.

In the yeare following, king William led a mighty armie into Wales, and subdued it; receiuing of the rulers and princes there their homages and hostages. About the same time, Robert the kings eldest sonne, a right worthe personage, but yet as one of nature somewhat unstable, entred into forman die as a rebell to his father, and by force toke diuers places into his hands. Which he did by the practise of Philip the French king, who now began to doubt of the great puissance of king William, as foreseeing how much it might prejudice him, and the whole realme of France in time to come. Wherefore to stop the course of his prosperous success, he deuised a meane to set the sonne against the father. True it is that king William had promised long afore to resigne the gouernment of Normandie vnto the said Robert his sonne. Whereupon the young man, being of an ambitious nature, and now picked forward by the sinister counsell of his adherents, seeketh to obtaine that by violence, which he thought would be verie long yer he should attaine by curtesie. King William hereof aduertised, was not a little moued against his disobedient sonne, and cursed both him and the time that euer he begat him. Finallie, raising an armie, he marched towards him, so that they met in the field. As sone as the one came in sight of the other, they encountred at a place called Archenbraie, and whilest the battell was at the hottest, and the footmen most busied in fight, Robert appointed a power of horsemen to breake in vpon the rearward of his enemies; & he himselfe following after with all his might, chanced among other to haue a conflict with his owne father, so that thrusting him through the arme with his lance, he bare him beside his horse, and ouerthrew him to the ground. The king being saue, called to his men to remount him. Robert perceiuing by his voice that it was his father, whom he had vnhoised, speedilie alighted, and toke him vp, asking him forgiveness for that fact, and setting him vp on his owne horse, brought him out of the preele, and suffered him to depart in safetie. King William being thus escaped out of that present danger, and seeing himselfe not able to resist the puissance of his enemies, left the field to his son, hauing lost many of his men which were slaine in battell and chase, besides a great number that were hurt and wounded, among whom his second sonne William surnamed Rufus or Red, was one; and therefore (as some write) he bitterlie cursed his son Robert, by whom he had sustained such iniurie, losse, and dishonour. Howbeit, other write, that for the courtesie which his sonne shewed, in releuing and helping him out of danger, when he was cast off his horse, he was moued with such a fatherlie affection, that presentlie after they were made friends, the fa-

ther pardoned his sonne all his former offenses, and thereupon found him euer after more tractable and obedient than before.

After this battell, king William being thus accorded with his sonne, returned with him into England, and immediatlie sent him against Malcolme king of Scotland, who hauing broken the truce in time of the trouble betwixt king William and his sonne, had done much hurt by forraies vpon the English borders, wasting all Northumberland euen to the riuer of Tyne. Howbeit, when he heard that Robert approached with his armie towards him, he retired into Scotland. Robert Curthose then lodged with his armie vpon the banks of the riuer of Tyne, where he began the foundation of a castell, whereof the totowne of Newcastle did after take both beginning and name, for before this season it was called Doncaster.

About the same time, Wdo the bishop of Bayeux was sent to Northumberland, to reuenge the death of Walkher bishop of Durham, whom not long before the people of Northumberland had slaine in a tumult. The occasion of his death grew by the death of one Liulfus, a noble man of those quarters, and deerele beloued of the people, because he was descended of honorable parentage, and had married the ladie Algetha daughter vnto earle Alered, and sister to Alfedra the mother of earle Matcof.

This Liulfus, a man of great possessions through England, now that the Normans ruled in all places, quietlie withtozeu himselfe vnto Durham, and grew into such familiaritie and credit with the bishop, that touching the order of temporall matters, he would do nothing without his aduice. Whereat Leofwin the bishops chapline conceiued such enmie (for that he was not so often called to counsell as before) that in the end he procured by his malicious meanes one Gilbert (to whom the bishop had committed the rule of the earledome) to murder the said Liulfus by night in his manors place not farre from Durham. Whereof the bishop hauing vnderstanding, and knowing that the matter would be grieuouslie taken of the people, sent out letters and messengers into the countrie, offering to purge himselfe of the slaughter of this man, according to the order of the canon lawes: howbeit he did nothing lesse. Among other things concerning his purgation, he said that he had banished Gilbert and others, (who had committed the murder) out of Northumberland. Verbpou the malice of the people was kindled against him. For when it was knowne that he had receiued the murderers into his house, and fauoured them as before, they stomached the matter highlie: insomuch that when by the trauell of those that went to and fro betwixt the bishop and the kinfolks of Liulfus, a daie was appointed, on the which the bishop should come to farther communication with them at Wateshead, he repaired thither according to his promise, but refusing to talke with them abroad, he kept himselfe still within the church, and sent forth such of his counsell as should commune with them. But when the people that were there gathered in great numbers, had signified in plaine words that he should either come forth and shew himselfe amongst them, or else that they should fire the place where he sat: he caused Gilbert to go forth vnto them first, whom they slue, and his partakers also that issued out of the church with him for his defense. But when the peoples furie was not so quenched, the bishop himselfe casting the skirts of his gowne ouer his face, came likewise forth, and was immediatlie slaine of the people. After this, they set the church on fire, because Leofwin the bishops chapline and others were yet within, and refused to come

Anno Reg. 14.

1080

Simon Duncel.

The foundation of Newcastle vpon Tyne, which before that season was called Doncaster.

Simon Dun.

The French king letteth the sonne against the father.

Simon Dun.
Marth. Paris.

The sonne ouerthroweth the father.

Simon Dun.

Marth. Paris.

The father and the sonne made friends.

Note the sequel of the neglect of justice in the former storie.

come forth: howbeit in the end, being compelled by the rage of the fire to come out, the said Leofwine was also slaine and hacket in peces (as he had well deserved) being the ringleader of all the mischief.

¶ Thus maie we see what followed of the neglecting of justice in the bishop: for if he had either banished Gilbert and other his complices (accordinglie as he pretended to doe) or otherwise had sene due punishment executed against them, the peoples rage had neuer proceeded so far as it did: for they could not persuade themselves, but that the bishop was guiltie and pinnie to Leofwines death, sith he had receiued the murderers into his house, the verie same night in which the fact was done, and kept them still about him, which his bearing with them cost him his owne life. But now to the historie.

¶ When bishop Ddo was come into those parties to reuenge the bishops death with an armie (as we haue said) he soze afflicted the countrie, by spoiling it on euerie side with great crueltie. Here king William placed and displaced diuerse rulers ouer the Northumbers: for first he appointed one Copsi to haue the rule of that countrie, in place of Harthar who before had held the same. This Copsi expelled Osulfe the sonne of earle Edulfe brother to earle Aldred, which Osulfe was substitute vnto the earles Edwine and Harthar, who although he was diuinen out of his gouernement by Copsi, yet recouering his forces againe, he slue the same Copsi as he entred into the church of Peterburne. But within a few moneths after, the same Osulfe (as he ran with his horse against a tree) was thrust through the bodie with a spear, which the theefe held in his hand, and so died. Then Gospatrike was assigned by king William to haue the gouernement there: whose mother Aldgitha was daughter to Athred sometime earle of Northumberland begotten vpon Elfgina the daughter of king Eggefred.

¶ Some write, that Gospatrike purchased the earldome of king William, and so held it, till the king toke it from him againe, and then gaue it vnto earle Waltheof or Waldeuue. ¶ Pert after him Walther the foresaid bishop of Durham had the whole administration committed to him, but (after he was slaine as we haue heard) one Alberike ruled that countrie, and lastlie, Robert Fitzbay a right noble personage (for his wisdom and valiance highlie renowned with all men) was created earle of Northumberland, and gouerned the people of those parties in such politike and wise order, that during his time, it is hard to saie, whether his quietnesse or the obedience of the people was greater.

¶ In like manner, after the foresaid Walther, one William was created bishop of Durham, who was the originall founder of vniuersitie colledge in Oxford, and by whose assistance, the monkes gaping both for riches, ease, and possessions, found the means to displace the secular priests of the colledge of Durham, that they might get into their romes, as they did indeed sone after, to their great gaine and aduantage. But to returne againe to the course of the historie. Shortly after the reuenge of the death of Walther bishop of Durham, the fornamed bishop Ddo the kings brother was suspected of some vnruth and sinister dealing, wherupon he was sent as a banished man into Normandie, or rather (as other write) committed to prison, where he remained, not as a clerke, but as a baron of the realme; for he was both bishop and earle of Kent.

¶ The king hauing at length obtained some rest from wars, practised by sundrie meanes to enrich his coffers, and therefore raised a tribute through out the whole kingdome; for the better leuieing whereof, he appointed all the subjects of his realme to be num-

bred, all the cities, towne, villages, and hamlets to be registred, all the abbies, monasteries and priories to be recorded. Moreover, he caused a certificat to be taken of euerie mans substance, and what he might dispend by the yeare; he also caused their names to be written which held knights fees, and were bound therby to serue him in the wars. Likewise he toke a note of euerie poke of oxen, and what number of plow lands, and how manie bondmen were with in the realme. This certificat being made and brought vnto him, gaue him full vnderstanding what wealth remained among the English people. Hereupon he raised his tribute, taking six shillings for euerie hide of land through out this realme, which amounted to a great masse of monie when it was all brought together into his Exchequer. ¶ Here note by the waie, that an hide of land containeth an hundred acres, and an acre containeth forty perches in length, and foure in breadth, the length of a perch is sixteen foot and an halfe: so that the common acre should make 240. perches; and eight hides or 800. acres is a knights fee, after the best appoyued writers and plaine demonstration. Those therefore are deceived, that take an hide of land to containe twentie acres (as William Lambert hath well noted in his *De priscis Anglorum legibus*) where he expoundeth the meaning of the old Saxon termes pertaining to the lawes.

¶ But to proceed and come, a little after the temporals dealing, to some of the spirituall affaires. It hapned about the same time, that when king William had finished the rating of his subjects, that there rose a strife betwixt Thurstan abbat of Glasseburie a Norman, and the monkes of that house. One cause thereof was, for that the abbat would haue compelled them to haue left the plaine song or note for the seruice which pope Gregorie had set forth, and to haue used an other kind of tune denised by one William of Fescampe: beside this, the said abbat spent and wasted the goods that belonged to the house, in riot, lecherie, and by such other insolent meanes (withdrawing also from the monkes their old accustomed allowance of diet) for the which they first fell at altercation in words, and after wards to fighting. The abbat got armed men about him, and falling vpon the monkes, slue three of them at the high altar, and wounded vnto. Howbeit the monkes for their parts plaid the pretie men with formes and candlesticks, defending themselves as well as they might, so that they hurt diuers of the abbats adherents, and drove them out of the quier.

¶ In the end, complaint hereof was brought to the king, by whose iudgement the matter was so ordered, that Thurstan lost his roome, and returned vnto Caen in Normandie from whence he came, and the monkes were sped abroad into diuerse houses of religion through the realme, Glasseburie being replenished with more quiet persons, and such as were supposed readier to praye than to quarrell, as the other did: yet is it said, that in the time of William Rufus this Thurstan obtained the rule of that abbeye againe for six hundred pounds.

¶ There be which write, that the numbring of men and of places, the valuation of goods and substance, as well in cattell as readie monie, was not taken till about the xix. yeere of this kings reigne (although the subsidie afore mentioned was gathered about two yeares before of euerie hide of land as we haue heard) and that the certificat hereof being inrolled, was put into the kings treasure at Winchester, in the xix. yeare of his reigne, and not in the xvi. But in what yeare soeuer it was, and howsoeuer the writers agree or disagree herein; certaine it is, that the same was created, to the great greefe and impoverishment of the people, who soze lamented the miserable

Plow land.

Geruasius Tilberienfis. The true definition of a hide of land.

Sim. Dunel.

Copsi.

Gospatrike.

Robert Fitzbay earle of Northumberland.

The foundation of vniuersitie colledge in Oxford.

Anno Reg. 15.

1081

Anno Reg. 16.

1082

Ddo suspected and banished.

Anno Reg. 17.

1083

Anno Reg. 18.

1084

Wil. Malm.

Simon Dun.

Thurstan abbat of Glasseburie.

William of Fescampe.

Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

haue two

slaine & hurt.

Matt. Westm.

Sim. Dunel.

Hen. Marle.

Marth. Paris.

Hen. Marle.

Anno Reg. 19.

Simon Dun.

Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

The Conquerour seeketh to keepe the English men low.

Polydor.

The forrests seized into the kings hands.
Matth. Paris.

New forrest.

Matth. Paris.
An earth-quake.

Polydor.

Simon Dun.
1085

A rumoz spread of the coming of the Danes.

Anno 20.

1086
Matth. West.

1087

An oth taken to be true to the king.

Great sickness reigning.
Harren of ca. tell.
Matth. West.

nable estate wherinto they were brought, and hated the Normans in their hearts to the verie death. Howbeit, the more they grudged at such tolls, tallages, customs, and other impositions wherewith they were pressed; the more they were charged and oppressed. The Normans on the other side with their king perceiving the hatred which the English bare them, were sore offended, and therefore sought by all means to keepe them vnder. Such as were called to be iustices, were enemies to all iustice; wherupon greater burdens were laid vpon the English, insomuch that after they had bene robbed and spoiled of their gods, they were also debarred of their accustomed games and pastimes. For where naturallie (as they do vnto this daie) they took great pleasure in hunting of dere, both red and fallow, in the woods and forrests about without restraint, king William seizing the most part of the same forrests into his owne hands, appointed a punishment to be executed vpon all such offenders; namelie, to haue their eyes put out. And to bring the greater number of men in danger of those his penall lawes (a pestilent policie of a spitefull mind, and sauoring altogether of his French slauierie) he deuised means how to breed, nourish, and increase the multitude of dere, and also to make room for them in that part of the realme which lieth betwixt Salisburie and the sea southy ward: he pulled downe towne, villages, churches, & other buildings for the space of 30. miles, to make thereof a forrest, which at this daie is called New forrest. The people as then sore bewailed their distress, & greatlie lamented that they must thus leaue house & home to the vse of sauage beasts. Which crueltie, not onelie most all men liuing here on earth, but also the earth it selfe might seeme to detest, as by a wonderfull signification it seemed to declare, by the shaking and roaring of the same, which chanced about the 14. yeare of his reigne (as writers haue recorded.) There be that suppose how the king made that part of the realme waste and barren vpon a policie, to the intent that if his chance were to be expelled by ciuill wars, & he compelled to leaue the land, there should be no inhabitants in that part of the Ile to resist his arriual vpon his new returne.

But to go forth with our purpose. About the same time, a rumoz was spread in England that Sweine king of Denmarke meant to invade England with a puissant armie, hauing the assistance of the earle of Flanders, whose daughter he had married. Wherupon king William being then in Normandie, retained a great power of French souldiers, both archers and footmen, which together with his Normans he brought ouer into England in haruest season, & meaning to disburthen himselfe of the charge of their keeping, he caused their finding and wages to be borne by the lords and peers of the realme, by the shirfts of shires, and other officers. Howbeit, when he vnderstood that the Danes changed their purpose, and would not hold on their iourneie, he dismissed part of his power, and sent them home againe, keeping the residue all the winter with him in England, ready for his defense, if any rebellion or other necessitie should befall.

The same yeare, he kept his Christmasse at Glocestre, and made his sonne Henrie knight at Westminster in Whitsumweeke insuing. Shortly after, calling together aswell lords spirituall as temporall, he caused them all to sweare fealtie to him and his heires after him in the possession of this kingdom.

About this season, the people in all places were pitifullie plagued with burning feuers, which brought manie to their end: a murren also came to their cattell, whereof a wonderfull number died. At the same time (which is more maruellous) tame foules,

as hens, geese, & peacocks, forsaking their owners houses, fled to the woods and became wild. Great hurt was done in manie places of the realme by fire, and speciallie in London, where vpon the 7. daie of Julie a sudden flame began, which burnt Pauls church, and a great part of the citie downe to the verie ground.

How when king William had taken the oth of fealtie and loialtie of all his lords, Edgar theling, who was reconciled vnto his fauour (as you haue heard) obtaining licence of him to depart the realme for a season, sailed into Puglia with two hundred souldiers: of whose acts there and returne into England I spare to speake, because I find little or nothing of moment recorded. And now king William, who hauing brought the Englishmen to love and bare, that little more was to be got out of their hands, went once againe ouer into Normandie with an huge masse of mony, where some after he fell sicke, so that he was constrained to keepe his bed longer than he had bene accustomed to do, wherat Phillip the French king in iesting maner said, that king William his cousine laie now in childbed (alluding belike to his big bellie, for he was verie copulent) and withall added; Oh what a number of candels must I prouide to offer by at his going to church! certeinelie I thinke that 100000. will not suffice, &c. This frumping speech so muned the king, that he made this answer: Well, I trust when I shall be churched, that our counsine shall be at no such cost, but I will helpe to find him a thousand candels my selfe, and light them for, to some of their paines, if God grant me life. Which promise he bound with an oth, and in deed performed. For in Julie next insuing, when their corne, fruit, and grapes were most flourishing, and ready for the sickle, he entered France with a great armie, set fire on manie of their cities and towne in the westside of that countrie, & came at last to the citie of Gaunt, which he burnt with the church of our ladie, and an ankresse inclosed in the wall thereof as an holie closet, for the force of the fire was such as all went to wracke. In this heat king William took such a sicknesse (which was likewise aggrauated by the fall of an horse as he rode to and fro, because he was not able to trauell on foot about his palace by reason of his disease) that cost him his life: so that when he had ordeined his last will, and taken order for the state of things after his decease, he departed this life on the 9. day of September, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1087. and 74. (as Polydor saith) of his age, hauing gouerned Normandie about 51. yerres, and reigned ouer England 20. pearres, ten moneths, and 28. daies (as all writers do report.)

Not long before his death, he released his brother Ado bishop of Bayeux out of prison, Garchar earle of Northumberland, and Wilnotus the sonne of king Harold, or (as some say) his brother. Whereouer he repented him (as some say) when he lay on his deathbed of his cruell dealing with the English, considering that by them he had attained to such honour and dignitie, as to weare the crowne and scepter of a kingdom: but whether he did so or not, or that some monke deuised the excuse in fauour of the prince: surelie he was a puissant prince, and though his time was troublesome, yet he was right fortunate in all his attempts. Again, if a man shall consider that in a strange realme he could make such a conquest, and so easily and readilie assure the same to his heires, with new lawes, orders, and constitutions (which are like for euer to endure) he would thinke it a thing altogether void of credit. Yet so it was, & so honourable were his doings in the sight of the world, that those kings, which succeeded liethens his death, begin their account

Pauls church burnt.
Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd.
Simon Dun.

Anno Reg. 21.

Wil. Malm.
Matth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.
Ran. Higd.

The invadeth France.

Gemeticensis.
The citie of Gaunt burnt by W. William.
Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

King William departed this life.

Simon Dun.
Matth. West.
The list of his age hath W. Malm.
Polydor.

He set all prisoners at libertie faith W. Malm.
Polydor.

account at him, as from one that had by his prudence renewed the state of the realme, and instituted an other forme of regiment, in atchiuing whereof he did not so much pretend a rightfull challenge by the grant of his cosine king Edward the Confessor, as by the law of armes and plaine conquest, than the which (as he supposed) there could be no better title.

Whereupon also those that haue sithens succeeded him, vse the same armes as peculiar to the crowne of England, which he vsed in his time; namelye, three li. ns passant gold in a field getwels (as Polydor writeth) the three floure delices were since that time annexed thereto by Edward the third, by reason of his claime to the crowne of France, whereof hereafter ye shall heare. Among other greauances which the English sustained by the hard deling of the Conquerour, this is to be remembred, that he brought Iewes into this land from Rouen, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupie.

He bare but two lions or rather leopards as some thinke.

Polydor.

There be that write, how the inconstancie of the English people by their oft rebellions occasioned the king to be so rough and rigorous against them; whereas (of his naturall disposition and proper inclination) he was rather gentle and courteous than sharpe and cruell. But sith he continued his extremitie euen to his last daies, we may rather beleue, that although from his childhood he shewed some tokens of clemencie, bountie, and liberalitie; yet by following the wars, and practising to reigne with sternenesse, he became so inured therewith, that those peaceable vertues were quite altered in him, and in maner clearely quenched. He was indued with a certeine stoutnesse of courage and skill in feats of warre, which god hap euer followed: he was free from lecherous lusts, without suspicion of bodilie vices, quicke of wit, desirous of honoz, painefull, watchfull, and able to tolerate heat and cold, though he were tall of stature, and verie grosse of bodie.

Toward the end of his daies he swayed verie deuout, and became desirous to aduance the state of the church, in so much that he builded three abbeyes in three seuerall places, endowing them with faire lands and large possessions, one at the place where he banquished king Harold, five miles from Hastings, which he named Battell, of the field there fought: the other at Celby in Northfolke; and the third in Normandie at Caen, where his wife Quene Maud had builded a nunnerie, which Maud died in the yere 1084. before the decease of the king hir husband.

After his death, his bodie was buried in Caen, in S. Stephens church; but before it could be committed to the ground, the executors were constrained to agree with the lord of the soile where the church stood, which (as he said) the king in his life time had in furiouslie taken from him, and gaue him a great summe of monie to release his title.

They gaue him an hundred pound, saith Hen. Marle.

By this we may consider the great miserie of mans estate, in that so mightie a prince could not haue so much ground after his death as to couer his dead corpa, without doing iniurie to another. This also may be a speciall lesson for all men, and namelye for princes, noblemen, and gentlemen, who oftentimes to enlarge their owne commodities, do not regard what wrong they offer to the inferiour sort.

The said king William had by Maud his wife the daughter of Baldwin earle of Flandres, four children, Robert surnamed Curthose (unto whom he bequeathed the duchie of Normandie) Richard who died in his youth, William surnamed Rufus, to whom he gaue by testament the realme of England, and Henrie surnamed Beauclerk for his cunning, knowledge and learning, unto whom he bequeathed all his treasure and moueable goods, with the possessions that belonged to his mother. Besides these

Hen. Marle.

four sonnes, he had also by his said wife five daughters, Cecile, who became a nunne; Constance, who was married to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, who was giuen in mariage to Stephan earle of Blois (of whom that Stephan was borne which reigned after Henrie the first) Adella, who was promised in mariage to Harold king of England (as before you haue heard) but she died yer she was married either to him, or to any other, and so likewise did the 10 first, whose name I cannot rehearse.

But to conclude, though king William held the English so vnder foot, that in his daies almost no Englishman bare any office of honoz or rule in his time, yet he somewhat fauoured the cite of London, and at the earnest sute of William a Norman then bishop of that see, he granted vnto the citizens the first charter, which is written in the Saxon tong, sealed with greene wax, and expressed in viij. or ix. lines at the most, exemplified according to the copie, and so printed, as followeth.

John Rous.

Williem king grets Williem Bisceop & Godfred Porterefan, & ealle ya Burghware binner London Francise, & Englisefrendlice, & Ickiden coy, yeet ic wille yeet git ben ealra weera lagayweord, yeget weeran on Eadwerds daege kings. And ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfsuame, aefter his faders daege. And ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig man coy aenis wrang beode. God coy heald.

Wilhelmus rex saluat Willhelmum Episcopum, & Godfridum Portegrefum, & omnem Burghware infra London Frans. & Angl. amicaliter. Et vobis notum facio, quod ego volo quod vus sitis omni lege illa digni quas iustis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quod omnis puer sit patris sui heres post diem patris sui. Et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos saluet.

But howsoever he vsed the rest of the English, this is recozded of some writers, that by his rigorous proceedings against them, he brought to passe that the countrie was so rid of theues and robbers, as that at length a maid might haue passed through the land with a bag full of gold, and not haue met with any misdower to haue bereft hir of the same: a thing right strange to consider, sith in the beginning of his reigne there were such routs of outlawes and robbers, that the peaceable people could not be safely possessed of their owne houses, were the same neuer so well fortified and defended.

Manh. Paris.
Hen. Hunc.

Among manie lawes made by the said William, this one is to be remembred, that such as forced any woman, should lose their genitals.

John Rous.
Hen. Marle.

In this kings daies also liued Diamond the second bishop of Salisburie, who compiled the church seruire, which in times past they commonlie called after Salisburie vse.

Salisburie
vse.

The vse of the long bowe (as John Rous testifieth) came first into England with this king William the Conquerour: for the English (before that time) vsed to fight with axes and such hand weapons: and therefore in the oration made by the Conquerour before he gaue battell to king Harold, the better to encourage his men, he told them they should encounter with enemies that wanted shot.

Shooting.

In the yere of our Lord 1542. Monsieur de Castris bishop of Baiculs and abbat of Saint Eustienne in Caen, caused the sepulchre of this William to be opened, wherein his bodie was found whole, faire and perfect, of lims, large and big, of stature and personage, longer than the ordinarie sort of men: with a copper plate fairlie gilt, and this epitaph thereupon ingrauen:

Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Canonenses virtute contudit enses,
Imperijq. suis legibus applicuit.

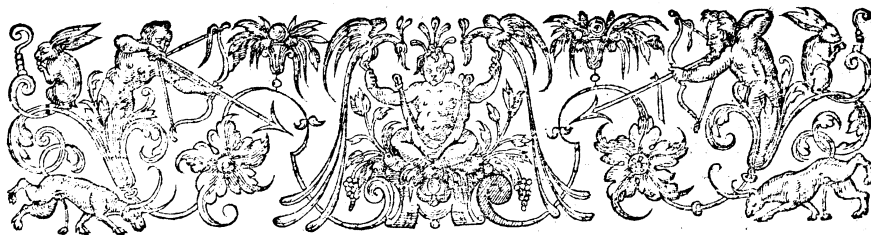
RE

*Rex magnus parua iacet hac Guilhelmus in urna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino,
Ter septem gradibus se voluerat atq; duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic olit: that is;
Who ouer Normans rough did rule,
and ouer Britons bold
Did conquest stoutlie win, and con-
quest woone did stronglie hold:
Who by his valure great the fa-
tall vprores calmd in maine,*

Thus far William Conquerour.

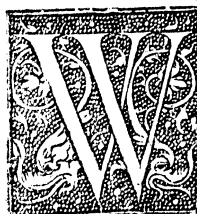
And to obeie his powers and lawes,
the Manceaux did constraine:
This mightie king within this lit-
tle vault intoomed lies,
So great a lord sometime, so small
a roome dooth now suffice.
When three times seuen and two by iust
degrees the sunne had tooke
His woonted course in Virgos lap,
then he the world forlooke.

W. Patten
collecteth this
to be the 23.
after the sun
was in Virgo:
which is the
6. of September



William Rufus or William the Red.

1087
Anno Reg.1.



Polydor.
Sim.Dunel.
Matth.Paris.

William, surnamed Rufus
or William the Red, second
sonne to William Conque-
rour, began his reigne ouer
England the ninth of Sep-
tember, in the yeare 1087.
about the 31. yeare of the em-
perour Henrie the fourth, and
the 37. of Philip the first,
king of France, Urbane the second then gover-
ning the see of Rome, and Malcolme Cammoir
reigning in Scotland. Immediatlie after his fa-
thers decesse, and before the solemnitie of the fune-
rals were executed, he came ouer into England
with no lesse speed than was possible, and following
the counsell of Lanfranke archbishop of Cantu-
burie (in whome he reposed all his trust) he sought to
win the fauour of the Peers and Nobilitie of the
realme by great and liberall gifts. For although
there were but few of the homeborne States that
bare rule in the land at this season; yet those that re-
mained, and whome his father in extreme sort had
wronged, he verie gentlie entertained, promising
them not onlie to continue their good lord and soue-
reigne, but also to make more fauourable ordinan-
ces than his father had left behind him; and further-
more to restore the former lawes and liberties of the
realme, which his said father had abolished. Thus by
faire words and policie he obtained his purpose.
Whobut some after he forgot himselfe, and impu-
ned Marchar and Wilnot, whom he had brought o-
uer with him from Normandie, being set at liber-
tie by his father.

Sim.Dunel.
Marchar and
Wilnot.

Lanfranke
had fauoured
him euen of a
child.
Matth.Paris.
William Ru-
fus was crow-
ned the 26. of
September.
Polydor.
His bound-
full munifi-
cence.

The Nobles at the first wished rather to haue had
the elder brother duke Robert to haue gouerned
them: whobut by the aide onlie of the said Lan-
franke, whose authoritie was of no small force a-
mongst all the lords of the land, this William (ac-
cording to his fathers assignation) was proclaimed
and crowned at Westminster on the 26. of Sep-
tember (being sabbath, the 6. halends of October)
and the 11. indiction, as the best writers do report.
After his coronation, to gratifie the people he went
to Winchester, where he found great treasure which
his father had laid by there for his owne vse; this he
freely spent in large gifts, and all kind of princelie

largesse. He set verie manie prisoners at libertie,
and did many other things to benefit the people, where-
in the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did
not a little preuaile. For he perceiued that there was
in the king a variable mind, an vnstable nature, and
a disposition to lightnesse and follie. Wherefore he
tooke oftentimes the more paines in perswading him
not onlie to liberalitie (which is none of the least
vertues in a prince) but also to vse a discret and or-
derlie behaviour in all his doings. Moreover, he
sticked not to put him in feare of an euill end, and
troublesome regiment likelie to insue, if he did giue
himselfe to vice and wilfulnesse, and neglect the charge
thus by the prouidence of GOD committed to his
hands. After this maner did the said prelat trainell
with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it
were hearkening to his admonitions, and set forth
by the waie that his brother Robert did, whilst
William Rufus his brother was occupied in such
wise as you haue heard.

It happened that this Robert was abroad in Ger-
manie, when king William his father died (whether
he went to raise a power to the intent he might there
by obtaine the possession of Normandie, which he
trusted to enioy in his fathers life time) where hea-
ring newes of his death, he hasted straightwaies to
Normandie, and there being lawfully received,
was peaceably proclaimed duke of that countie,
with great gladnesse and shouting of the people.

After this, considering with himselfe how dis-
honorable a thing it was for him, that his younger bro-
ther should possesse the crowne of England, which of
right (as he said) belonged vnto him, by reason of
his age; he determined with all expedition to passe
the seas with an armie, and recouer that into his
hands, which his father had given from him: partly
(as it is thought) for his wilfulnesse and disobedience
towards him, and partly also because he doubted that
if he should leaue it vnto him, he would through his
too much gentlenesse and facilitie, giue occasion to
the English to resume strength, and thereby to reuolt.
Wherefore he iudged his younger brother the fittest
William (a man of a rougher nature) the master of
the swaine for the gouernment.

As duke Robert was thus moued by his owne
desire to bereue his brother of the dominion of Eng-
land,

William Rufus
was crowned
the 26. of
September.

1088

William Rufus

then
h this
e 23.
e sun
Virgo:
s the
epheber

Ado the bi-
shop of Bai-
eux conspireth
against his
nephew Wil-
liam Rufus.

The castell of
Rochester.

Simon Dun.
Wil. Malm.
The bishop of
Constance tak-
eth the towne
of Bath.

Hugh Grand-
meill.
Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Mal.
The earle of
Shrewsburie

Worcester
assailed.

Bishop wol-
stan.

land, so he was not a little incensed therunto by such
of the English Nobilitie and Normans, as came
dailie ouer vnto him out of the realme, complaining
of the present state of the world, as those that misli-
ked of the whole manner of regiment vied in the be-
ginning of the reigne of his brother William. His
uncle Ado also (then bishop of Baiour) furthered
the matter all that he might. This Ado was at first
in great estimation with his brother the Conqueror,
and bare great rule vnder him, till at length for en-
uie before him, he conspired against him, who vnder-
standing thereof, committed him forthwith to pri-
son, where he remained, till the said prince then lieng
on his death-bed, released and restored him to his for-
mer libertie. When the king was dead, William
Rufus took him backe into England, supposing no
lesse but to haue had a speciall friend and a trustie
counsellor of him in all his affaires. But per long
after his comming thither, he fell againe into the
same offense of ingratitude, wherof he became culp-
able in the Conquerors daies: for perceiuing that
Lanfranke was so highlie esteemed with the king,
that he could beare no rule, and partlie suspecting
that Lanfranke had bene chiefe causer of his former
imprisonment, he conspired with the rest against his
nephew, and thereupon wrote sundrie letters ouer
vnto duke Robert, counselling him to come ouer
with an armie in all hast, to take the rule vpon him,
which by his practise should easilie be compassed.

Duke Robert being thus animated on all sides,
and yet wanting sufficient monie to the furniture of
this iourne, engaged a portion of his duchie of Nor-
mandie, as the countie of Constantine to his you-
gest brother Henrie, for a great sum of gold, and ther-
with returned answer to the foresaid bishop, that he
should prouide and loke for him vpon the south coast
of England, at a certeine time appointed. Wherevpon
Ado fortified the castell of Rochester, & began to
make soe wars against the kings friends in Kent:
he procured others of the complices also to do the like
in other parts of the realme; and first on the west
part of England, where Geoffrey bishop of Consans
with his nephew Robert de Bolebay earle of Nor-
thumberland setting forth from Bristow, came to-
ward Bath, which towne they took and sacked, and
likewise Berkeley, with a great part of Wiltshire,
and brought the spoile and booties backe to Bristow,
where they had a castell stronglie fortified for their
more safetie. In like maner Roger de Wygod, de-
parting from Norwich, with great forraies ouer-
rode and robbed all the countries about, and conuei-
ed such riches as he had gotten into the said citie. In
like sort did Hugh de Grandmeill at Leiceister,
spoiling and waiking all the countries about him.

The earle of Shrewsburie called Roger de Mount-
gomerie, with a power of Welshmen set forth from
Shrewsburie, and with him were William bishop
of Durham the kings household chapline, Barnard
of Herebergh, Roger Lacie, and Rafe Postimer,
(all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their po-
wers together, inuaded the countie, and with fire
and sword did much hurt where they came, killing
and taking a great number of people. Afterwards
comming to Worcester, they assaulted the citie, o-
uerran the suburbs, & set the same on fire. But the ci-
tizens shutting fast the gates of their citie (though
with the sudden comming of the enemies they were
somewhat afraid) made valiant resistance: and con-
ueieng their goods, their wiues, and their chylzen in-
to the castell, got them to the walles and places of
defense, to repell & beat backe the enemies. Among
them in the towne was bishop Wolstan, whom the
citizens would haue compelled to go into the castell

for his siter safeguard, but he refused it.

At length it happened that the enemies (continuing
the said siege began to war negligent, and ranged
abroad in the countie, little regarding watch and
ward about their campe; whereupon the English
within the citie took this opportunity, being moued
thereto with the comfortable exhortation of bishop
Wolstan, and sailing forth of the towne did set on
their enemies with great fiercenes, whome they got
at such aduantage, that they slew and took that daie
about five hundred men (as Henrie of Huntingdon re-
cordeth.) For the English bearing a continuall ma-
lice in their hearts against the French and Nor-
mans, did now their best to be fullie reuenged of
them, vpon so conuenient an occasion offered. Those
that escaped by flight, hid themselves in the next
townes, making such shifts for their liues as the pre-
sent necessitie could minister.

Whilste the realme was thus troubled on eche side,
archbishop Lanfranke sendeth, writeth, and admoni-
sheth all the kings friends to make themselves rea-
die to defend their prince. And after he vnderstood
that they were assembled together for that purpose,
he counselleth the king to march into the field with
them speedilie, to repress his enemies. The king fol-
lowing his counsell, first appointed his nauie to
scowze and keepe the seas, and to withstand (if it were
possible) the arrivall of his brother by faire words. Al-
so he reconciled Roger de Mountgomerie earle of
Shrewsburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large
promises to the English, that he would out of hand
giue and restore vnto them such sauourable lawes as
they would wish or desire. Whereouer he commanded
all vnjust imposts, tolles and tallages to be laid
downe, and granted free hunting in the woods, cha-
ses and forrests. All which grants and promises he
kept not long, though for the time he greatlie conten-
ted the people with such a shew of god meaning to-
wards them. This done, he goeth with a mightie ar-
mie into Kent, where the sedition began, and first
comming to the castell of Tunbridge, he compelled
capteine Gilbert to yeld by the fortreffe into his
hands. Then went he to Horne castell, where he heard
saie Ado was (but the report was vntrue, for he had
betaken himselfe to the castell of Herefey) which when
he had ouerthrowne, he hasteth forth vnto Herefey,
and besieged the castell there a long season, which the
bishop had stronglie fortified.

During this time, and about the fiftieth daie after
the beginning of the siege, word was brought to the
king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at
Southampton, and minded with all possible speed to
come to the succour of the bishop, and of other his
friends, whom he and his power had not a little af-
flicted. ¶ Here authors varie: for some report that
duke Robert came not ouer himselfe at the first at
all, but sent a part of his armie, with a certeine num-
ber of ships, which encountering with the kings fleet,
were discomfited. Others write that duke Robert
hearing of the losse of his men, came after himselfe,
and landed with a mightie armie as before, which is
most likelie. And certeinlie (as Gemeticen, affir-
meth) he might easilie as then haue recovered Eng-
land from his brother, if he had not linged the time,
considering that Eustace earle of Bullongne, Ado
bishop of Baiour, and the earle of Herefey, with
other lords of Normandie that were passed to Eng-
land, had already taken Rochester, and diuers other
castels in the prouince of Canturburie, keeping the
same a certeine time, still looking that he should haue
come ouer to their aid, which he deferred to do, till
they were constrained by siege and lacke of necessa-
rie succor to returne into Normandie, leauing those
places which they had won vnto the king, and that to
their

They slew five
hundred, and
chased the re-
stidue as saith
Simon Dunel.

The diligence
of the archbi-
shop Lan-
franke.

The great
crueltie shew-
ed to the Eng-
lishmen by
wil. Rufus.
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.

H. Hunt.
Simon Dun

Gemeticensis.
Eustace earle
of Bullongne.

Simon Dun.

Rochester be-
sieged by the
king.
Anno Reg. 1.
Polydor.
1089

The bishop of
Durham exiled.

Lanfranke
archbishop of
Canturburie
departeth this
life.

Marth. Westm.
Paule abbat
of S. Albons.

Eadmerus.

their great dishonour. But howsoever it was, the king still continued the siege before Hemsey castle, till Wdo (though want of victuals) was glad to submit himselfe, and promised to cause the castle of Rochester to be deliuered: but at his coming thither, they within the citie suffered him to enter, and straightwaies laid him fast in prison. Some iudge that it was done vnder a colour by his owne consent.

There were in Rochester a sort of valiant gentlemen (the flower in manner of all Normandie) with Eustace earle of Bologne, and many gentlemen of Flanders, which were in mind to defend the place against the king: who hearing that was done, came with his armie and besieged the citie of Rochester on each side so sharpelie, that they within were glad to deliuer it vp into his hands. Thus lost bishop Wdo all his linings and dignities in England, and so returned into Normandie, where vnder duke Robert he had the chiefe gouernement of the countrie committed vnto him.

After this he ouercame diuers of his enemies some by faire and some by fowle meanes. For withstanding this, there yet remained the bishop of Durham, one of the chiefe conspirators, who withdrew himselfe into the citie of Durham, there to lie in safetie, till he saw how the world would go: but being therein besieged by the king, who came thither personallie, he was at length forced to surrender the citie, and yeld himselfe: whereupon also he was exiled the Land, with diuerse of his complices. But with in two yeares after, he was called home againe, and restored to his church, wherein he liued not long, but died for sorrow, because he could not cleare himselfe of offence in the said rebellion, albeit that he laboured most earnestlie so to do, that he might thereby haue attained to the kings fauour againe.

Whilost these things were thus in hand, the archbishop Lanfranke fell sick and died, in the 19. yeare after his first entring into the gouernment of the see of Canturburie. This Lanfranke (as should seme) was a wise, politike, and learned prelate, who whilst he liued, mollified the furious and cruell nature of king William Rufus, instructing him to forebare such wild and outrageous behauiours as his youthfullnesse was inclined vnto: and moreover perswaded the English to obey the same king as their loiall prince, whereby they should occasion him to be their good lord and king, not vnting them rigorouse as his father had done. So that Lanfranke could not well haue bene spared in the time of the rebellion, without great danger of subverting the state of the commonwealth. He builded two hospitals without the citie of Canturburie, for the releefe of poore people and strangers, the one of S. John, the other at Harbaldowne. He aduanced the church of Rochester from foure secular clerkes, to the number of fiftie monkes: he repaired Christs church in Canturburie, and the abbey of S. Albons, wherof he made one Paule that was his nephew abbat, which Paule gouerned that house by his vncles assistance greatlie to the aduancement thereof, as well in temporall as spirituall preferments, as it was then iudged. Likewise the said Lanfranke was verie fortunate in the gouernement of his church and see of Canturburie, recouering sundrie portions of lands and rents alienated from the same before his daies, insomuch that he restored to that see 25. manors. For amongst other, whereas Wdo the Bishop of Baiour, who also was Earle of Kent, bearing great rule in England vnder his nephew king William the Conquerour, had blurred diuerse possessions which belonged to the see of Canturburie, and had seized the franchises appertaining to the same Lanfranke, into his owne hands, by fute and earnest trauell he recovered the

same, and being impleaded about that matter by the said Wdo, he so defended his cause, that in the end (though with much cost) he had his will, and so remained in quiet possession of his right after that so long as he liued, without any trouble or vexation concerning the said possessions and liberties.

Whereas also not onlie Walkhem the bishop of Winchester, but diuerse other bishops in England were in mind to haue displaced monkes out of their cathedrall churches, and to haue brought canons into their rooues, Lanfranke withstood them, and would tolerate no such dislocation: an act at that time so well liked, that he was highlie commended for the same. After Lanfrankes death, the king began greatlie to forget himselfe in all his dealings, in somuch that he kept many concubines, and behaved verie cruell and inconstant in all his doings, so that he became an heauie burthen vnto his people. For he was so much addicted to gather goods, that he considered not that pertained to the maiestie of a king, insomuch that nothing tending to his gaine, and the satiffing of his appetite, was esteemed of him vnlawfull, sith he measured all things by the vntrolled rule of his roialtie, and considered nothing what so high an office required. He kept the see of Canturburie foure yeares in his hands, to see who would giue most for it, in the meane time taking the profits thereof, and making the vttermost of the same that by any meanes could be deuised.

The like he used when other benefices and abbeies were vacant, and furthermore that little which the prince spared, his officers and farmers, no lesse covetous than he, conuerted to their aduantage: so that what by the king, and what by his procurators, the church of England was now sore charged and decreed of hir wealth. Diuerse of hir prelates in like manner were not a little offended, to see their mother so spoiled of hir treasure and liuelihod, insomuch that they practised a redresse: and to begin withall, complained of the king to pope Urban: but he was so busied with other troubles of his owne nearer home, that he could haue no time to seeke meanes how to redresse enormities a far off, whereby the lands and goods belonging to the church here in England were still wastfullie spent and consumed by the king and others, to whom he gaue or let them forth to farne at his owne pleasure, and to his most commoditie.

But albeit the prince was of such a disposition by nature, yet there is one thing written of him which ought not to be forgotten, to admonish vs that there is no man of so euill an affection, but that sometime he dealeth uprightlie, though it be by hap or other extraordinary motion. It chanced that an abbeie was void of an abbat, wherein were two monkes verie couetous persons about the rest, and such as by scraping and gathering together, were become verie rich, for such (saith Polydor) in those daies mounted to preferment. These two appointed to go together to the court, each hoping at their coming thither to find some meanes that he might be made abbat of that house. Being thus agreed, to the court they come, and there offer verie largelie to the king to obtaine their sute: who perceiuing their greedie desires, and casting his eyes about the chamber, espied by chance an other monke (that came to beare them companie, being a more sober man, and simple after his outward appearance) whom he called vnto him, and asked what he would giue him to be made abbat of the foresaid abbeie. The monke after a little pause, made answer, that he would giue nothing at all for any such purpose, since he entred into that profession of mere zeale to despise riches & all worldlie pompe, to the end he might the more quietlie serue God in helinesse & puritie of conversation. Saist thou so, quoth

Lanfranke
praised for
holding with
the monkes.

The king ge-
uen to sensual
lust and coue-
tousnesse.

Marth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.
Marth. Paris.

quothe king, then art thou even he that art wor-
thie to gouerne this houle: and freightwaite he be-
stowed the houle vpon him, iustlie refusing the other
two, to their open infamie and reproch.

Matt. Paris.
Anno Reg. 3.
1090

Simon Dun.
warres be-
tweene the king
and his bro-
ther Robert.

Anno Reg. 4.
1001
Gemeintenis.
The peace con-
cluded.
Simon Dun.
Meth. West.
Matt. Paris.

Gemeintenis.

Sim. Duncl.

But to returne to our historie. After the expuls-
ion of the bishop of Durham, and other of his adhe-
rents, the king passed ouer into Normandie, purpo-
sing to depriue his brother of that dukedome, and be-
ing arrived there, he besieged and toke S. Valerie,
Albemarle, and diuerse other townes and castels,
wherin he placed a number of his best souldiers, the
better to mainteine warre against his foresaid bro-
ther. Hereupon also the said Robert sent vnto the
French king for aid, who came downe at his request
with a noble armie, and besieged one of those castels
which king William had latelie wone; howbeit by
such meanes as king William made, in sending to
the French king an huge summe of monie, he raised
his siege shortly & returned home againe. At length
a peace was concluded betwixt king William and
the duke his brother, but yet verie dishonorable to
the said Robert: for it was accorded, that king Wil-
liam should retaine & still intop the countie of Cwe,
with Jescampe, the abbacie of mount S. Michell,
Egreshurg, and all those other places which he had
wone & gotten out of his hands in this his late voi-
age. On the other side it was agreed, that king Wil-
liam should aid the duke to recouer all other places
beyond the seas, which belonged to their father. Also,
that such Normans as had lost anie of their lands
& livings in England, for taking part with the duke
in the late rebellion, should be restored to the same.
And furthermore, that whether soeuer of both should
die first, the suruiuer should be his heire, and succeed
in his dominions.

This peace was concluded at Caen, and that by
procurement of the French king, at what time king
William was verie strong in the field neare vnto
Cwe. After which conclusion, they united their
powers, and besieged their yongest brother Henrie
in the castell of mount S. Michell, which (being situat
in the confines of Normandie and Britaine) he had
stronglie fortified not long before for feare of after-
claps. But when they had lien about it by the space of
all the Lent season, and had made manie bickerings
with his men, more to their losse than lucre, they rais-
ed their siege, and voluntarilie departed. Not long
after this, king William depriued Edgar Etheling
of his honor, which duke Robert had assigned vnto
him, banishing him out of Normandie for euer.

Shortly after also the aforesaid Henrie was a
strong towne called Damisfont, and furnishing it at
all points, he kept the same in his possession as long
as he liued, mauer both his brethren. Thus the war
waxed hot betwene those three, howbeit suddenlie (I
wot not vpon what occasion) this Henrie was recon-
ciled with king William and his brother Robert, so
that all debates being quieted on euerie side, they
were made friends and wellwillers. King William
also returned into England, hauing his brother Ro-
bert in his companie, all men reioicing at their paci-
fication and amitie, which happened in the yeare 1091,
and fourth of the reigne of the king.

Toward the end whereof, and vpon the fift daie
of October, a marvellous soze tempest fell in sundrie
parts of England, but especiallie in the towne of
Winchcombe, where (by force of thunder and light-
ning) a part of the steeple of the church was throwne
downe, and the crucifix with the image of Marie
standing vnder the rod-lost, was likewise ouer-
throwne, broken, and shattered in peces; then fol-
lowed a foule, a noisome, and a most horrible stinke
in the church. On the 17. daie of the same moneth
much harme was done in London with an outragi-

ous wind, the violence whereof ouerturned and rent
in peces aboue five hundred houses, at which time
and tempest the roose of S. Marie botue church in
cheape was also ouerthrowne, wherewith two men
were slaine. Moreover, at Salisbury much hurt
was done with the like wind and thunder, for the top
of the steeple and manie buildings besides were soze
shaken and cast downe. But now we will speake
somewhat of the doings of Scotland, as occasion
moneth. Whilse (as yee haue heard) variance depen-
ded betwene king William and his brother duke
Robert, the Scottish king Malcolme made soze wars
vpon the inhabitants of Northumberland, carrying
great booties and preies out of that countie, which
he invaded euen to Chester in the street. Wherefore
king William, sone after his returne, gathered his
power together, and sped him northwards. But king
Malcolme hearing of his puissance & great strength
sent to him for peace, which was granted in the end.

Some writers affirme, that king William prepa-
red a great armie both by sea and land against Mal-
colme; and that his nauie being abroad on the seas,
was lost by tempest, and the most part of his ships
drowned; that the armie by land entring into Scot-
land, suffered manie damages through want of vi-
tels, and so recoiled: finallie, that duke Robert lieng
on the borders with an armie in his brothers name
(wherby it should appeare that the king himselfe was
not there) by the helpe and furtherance of Edgar E-
theling, who then serued him, Malcolme in his wars,
concluded a peace betwixt his brother and the said
Malcolme, vpon certeine articles, by vertue wherof
certeine places in Northumberland were restored
vnto Malcolme, which he had held in William Con-
querours daies. Some other write in like manner,
that king Malcolme did homage to king William
and duke Robert that brought the said Edgar Eth-
eling into the fauour of the king.

Howsoeuer the truth of the storie doth stand in
this behalfe, certeine it is, that the king returned out
of Northumberland into the west parts of the
realme, reteining still with him duke Robert, who
looked daillie when he should performe such coue-
nants as were concluded vpon betwixt them in
their late reconciliation. But when he saw that the
king meant nothing lesse than to stand to those arti-
cles, and how he did onlie protract and delaye the time
for some other secret purpose, he returned into Nor-
mandie in great displeasure, and toke with him the
said Edgar Etheling, of whom he alwaies made ve-
rie great account. Sone after king William re-
turned into the north parts, and (as it chanced) he
staied a few daies about Carleil, where being deli-
ted with the situation of the towne (which had bene
destroyed by the Danes two hundred yeares before)
he set workemen to repaire the same (meaning to
use it in stead of a bulwourke against the Scots on
those west borders) which when he had sensed with
walles, and builded a castell in the most conuenient
place thereof, he caused churches and houses to be e-
rected for the benefit of such people as he had deter-
mined to bring vnto the same. This being done, he
placed a colonie of southren men there with their
wives and childzen, and gaue large priuileges vnto
the towne, which they intop at this daie.

¶ Here haue I thought good to aduertise you of an
error in Matth. West. crept in either through mispla-
cing the matter by means of some exemplifier, either
else by the authors mistaking his account of yeares,
as 1072. for 1092. referring the repairing of Carleil
vnto William Conquerour, at what time he made
a iournie against the Scots in the said yeare 1072.
And yet not thus contented; to betwraie the error
more manifestlie, he affirmeth, that the king exchan-
C. y. gco

A mightie
wind.

Anno Reg. 5.
1092

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

Wil. Malm.
Sim. Dun.

The repair-
ing and new
peopling of
Carleil.

Matth. West.

ged the earledome of Chester with Rafe or Kanulfe de Spicenis, *alias* Spelchines, for the earledome of Carleil, which the said Spelchines held before, and had begunne there to build and fortifie that towne: whereas it is certeine that Kanulfe de Spelchines came to enioy the earledome of Chester by way of inheritance, as after shall appeare. For better p^{ro}ofe whereof ye shall understand, that we find by ancient records, how one Hugh Lou or Lupus enioied the earledome of Chester all the daies of the Conqueror, and long after, which Hugh was sonne to Richard earle of Auranges and the countesse Emma daughter of a noble man in Normandie named Herlowin, who married Arlet the daughter of a burgeisse in Ffalois, and mother to William Conquerour. So that the said Hugh, being sisters sonne to the Conqueror, received by gift at his hands the earldome of Chester, to hold of him as frælie by right of the sword, as he held the realme of England in title of his crowne. For these be the words: *Tenendum sibi & heredibus ita libere ad gladium sicut ipse (Rex) totam tenebat Angliam ad coronam.*

Fourte barons, Pigell or Deale, Piers Walbank, Cusface whose surname we find not. Warren Arerton.

The Ladies.

John Bohun.

Anno Reg. 6.

1093

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Matth Paris. The king being sicke promised amendment of life. Polydor. Eadmerus.

Anselme elected archbishop of Cantuarburie.

Earle Hugh then established in possession of this earledome, with most large privileges and freedoms, for the better gouernement thereof, ordeined vnder him foure barons; namely, his cousine Pigell or Deale baron of Halton, sir Piers Walbank baron of Mauntwich, sir Cusface, baron of Habowasse, and sir Warren Arerton baron of Shipbrooke. Pigell held his baronie of Halton by seruite, to lead the Mauntgard of the earles armie when he should make any iourne into Wales; so as he should be the foremost in marching into the enemies countrie, and the last in coming backe: he was also constable and marshall of Chester. From this Pigell or Deale, the Ladies that were earles of Lincolne had their originall. When earle Hugh had gouerned the earledome of Chester the terme of 40. yeares, he departed this life, in the yeare 1107. He had issue by his wife Armetrida, Richard the second earle of Chester after the conquest; Robert, abbat of Saint Edmundsburie; and Otnell, tutor to the children of king Henrie the first. Moreover, the said earle Hugh had a sister named Margaret, that was married to John Bohun, who had issue by hir, Kanulfe Bohun, otherwile called Spelchines, which Kanulfe by that meanes came to enioy the earledome of Chester in right of his mother (after that earle Richard was drowned in the sea) and not by exchange for the earledome of Carleil, as by this which we haue already recited may sufficientlie be p^{ro}oued.

Now to returne where we left. After that king William Rufus had giuen order for the building, fortifying, and peopling of Carleil, he returned southwards, and came to Gloucester, where he fell into a greuous and dangerous sicknesse; so that he was in despaire and doubt of his life: wherefore he repented him of his former misdeeds, and promised (if he escaped that dangerous sicknesse) to amend and become a new man. But when he had his health, that promise was quicklie broken, for his doings which were so bad and wicked before his sicknesse, being compared with those which followed after his recovery, might haue bene reputed good and sufferable.

Moreover, whereas he retained and kept in his hands the bishopricke of Cantuarburie the space of foure yeares, he now bestowed it upon Anselme, who was before abbat of Becchellouin in Normandie; and for certeine abbets which he had held long time in his possession, he ordeined abbats: by meane whereof all men (but especiallie the spiritualtie) began to conceiue a verie good opinion of him. The yere where in Anselme was thus elected, was from the birth of our Sauour 1093. on the first of March, being the

first sundate in Lent (as Eadmerus recordeth.) Furthermore he gaue the see of Lincolne (being void by the death of bishop Remigius) to his counsellour Robert Bluet; but afterward repenting himselfe of such liberalitie, in that he had not kept it longer in his hands towards the enriching of his coffers, he deuised a shift how to wipe the bishops nose of some of his gold, which he performed after this maner. He caused the bishop to be sued, quarelinglie charging him that he had wrongfullie vsurped certeine possessions, together with the citie of Lincolne, which appertained to the see of Yorke. Which although it was but a forged cauillation, and a shamefull vntruth; yet could not the bishop be deliuered out of that trouble, till he had paid to the king five thousand pounds. And as he dealt with the spiritualtie, so he caused diuerse of the nobilitie to be put to greuous fines, for transgressing of his lawes, though the fault were neuer so little. He also caused the archbishop Anselme to paie him a great summe of monie, vnder colour of a contribution which was due in Lanfrankes daies, though it was certeinlie knowne that Lanfranke had paid it. Thus grew king William from time to time more sharpe and rigorous to his subiects, so that whosoener came within the danger of the lawes, was sure to be condemned; and such as would plaie the promoters and giue informations against any man for transgressing the lawes, were highlie rewarded.

In this first yere there chanced such an excessive raine, and such high floods, the riuers overflowing the low grounds that lay nere vnto them, as the like had not bene seene of many yeares before; and afterwards insued a sudden frost, whereby the great streames were congeled in such sort, that at their dissoluing or thawing, manie bridges both of wood and stone were bozne downe, and diuerse water-milles rent vp and caried awaie.

Furthermore, king William perceiuing that by his cruell and conetous gouernment, sundrie of his subiects did daillie steale out of the realme, to liue in forreine countries, he published a proclamation, charging that no man should depart the realme without his licence and safe-conduct. Hereof it is thought, that the custome rose of forbidding passage out of the realme, which oftentimes is vsed as a law, when occasion serueth. Some after, he went against the Welshmen, whom he vanquished in battell nere to Brecknocke, and slue Kees their king, who had done much hurt within the English borders, when he was their incamped. This Kise or Kees was the last king that reigned over the Welshmen, as authors affirme: for afterwards, though they oftentimes rebelled, yet the kings of England were reputed and taken as supreme gouernors of that part of the Island. Moreover, to haue the countrie the better in quiet, he did cut downe their woods, and builded manie castles and piles in places conuenient, by meanes whereof they were somewhat tamed, and trained in due time to obedience, though not at the first, nor in the daies of sundrie of his successors.

Having thus finished his iourne into Wales, Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Gloucester to see the king, and to common with him of sundrie matters touching the peace betwixt both the realms, as he returned homewards: but because king William disdained to enterteine him in such pompous maner as he expected and made account of; and forsomuch as he did not at the verie first admit him to his p^{re}sence, the said Malcolme returned into Scotland in great displeasure, and immediatlie raising a power, entred into England, destroing the country vnto Alnetwike castell, where he was so enuironed with an ambushment laid by Robert earle of Northum,

Eadmerus. Matth. Paris. Polydor. Robert Win. et L. Chanc. elector elected bishop of Lincolne.

Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.

A proclamation that none should depart the realme.

Ran. Higd. Kees king of Wales slaine.

Wil. Thorne.

Malcolme king of Scots cometh to Gloucester. Wil. Malm. Polydor.

R. Malcolme inuadeth England.

Simon Dun.

thumberland, that he and his eldest sonne Edward were slaine. At which mishap his whole host being utterly discomfited, fled out of the field, with the losse of manie, whereof some were slaine, and some taken by pursute. Thus came king Malcolme to his end, (by the iust prouidence of God) in that prouince which he had waisted and spoiled at fure scuerall times, as first in the daies of king Edward, when earle Godscot was gone to Rome; the second time, in the daies of William Conquerour, when he spoiled Cleueland; thirdlie, in the same Conquerours daies, whilst bishop Walkher possessed the see of Durham, at that time all the countrie was spoiled and forraied, euen to the riuer of Tyne; fourthlie, about the fourth or fift yeare of the reigne of this William Rufus, at which time he entered the land as farre as Chester in the street, whilst king William was in Normandie; the fift time was now, when he lost his life on saint Bices day, by the hands of a verie valiant knight named Morkell. King Malcolme being thus surprised by death, his bodie was buried at Tinnmouth (as in the Scotch histories more plainlie appeareth) where also ye may find, how the sonnes of king Malcolme were aided by king William Rufus to obtaine the crowne of Scotland, whereunto they were interested; whereas otherwise by the force and practise of their vnkle Donald they had bene kept from the scepter and crowne of the kingdome.

Ran. Higd.
Anno Reg. 7.

1094

Ran. Higd.
Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.
Death & murder
of cattell.
Strange
wonders.
Math. Paris.
Polydor.

Simon Dun.

This yeare England and Normandie were sore vexed with mortalitie both of men and beasts, insomuch that tillage of the ground was laid aside in manie places, by reason whereof there folowed great dearth & famine. Manie grislie and hideous sights were seene also in England, as hosts of men fighting in the aire, flashes of fier, stars falling from heauen, and such like strange wonders. About this time new occasions of breach of amitie grew betwixt the king and his brother Robert, who accused him of perurie, for not obseruing the articles of the last peace concluded betwixt them: wherefore he purposed to saile ouer into Normandie, and so came vnto Hastings, about the first of Februarie, where he sojourned for a time, and caused the church of Battell abbeie to be dedicated in the honour of S. Martin. He depriued Herbert bishop of Hereford of his bishopps staffe, because he meant to haue stolne atwaie secretlie to Rome, and there to haue purchased absolution of pope Urban for his bishopprike, which he had bought of the king for himselfe; and likewise for the abbacie of Winchester, which he had purchased for his father, paying for them both a thousand pounds.

King William
passeth ouer
into Normandie.Wars betwixt
the king and
his brother.

Math. West.

After this, about midlent he passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, purposing to trie the matter with his brother in plaine battell, that thereby he might rather grow to some certeine point of losse or lucre, than to stand euer vpon vncertainties, whether to haue peace or war, that he must be constrained to be at all times in a readinesse to defend himselfe. But after he was come into Normandie, & had forraied part of the countrie once or twice, he fell to a parle with his brother duke Robert, & in the end descended to put the matter in compromise to the arbitrement of certeine graue persons, whose iudgement the king reiected, because they gaue not sentence on his side. Whereupon both parts prepared for war afresh, insomuch that the king perceiving how his brother was aided by the French king, and that his power was too weak to withstand them both, he sent his commission into England for the leuelling of 20. thousand men, commanding that they should be sent ouer vnto him into Normandie by a daie, which was diligentlie performed. But as they were come togither about Hastings, readie to enter a shipbords, immediatlie commeth the kings lieutenant with a

countermand, and signifieth to them, that the king minding to fauour and spare them for that iourne, would that euerie of them should giue him 10. shillings (as Math. Paris hath, or 20. shillings as others haue) towards the charges of the war, and thereupon depart home with a sufficient safeconduct; which the most part were better content to do, than to commit themselves to the fortune of the sea, and bloudie successe of the wars in Normandie. In deed king William changing his mind, was now determined to end the matter with monie, and not with the sword, as it afterward appeared: for by bribing of king Philip, in whose duke Robert had reposed his whole trust, he concluded peace vpon such articles and conditions as he himselfe required.

Having dispatched his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England, where he happened to meet with new and more dangerous wars: for the Welshmen hearing of the variance betwixt the brethren, after their accustomed maner begin to inuade the English marches, taking booties of cattell, destroying the countries, killing and spoiling many of the kings subiects, both English and Normans. After this (waring proud of their good successe) they besieged the castell of Mountgomerie, where though the garison made stout resistance for a time, yet in the end the enimie finding shift to ouerthrow the walles, entered perforce, and slue all that they found within. Wherewith though king William was offended when he heard of it, yet could he not remedie the matter as then, being troubled with a conspiracie newlie kindled against him by Robert earle of Northumberland, who vpon displeasure conceiued against him (because he was not rewarded nor thanked at his hands for his good seruice shewed in the killing of Malcolme king of Scotland) refused to come vnto him being sent for by letters, and herewith began to practise with certeine other noble men of that countrie, how to depose king William. But yer he could bring anie peece of his purpose to passe, the king hauing aduertisement of his attempts, first appointed his brother the lord Henrie to go thither with an armie, and forthwith soloweth himselfe; and comming to Petercastell, where the most part of his complices were assembled, he surprised them yer they could haue time to prouide for their safetie. That done, he went to Tinnmouth, and in the castell took the earles brother there, and after came to Banbourgh castell, which the said earle with his wife and children did hold for their better safegard and defense.

Some authors write, that when the king perceived it would be hard for him to win Banbourgh castell (by reason of the great strength thereof) without famine, he builded vp an other castell or bastilion fast by it, calling the same Maluoisin, wherein he placed a great power of men, by whose meanes at length the earle was so narrowlie driuen, that when he sought to haue escaped by night, he was espied, and therewith pursued so closelie by the kings souldiers, that he was forced to take sanctuarie within the church of S. Dunwines at Tinnmouth, from whence he was quicklie taken, and brought as prisoner to the kings presence. Notwithstanding, those that remained within the castell, vpon trust of the strength of that place, would not yeld by anie meanes; but stood still to their tackling: whereupon the king caused the earle their master to be brought forth before the gates, and threatned that he should haue his eyes put out, if they within did not straightwaies giue vp the hold into his hands. Whereupon it came to passe, that the castell was yelded, and those that kept it were diuerslie punished, some by banishment, some by losing their eares, & diuersie by the losse of their hands,

Polydor.

A peace concluded betwixt
the king and
his brother
Robert.Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
The Welshmen inuade
England.The castell of
Mountgomerie won by the
Welshmen.Anno Reg. 8.
1095
Robert earle
of Northumberland refused
to come to
the king.

Math. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Maluoisin a
fortresse built
against Ban-
bourgh.

Polydor.

Banbourgh
yelded to the
king.

Simon Dun:
The earle of
Cwr.

in example to others. The earle himselfe was conuey-
ed to Windsoꝛ castell, and there committed to prison.

March Paris.

King William
inuaeth
wales.

Some write that the meaning of the earle and
his complices (amongst whom was William earle
of Clare, who renouncing his allegiance to Robert
duke of Normandie, was become the kings man)
was to haue displaced the king from his roiall
throne, and to haue set vp his sonne William de Al-
bemarle, whom he had begotten of his concubine.
But whatsoeuer their purpose was, after that the
king had quieted his countrie in the north parts, he
bent all his force against the Welshmen, who the
yeare before had destroyed and ouerthrowne the ca-
stell of Youngomerie, and slaine the Normans that
laie there in garison to defend it, whereat he was ve-
rie much offended, & therefore entering into Wales,
he began to spoile and waste the countrie. For he saw
that the Welshmen would not ioin in battell with
him in the plaine field, but kept themselves still a-
loofe within the woods and marishes, and aloft upon
mountaines: albeit oftentimes when they saw ad-
uantage, they would come forth, and taking the En-
glishmen and Normans at vnawares, kill manie,
and wound no small numbers, he still pursued them
by hills and dales, though more to the losse of his
owne people than the hurt of the Welshmen, who
castile eschewed the danger of battell, and still at the
straites and comberfome passages distressed manie
of their enemies: whereby the king at length percei-
uing that he could not preuaile against them, ceased
further to follow on with his purposed voiage, and
therewith returned home, not without some note of
dishonour.

The king re-
turneth out of
wales with
dishonour.
Eadmerus.
Murcherbach
king of Ire-
land.

About the same time Murcherbach king of Ire-
land, with the clergie and people of the cite of Du-
blin, elected one Samuell a monke of S. Albons, an
Irish man borne, to the gouernement of the church
and bishops see of Dublin, and (according to the an-
cient custome) presented him by sufficient letters of
testimonie vnto Anselme archbishop of Cantur-
burie, to be consecrated of him, who (according to
their request) did so, and receiued from him a promise
of his canonically subiection, after the old vsuall ma-
ner, hauing foure bishops (suffragans to the see of
Canturburie) ministering to him at that consecra-
tion.

The councill
of Clermoun.

The iourne
into the holie
land.
Godfrey de
Bullion.

In like maner, pope Urban calling a councill at
Clermoun in Auvergne, exhorted the christian prin-
ces so earnestly to make a iourne into the holie
land, for the recouerie thereof out of the Saracens
hands, that the said great and generall iourne was
concluded vpon to be taken in hand; wherein manie
Noble men of christendome went vnder the leading
of Godfrey of Bullion, and others, as in the chroni-
cles of France, of Germanie, and of the holie land
doth more plainlie appeare. There went also among
other diuers Noble men forth of this reime of Eng-
land, speciallie that worthilie bare the surname of
Beauchampe. Robert duke of Normandie minding
also to go the same iourne, and wanting monie to
furnish and set forth himselfe, mortgaged his duchie
of Normandie to his brother king William, for the
summe of ten thousand pounds. About this time an-
other occasion was offered vnto king William, to
laie a new payment vpon his subiects, so greuous
and intollerable, as well to the spiritualtie as the
temporaltie, that diuerse bishops and abbats, who
had alreadie made away some of their chalices and
churchiewels to paie the king, made now plaine an-
swer that they were not able to helpe him with any
more. Vnto whom on the other side (as the report
went) the king said againe: Haue you not (I beseech
you) coffins of gold and siluer full of dead mens
bones: meaning the Chyines wherein the reliques of

Anno Reg. 9.
1096.
Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Thorne.
Simon Dun.
A subside.

saints were inclosed. Which (as his words seemed to
import) he would haue had them conuert into mo-
nie, therewith to helpe him in that need, indging it
no sacrilege; though manie did otherwise esteeme
it, considering (as he pretended) that it was gathered
for so goodlie an vse, as to mainteine warres against
Infidels and enemies of Christ.

The archbishop Anselme toke the worth of two
hundred markes of siluer of the iewels that belong-
ed to the church of Canturburie (the greater part of
the couent of monks winking threath towards the
making vp of such payment as he was constrained
to make vnto the king towards his aid at that time.
But because he would not leaue this for an example
to be followed of his successours, he granted to the
church of Canturburie the profits and reuenues of
his manour of Petteham, vnto the vse of the same
church for the terme of seauen yeares, which amount-
ed to the summe of thirtie pounds yearelie in those
daies.

Eadmerus.

Thus king William seeking rather to spoile the
realme of England, than to preferue the roiall state
thereof, after he had gotten together a great masse
of monie, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there de-
liuering vnto the duke the ten thousand pounds a-
foresaid, was put in possession of the duchie, to enioy
the same, and the profits rising thereof, till the said
ten thousand pounds were paid him againe: or (as
some write) it was couenanted that in recompense
thereof, the king should enioy the profits for terme
onelic of thre yeares, and then to restore it with-
out any further interest or commoditie. This done,
he returned againe into England.

Polydor.

The duchie of
Normandie
mortgaged to
king William.

Eadmerus.

Polydor.

Now duke Robert setteth forward on his iornig,
in companie of other Noble men, towards the holie
land. In which voiage his valorous hart at all assaies
(when any seruice should be shewed) was most mani-
festlie perceiued, to his high fame and renowne a-
mong the princes and nobilitie there and then as-
sembled.

About the same time, the citizens of Waterford
in Ireland, perceiuing that by reason of the great
multitude of people in that citie, it was necessarie
for them to haue a bishop, obtained licence of their
king and rulers to erect in their citie a bishops see,
and besought them that it might please them to write
vnto Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie their
pymate, to haue his consent therein, so as it might
stand with his pleasure to institute and ordaine such a
one bishop, to haue gouernement of their church,
as they should name, knowing him to be a man of
such learning, knowledge, discretion, and worthines,
as were fit for the same. Wherevpon were letters
sent by messengers from Murcherbach king of
Ireland vnto Anselme, informing him of the whole
matter: wherein one Malchus was commended
and presented vnto him to be admitted and consecra-
ted, if he thought good. These letters were subscribed
with the hands, not onelic of king Murcherbach,
but also of his brother duke Dermeth, bishop Duf-
nald, Joiman bishop of Methe, Samuell bishop of
Dublin, Ferdinnachus bishop of Laginla or Let-
niscer, and many others both of the spiritualtie and
temporaltie.

Anno Reg. 10.
1097.

Eadmerus.
Waterford in
Ireland made
a bishopricke.

The archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie p-
ymate of Ire-
land.

Murcherbach
K. of Ireland.

Anselme considering their request to be full and
necessarie, granted to fulfill their desires, and so vpon
examination had of the man, and taking of him his
oath of obedience, according to the maner, he conse-
crated the same Malchus, and so ordained him to rule
the church of Waterford as bishop. This was done
at Canturburie the 28. day of October. Kase bishop
of Chichester, and Gnnulfe bishop of Rochester hel-
ping Anselme in the consecration as ministers vnto
him in that behalfe. The said Malchus was a monke,
and

Malchus
consecrated
bishop of wa-
terford.

and sometime under Walkhelme bishop of Winchester.

The king eff-
fones inua-
beth the
wellshmen.
Polydor.

The wellsh-
men with-
draw into the
woods.
H. Hunt.

Simon Dun.
R. Houed.

Anno Reg. II.
1098

Marth. Paris.

Cyral. Cam.

Hugh earle of
Shrewsburie
dame.

Fab. ex Guido.
de Columna.

Anno Reg. 12.
1099

But to the purpose, king William after his re-
turne into England, remembryng what damage he
had susteyned two yeres before at the hands of the
Welshmen, determined effones to invade their
countrie, and therefore doubling his power, com-
meth into the marches, pitcheth his field, and consul-
teth with his capteines what order he were best to
use in that his enterpryse, for the tanning of his eni-
mies. The Welshmen hearing of the kings approach,
and that his armie was farre greater than the last
which he brought into their countrie, fell to their
wonted policie, and got them into the woods, there
to lie in wait, trusting more to the advantage of
starting holes, than to their owne force & puissance.

When the king understood their practise, he set ar-
med men in diuers places, and builded towers and
fortifications to defend him and his, because he durst
not assaie to enter into wild and wast grounds where
he had bene hindred and damnyed before that time,
hoping by this meanes in stopping by the waies and
passages of the countrie, to bring the rebels to more
subiection. But when this policie was found by profe
to wearie the kings souldiours rather than to hurt the
enimies, which straieng by and downe in the woods
intrapped oftentimes the Normans and English, in
taking them at aduantage, the king without byrin-
ging his purpose to any good effect, departed home
into England. After this, he sent Edgar Etheling
with an armie into Scotland, that he might place
his cosine Edgar the sonne of king Malcolm in the
gouernement of that kingdome, and expell his uncle
Duffinald, who had usurped the same.

King William, being still inflamed with ire, for
that he could not haue his will, determined with
continuall warres to wearie the rebellious stomachs
of the Welshmen: and therefore was first to
set upon them of Anglesey, which being an Ile enui-
roned with the sea, was ever a refuge for them when
they were sharpelie pursued. This enterpryse was
cheefly committed vnto Hugh earle of Shrewsbu-
rie and Arundell, and to Hugh earle of Chester, who
at their first coming wan the Ile, and tempered
the victorie with great crueltie and bloodshed, put-
ting out the eyes of some, cutting off the noses, the
armes, or hands of others, and some also they gelded.
Whereouer (as authours write) the said earle of Shrew-
sburie made a kennell of the church of Saint Fri-
dancus, laiens his hounds within it for the night
time, but in the morning he found them all raging
woud. How true so euer this report is I wote not,
but thortlie after they had executed (in manner as be-
fore is said) such strange kinds of crueltie in that Ile,
it chanced that a nauie of rowers came thither from
the Isles of Orkney, whose cheefe admiral was na-
med Magnus, who encountering with the said earle of
Shrewsburie, shot him into the eie with an arrow,
which part of his body remained bare and unarmed,
so that by & by he fell downe dead out of his ship into
the sea. When Magnus beheld this, he said scornful-
lie in the Danish tongue, *Leir loupe*, that is, Let him
leape now: the English neuertheless had the victo-
rie at that time (as some write) and ouercame their
enimies with great slaughter and bloodshed. Not
long after, the earle of Chester going ouer to Wales,
with long and continuall warres fild and tamed
the wild Welshmen, who for a good while after durst
not shew their faces.

The king being thus at quiet and without warre
in all places, began now to set his mind on bui-
ding, and first caused new walles to be made about
the towre of London, and also laid the foundation
of Westminster hall, which though it be a verie large

and comthie place, yet after it was finished at his
returne out of Normandie, he came to view it, and
held his court therein with great pompe and hono-
r. He repented that he had made it no larger, laiens;
it was too little by the halfe, and therefore determi-
ned to haue made a new, and that this other should
haue serued but for a dining chamber. A diligent
searcher (saith Matthew Paris) might yet find out the
foundation of the hall, which he had purposed to
build, stretching from the Thames side vnto the
common street. But though those his buildings were
great ornaments to the realme, yet because he took
up monie by extorcion of his subiects towards the
charges of the same, he was euill spoken of; the re-
port being spread, that he should take them in hand
but onelie under a colour to spoile his subiects, in ga-
thering a far greater summe than the expences of
them did amount vnto. About the same time that
king William beganne these buildings, he went
ouer into Normandie, to vnderstand in what state
that countrie stood.

About the same time also, or rather two yere be-
fore; to wit 1097. nere to Abington, at a towne
called Finchamsted in Barkshire, a well or foun-
taine flowed with blood, in manner as before it used
to flow with water, and this continued for the space
of thre daies, or (as William Malm. saith) fifteene
daies together.

After the king had dispatched his businesse in Nor-
mandie, & was returned into England (as he was
making prouision to ride forth on hunting) a mes-
senger came suddenlie vnto him, bringing word,
that the citie of Spans was besieged, and like to be
surpassed. The king was then at dinner, meaning
first to make an end thereof, and after to take ad-
uice in that matter: but being reproued by the mes-
senger, for that to the great danger of his subiects
which were besieged he passed not to make delaies,
rather than to go and succour them with all speed, he
taketh the mans blunt speech in so good part, that he
called straightwaie for masons to breake downe the
wall, to the end he might passe through the next way,
and not be dyluyn to step so farre out of his path, as
to go forth by the dore: and so without any long ad-
uisement taken in the cause, he rode straightwaie to
the sea, sending his lords a commandement to fol-
low him: who when they came in his presence, counse-
led him to staie till his people were assembled. How-
beit he would not giue care to their aduice in that
point, but said, Such as loue me, I knowe well will
follow me, and so went a shipboard, setting apart all
doubts of perils; and yet was the weather verie
darke, rough and clondie, insonmuch that the maister
of the ship was afraid, and willed him to tarrie till
the wind did settle in some quiet quarter: but he
commanded to holle by sailes, and to make all speed
that could be for life, encouraging the shipmaister
with these words, that he neuer heard as yet of aue-
king that was drowned.

Thus passing the seas, he landed in Normandie,
where he gathered his power, and made towards
Spans. When those which held the siege before the
citie, heard of his approach, they brake by their campe
and departed thence: howbeit, the capteine named
Helias, that pretended by title and right to be earle
of Spans, was taken by a traine, and brought before
the king, who tested at him, as though he had bene
but a sole and a coward. Whereupon, the said Helias
as kindled in wrath, boldlie said vnto him, Whereas
thou hast taken me prisoner, it was by more chance,
and not by thy manhood: but if I were at libertie a-
gaine, I would so vse the matter with thee, that thou
shouldest not thinke I were a man so lightlie to be
laughed at: so should (saith the king) Well then I
giue

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Marth. Paris.

Polydor.

The king go-
eth ouer into
Normandie.

Finchamsted
Ran. Higd.
Hen. Hunt.
Marth. West.
Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.
Marth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.

The taking of
king William
Rufus.

Spans deliue-
red from an
assage.

Helias.

Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

Variance be-
twixt the king
and the arch-
bishop An-
selme.

The clergie
out of order.

Math. Paris.

A thousand
marks de-
manded of
Anselme.

Eadmerus.

“give thee thy libertie, and go thy waies, doe even the
“worst that lieth in thy power against me, for I care
“not a button for thee. Ihesias being thus set at liber-
tie, did nothing after (to make anie account of) a-
gainst the king, but rather kept himselfe quiet. Ihesu-
beit some write, that he was not taken at all, but es-
caped by flight. To proceed, king William being
returned into England, and puffed up with pride of
his victories, and now seeing himselfe fullie deliv-
ered from all troubles of warre, began after his old
manner to spoile and waste the countrie by unreason-
able exactions, tributes and payments.

Whereupon fell a great controuersie betweene An-
selme and the king, who pretended a reproch of cruell
surcharging of his commons with subsidies, lones,
and unreasonable fines: but the cheefe cause was,
for that he might not call his synods, nor correct the
bishops, but all to be done as the king would. The
king also chalenged the inuestiture of prelates, and
indeed soge taxed both the spiritualtie and temporal-
tie, spending the monie upon the reparations and
buildings of the Towre, & Westminster hall, as is
before remembred. Besides this, his servants spot-
led the English of their goods by indirect meanes:
but especiallie one Rafe sometime chaplaine unto
William the Conquerour, & at this time the kings
proctor and collector of his taksies and subsidies was
so malicious & couctous, that in stead of two taksies,
he would leuie thre, pilling the rich, and potwling the
poore, so that manie through his cruell dealing were
offentimes made to forsset their lands for small of-
fences: and by his meanes also diuerse bishoprikes
were bought and sold as other kinds of merchand-
ises, whereby he was in singular fauour with the
king. The clergie also were vfed verie streightlie,
and (as I suppose) not without good cause; for fuerlie
in those daies it was far out of order, not onelie in
couctous practises, but in all kinds of worldlie
pompe and vanitie: for they had by bushed and bzai-
ded perukes, long side garments verie gorgeous,
gilt girdels, gilt spurs, with manie other vnseemelie
disorders in attire. To be short, the contention grew
so hot betwixt the king and Anselme, who would also
haue corrected such vices in the clergie (as some
write) that in the end the archbishop was quite cast
out of fauour. There are which alledge the verie first
and originall occasion of their falling out to be, for
that the archbishop denied to paie a thousand marks
of siluer at his request: in consideration of the
kings great beneuolence shewed in preferring him
to his see, whereas the archbishop iudged the offense
of simonie, to rest as well in giuing after his promo-
tion receiued, as if he had bribed him also; and
therefore refused to make anie such payment: but
yet (as Eadmerus writeth) he offered him five hun-
dred pounds of siluer, which would not be receiued,
for the king was informed by some of his counsell,
that the archbishop (in consideration of his bound-
ous liberalitie extended towards him) ought rather
to giue him two thousand pounds, than five hundred,
adding, that if he would but change his counte-
nance, and giue him no frendlie looks for a while, he
should perceiue that Anselme would ad to the first
offer, other five hundred pounds. But Anselme was
so far from being brought to the kings lurs with
such fetches, that openlie to the kings face he told
him, that better it should be for his maiestie to re-
ceiue of him a small summe granted of him with a
free and franke hart, so as he might helpe him eff-
sonces with more, than to take from him a great
deale at once, without his good will, in such sort as if
he were his bondman. For your grace (saith he) may
haue me, and all that is mine, to serue your turne
with frendlie beneuolence: but in the waie of scrui-

tude and bondage you shall neither haue me nor
mine. With which words the king was in maruel-
lous choler, and therewith said in anger: Well then,
get thee home, take that which is thine to thy selfe,
that which I haue of mine owne I trust will suffice
me. The archbishop being on his knees, rose here-
with and departed, reioicing in his mind that the
king had refused his offer, whereby he was deliuered
out of suspicion to haue bribed the king, and giuen
him that monie in waie of reward for his prefer-
ment to the miter, as of malicious men would hap-
pilie haue bene construed. Whereupon being after
laboured to double the summe, he offerlie refused,
and determining rather to forsake the realme than
to commit such an offense, made suit to the king for
licence to go to Rome to fetch his pall of the pope.
The king hearing the pope named, waxed maruel-
lous angrie: for they of Rome began already to de-
mand donations and contributions, more impu-
dentlie than they were hitherto accustomed. And as
it chanced, there was a schisme at that time in the
church, by reason the emperor Henrie had placed a
pope of his owne aduancing (namely Wibeth arch-
bishop of Rauenna) against pope Urban: for the em-
peror maintained that it belonged to his office on-
lie to elect and assigne what pope it pleased him.

King William therefore conceiued displeasure
against Urban, who withstood the emperours pre-
tense, and alledged by the like, that no archbishop or
bishop within his realme should haue respect to
the church of Rome, nor to anie pope, with whome
they had nothing to do, either by waie of subiection,
or otherwise; sith the popes wandered out of the steps
which Peter trode, seeking after bribes, lucre, and
worldlie honor. He said also that they could not re-
teine the power to lose and bind, which they sometime
had, since they shewed themselves nothing at all to
follow his most vertuous life and holie conuersation.
He added furthermore, that for himselfe, sithens the
connerion of the realme to the christian faith, he had
as great authoritie, franchises and liberties within
the same, as the emperor had in his empire. And
what hath the pope then to do (quoth he) in the em-
pire, or in my kingdome touching temporal liber-
ties, whose dutie it is to be carefull for the soule of
man, and to see that heresies spring not vp, which if
the prelates of the prouince be not able to reforme,
then might the pope do it, either by himselfe or his
legats. Again, by reason of the schisme, & for the dis-
pleasure that he bare pope Urban, he asked Anselme
of which pope he would require his pall, sith he was so
hastie to go to Rome for it: Wherto Anselme answer-
ed, that he would require it of pope Urban. Which
words when the king had heard, he said, I haue not
as yet admitted him pope: adding further that it
was against the custome vfed either in his or his fa-
thers time, that anie man within the realme of Eng-
land should name or obete anie man for pope, with-
out the kings licence and consent, saing moreover,
that if the said Anselme would seeke to take that pr-
rogatiue and dignitie from him, it should be all one,
as if he should go about to take a waie from him his
crowne, and all other rofall dignitie. Wherevnto
Anselme answered, that at Rochester (before he was
consecrated bishop) he had declared his mind there-
in, and that being abbat of Bechellouin in Nor-
mandie, he had receiued Urban for pope; so that
whatsoeuer chanced, he might result from his obedi-
ence and subiection.

The king being the more kindled herewith, pro-
fessed in plaine words, that Anselme could not keepe
his faith and allegiance towards him, and his obedi-
ence also to the see of Rome, against his will and
pleasure. But (to conclude) this matter went so far

Math. Paris.

The king
could not as-
side to heare
the pope na-
med.

Eadmerus.
The kings
demand to
Anselme.

A councell at
Rockingham
in Rutland-
shire.

in controuersie betwixt the king and the bishop, that a councell was called at Rockingham in Rutlandshire, and there in the church within the castell, the matter was earnestlie decided, and much adoe on euerie side, to haue constrained Anselme to renounce his opinion, but he would not. Wherefore it was then deuised, that if he would not agree to the kings pleasure, they would by and by see if they might by any meanes depriue him: but Anselme still held hard, and could not be feared by all these threats; and in like manner to iudge of an archbishops cause, the other bishops concluded that they had no authoritie.

Moreover, while the matter was in consultation among the bishops, another of the kings councell that was a knight, came before Anselme in place where he sat almost alone, to looke for an answer by them from the king, which knight kneeling downe before the archbishop, spake these words vnto him: Reuerend father, your humble children beseech your Grace not to haue your heart troubled with these things which you heare; but call to remembrance that blessed man Job, vanquishing the diuell on the dunghill, and reuenging Adam whome he had overcome in paradise. Which words the archbishop considering with a frendlie countenance, perceiued that the minds of the people remained on his side, whereof both he and such as were about him, were right ioyfull and greatlie comforted, hauing hope (according to the scripture) that the voice of the people was the voice of God. When the king understood all these things, he was maruelouslie disquieted in mind, and therefore perceiuing that the bishops and other of his councell had promised more than they could performe, he blamed them for it: vnto whom the bishop of Durham that was the chiefe doer in this matter, framed this answer: He spake so faintlie (quoth he) and so colddie at the first, that he seemed not to haue any store of wit or wisdom.

Finallie, the matter was deferred vntill the next morning, and then the said bishop of Durham, alleging that they could not well overcome him by arguments, so long as he grounded his opinion in such sort vpon the scripture, and the authoritie of Saint Peter; The best way therefore (said he) shall be, to compell him by force, either to agree to the kings mind, or else to depriue him of his ring and staffe, and after banish him the realme. But the lords of the councell allowed not the bishops words herein. Well (saith the king) and what other way will you thinke god, if this like you not: so long as I may liue, I will not surelie suffer any to be my pære within my realme: and if you knew his cause to be so good, why did you suffer me to commende this action against him: go your waies therefore, and take aduice together, for by Gods face (for that was his oth) if you condemne him not at my will, I will reuenge my selfe vpon you. Neuerthelesse, when he was informed, that because he was an archbishop, they had no power to iudge or condemne him, though his cause seemed neuer so euill, which they could not perceiue so to be; he told them yet they might at the leastwise renounce their obedience to him, and forsake his companie, which they said they might do. Then do it (saith the king) with speed, that he may (when he shall see himselfe abandoned, and despised of all men) repent that he hath followed Urban, and neglected me his soueraigne lord and maister. And that ye may do it the more safely, first of all I depriue him of the suertie and allegiance which he may pretend to haue of me within all my dominions, and from hence forth I will haue no affiance in him, nor take him for an archbishop.

The bishops would faine haue persuaded Anselme to haue shewed himselfe conformed to the

kings pleasure, and therefore toke paines with him earnestlie in that behalfe, but all would not serue. He answered indeed verie courteously, but his benefice he would not renounce, as touching the name and office, though in exterior things he were neuer so much disquieted. The king perceiuing him to stand firme in his opinion, said vnto his lords; His words are euer contrarie to my mind, and I will not take him for my friend, whoseuer doth fauour him. I shall therefore requite you that be pæres of my realme, to renounce all the faith and friendship which you beare him, that he may see what he hath gained by that allegiance, which (to the offending of my person) he obserueth to the apostolike see. Whereunto the lords answered; As for vs, we were neuer his men, and therefore we cannot abjure any fealtie which we neuer acknowledged. He is our archbishop, and hath rule in matters pertaining to christian religion within this land, for which cause we that are christians may not refuse his authoritie whilist we remaine here on earth, because he is atainted with no blemish of any heinous crime, which may constrain vs otherwise to do. The king restrained and dissimbled his wrath, least he should prouoke them to further displeasure by speaking against their reason.

The bishops were sore abashed herat, and driuen to a shetwold pinch. Now when, not long after, the king required to know of euerie of them apart, whether they bitterlie renounced all manner of subiection and obedience vnto Anselme without any condition intermitted, or else that onelie which he did pretend by authoritie of the pope: the bishops making answer diuerslie herevnto, the king appointed those to sit downe by him as faithfull subiects, who acknowledged that their renuntiation was absolutelie made, without intermitting of any condition: as for the other, who protested that they renounced their subiection and obedience vnto him onelie in that which he presumed vpon in the behalfe of the pope, he commanded them to go aside, and to remaine in a corner of the house to heare the sentence of their condemnation pronounced.

Wherefore being put in a marvellous feare, they withdrew themselves aside, but yet straightwaies they deuised a shift wherewith they had bene well acquainted before, as followeth. They presented to the king a great masse of monie to appease his wrath, and so thereby were restored to his fauour. Anselme notwithstanding was obstinate in his opinion, so that in the end, the sentence touching this controuersie betwixt him and the king, was respited till the octaues of Pentecost next ensuing. All this was notified well inough to the pope, who vfed the matter with such moderation, that by secret aduertisements giuen, he toke awaie from his brethren all rigorous waies of proceedings, sauing;

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

But yet the kings enmitie towards Anselme was openlie declared, and that cheselie for the deniall of the monie which he demanded; but at length he got it, though not with any free hart or goodwill of the archbishop: insomuch that the king reputed him guiltie of treason. Within a few daies after, Walter bishop of Alba, bringing to him his pall, verie wiselie reconciled the pope and the king. Notwithstanding all this, Anselme could not purchase the kings goodwill to his contentment, though he wiselie dissimbled for the time: so that when the bishop of Alba should returne to Rome, he made sute for licence to go with him. Neuerthelesse, the king offered him, that if he would desist from his purpose, and sweare vpon the euangelists neither to go to Rome, nor to appeale in any cause to the popes court, he might and should liue in quietnesse free from

The bishops
driven to their
shifts how to
shape an an-
swer.

The meane to
pacifie the king.

The stiffness
of Anselme in
withstanding
the kings
pleasure.

Math. Paris.

The king re-
nounceth the
archbishop for
his subiect.

Jadmerus.

from all danger: but if he would not be so contented, he might and should depart at his perill, without hope to returne hither againe. For Iurelie (saith he) if he go, I will setze the archbishoppe into mine owne hands, and receiue him no more for archbishop.

Fabian.

Marth. Paris.
Anselme coming to Rome complaineth of the king.

Ranulfe bishop of Chichester.

Fines of prelates that had incomes as by some writers is counted.

Polydor.

Robert Losaunge.
Ran. Higd.
Wil. Malm.

Stephan Harding a monk.

Ran. Higd.
Iacobus Philippus Berigonias.

Anno Reg. 13.
1100

Anselme herewith departing from the court, came to Canturburie, declaring openlie what had bin said unto him, and immediatlie sought to flee out of the realme in the night, providing for himselfe a ship at Dover. But his purpose being revealed to the king, one William Clarelwaite the kings servant was sent after him, and finding him readie to depart, took from him all that he had, & gave him a free passport out of the land. Anselme repairing to Rome, made unto pope Urban a greivous information against the king, declaring into what miserable state he had brought the Realme, and that for want of assistance in his suffragans it laie not in him to reforme the matter.

Indeed we find not that any of the bishops held with Anselme in the controuersie betwixt him and the king. Ranulph bishop of Chichester excepted, who both blamed the king, and rebuked all such bishops as had refused to stand with Anselme, and fauoured the king in cases concerning the foresaid variance. Moreover, the same bishop of Chichester withstood the king and his officers in taking fines of prelates for the crime of fornication; by reason of which presumption, the king became sore offended with him, & found meanes to suspend many churches of his diocesse. Howbeit in the end, the bishop demeaned himselfe in such wise, that he had his owne will, and his church doores were opened againe, which had bene stopped up before with thornes. Besides this, the king was contented, that the said bishop should haue the fines of prelates in crimes of fornication within his diocesse, and enjoy many other priuileges in right of his church. But how beneficiall so euer he was unto the see of Chichester, true it is (as Polydor writeth) that he let out diuers abbeies, and the bishoppe of Winchester and Salisbury, with the archbishoppe of Canturburie unto certeine persons that farmed the same at his hands for great summes of monie, in so much that (beside the said sees of Canturburie, Winchester, and Salisbury, which at the time of his death he kept in his hands) he also receiued the profits of eleuen abbeies which he had let out, or otherwise turned to his most aduantage.

Robert Losaunge, of some called Herbert, that some time had bin abbat of Ramsey, and then bishop of Hereford by gift of a thousand pounds to the king (as before ye haue heard) repented him, for that he was inuicted by the king, who after he had bewailed his offense, went to Rome, and did penance for the same in all points as the pope enjoined him. Which being done, he returned into England, removing per long his see from Hereford to Norwich, where he founded a faire monastrie of his owne charges, and not of the churches goods (as some say) wherein is a doubt, considering he was first an abbat, and after a bishop.

About this time, by the meanes of Stephan Harding a Monk of Shicborne, an Englishman, the order of Cisterciars or white monkes had his beginning within the countrie of Burgongne, as witnesseth Ranulph the monk of Chester: but other writers (as Iacob. Philippus) say that this Stephan was the second abbat of that place, and that it was founded by one Robert abbat of Polmenie, in the yeare of Grace 1098. This order was after brought into England by one called Walter Espeke, who founded the first abbey of that religion within this realme at Aiuall, about the yeare of Grace 1131.

But to returne againe to the king, who still con-

tinued in his wilfull couetousnesse, pulling from the rich and welthie, to waste and spend it out in all excessse, baine riot, and gifts bestowed on such as had least deserved the same. And yet he was waied by many strange wonders (as the common people did descant) to refrain from these euill doings: for the James did rise with such high springes and tides, that many towne were drowned, and much hurt done in places about London, and elsewhere. Diuerse rare things happened also at the same time, which I passe ouer. But the king hearing hereof, did nothing regard those which were so bold as to tell him that they were euident significations of some vengeance to follow thereupon. The king also himselfe on a night as he slept & dreamed, thought that the beines of his armes were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance. Likewise, he was told by Robert Fitz Hammon, that a monk should dreame in his sleepe, how he saw the king graue the image of Christ crucified with his teeth, and that as he was about to bite awaie the legs of the same image, Christ with his feet should spurne him downe to the ground, inso much that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, and such abundance of smoke, that the aire was darkened therewith. But the king made a iest of these and the like tales: He is a right monk (saith he) and to haue a peece of monie, he dreameth such things, giue him therefore an hundred shillings, and bid him dreame of better fortune to our person. Nevertheless, the king was somewhat moued herewith in the end, and doubted whether he should go into the forest to hunt on Lammas day (as he had purposed) or no, because his friends councelled him not to trie the truth of dreames to his owne losse and hinderance. Whereupon he forbore to go forth before dinner, but when he had dined and made himselfe merrie with receiuing more drinke than commonlie he vsed to doe, abroad he got him into the forest with a small traine: amongst whom was one sir Walter Tirell a French knight, whom he had retained in seruice with a large stipend.

This sir Walter chanced to remaine with the king, when all the rest of the companie was dispersed here and there, as the maner in hunting is. Now as the sunne began to draw lowe, the king perceiuing an hart to come alongst by him, shot at the same, and with his arrow stroke him; but not greatly hurting him, the beast ran awaie. The king, to marke which way the hart toke, and the maner of his hurt, held up his hand betwene the sunne and his eyes; who standing in that sort, out came another hart, at whom as sir Walter Tirell let driue an arrow, the same by glancing stroke the king into the breast, so that he neuer spake word, but breaking off so much of the arrow as appeared out of his bodie, he fell downe, and giuing onelie one groane, immediatlie died, without more noise or moving. Sir Walter running to him, and perceiuing no speech nor sence to remaine in him, straightwaies got to his horse, and riding awaie, escaped and saued himselfe: for few there were that pursued him, euerie man being amazed at the chance, some departing one waie, and some another, euerie one for his owne aduantage and commoditie, as the time then serued. The dead bodie of the king was straight conueied to Winchester, and there buried the morrow after, which was the second day of August, the yere of our Lord 1100. To this end came king William, after he had reigned almost 13. yeares, and liued 43. and somewhat more.

This prince, altho: sh euill reported of by writers for the couetous taking of his subjects, and retaining of ecclesiasticall livings in his hands; yet was he

The kings launty protestant.

Strange wonders.
Wil. Malm.

A dreame.
Marth. Well.
Wil. Malm.

Sir Walter Tirell.

The king slaine.

Wil. Malm.

The liberall
heart of king
William.

Jewes.

he endued with manie noble and princelie qualities. He had good knowledge in feats of warre, and could well awake with bodilie labour. In all his affaires he was circumspect of his promise, trustie; of his word, steadfast; and in his wars no lesse diligent than fortunate. He gave to the monkes called *Monachi de charitate* in Southwarke, the great new church of S. Sauour of Bermondsey, and also Bermondsrie it selfe. He founded a goodlie hospitall in the citie of Worke, called S. Leonards, for the sustentation and finding of the poore as well brethren as sisters. Towards souldiers and men of warre he was verie liberall, and to enrich them, he passed not for taking from farmers and husbandmen what soever could be gotten. He was indeed of a prodigall nature, and therefore when in the beginning of his reigne, doubting some troubles, he had assembled manie men of warre for his defense, there was nothing that they could aske which he would denie them, in so much that his fathers treasures were some consumed, by reason whereof he was put to his shifts to provide more. For though substance wanted to shew his liberallitie, yet there failed not in him a mind still to be bountifull, such continuall vse of giuing rewards, was in manner turned in him to a nature, so that to furnish himselfe with monie and necessaries, he was put to extremities unbefitting a king; and to bestow his beneuolence upon some, he spared not to impoverish others. For in such sort he was liberall, that therewith he was prodigall; and in such wise stout of courage, as proud withall; and in such manner seuer, as he seemed cruell and inextorable. But what meanes he vsed to make his best of benefices and spirituall livings, partly appereth before.

And such was his condition, that who soever would giue, might haue, & that oftentimes without respect, whether their sute was reasonable and allowable or not, in so much that it is said of him, that being in Koan on a time, there came to him diuerse Jewes who inhabited that citie, complaining to him, that diuerse of their nation had renounced their Jewish religion, and were become christians: wherefore they besought him, that for a certeine summe of monie which they offered to giue, it might please him to constrain them to abiure christianitie, and turne to the Jewish law againe. He was contented to satisfie their desires, and so receiuing the monie, called them before him, & what with threats, and putting them otherwise in feare, he compelled diuerse of them to forsake Christ, and returne to their old errors.

There was about the same time a yong man a Jew, who by a vision appearing vnto him (as is said) was conuerted to the christian faith, and being baptised, was named Stephan, because S. Stephan was the man that had appeared to him in the vision, as by the same he was informed. The father of the yong man being sore troubled, for that his sonne was become a christian, and hearing what the king had done in such like matters, presented to him 60 marks of silver, conditionally that he should inforce his sonne to returne to his Jewish religion. Whereupon was the yong man brought before the king, vnto whom he said, Sirra, thy father here complaineth that without his licence thou art become a christian: if this be true, I command thee to returne againe to the religion of thy nation, without aie more adoe. To whom the yong man answered, Your grace (as I gesse) doth but iest. Wherewith the king being moued said, What thou dunt hill knaue, shuld I iest with thee? Get thee hence quicklie, and fulfill my commandement, or by S. Lukes face I shall cause thine eies to be plucked out of thine head. The yong man nothing abashed hereat, with a constant

voice answered, Trulie I will not do it, but know for certeine, that if you were a good christian, you would neuer haue vttered aie such words, for it is the part of a christian to reduce them againe to Christ which be departed from him; & not to separate them from him, which are ioined to him by faith. The king herewith confounded, commanded the Jew to auant & get him out of his sight. But his father perceiving that the king could not persuade his sonne to forsake the christian faith, required to haue his monie againe. To whom the king said, he had done so much as he promised to do, that was, to persuade him so far as he might. At length, when he would haue had the king to haue dealt further in the matter, the king (to stop his mouth) tendered backe to him the one halfe of his monie, & retained the other to himselfe.

Moreover, to increase the suspicion which men had of his infidelitie, it is written, that he caused a disputation to be kept betwixt the Jewes & the christians, promising that if the Jewes ouercame the christians in argument, he would be a Jew: but the Jewes being ouercome, and receiuing the foile, would not confesse their errors, but alledged, that by factions (and not by reason) they were put to the worse. Howbeit, what opinion soeuer he had of the Jewes faith, it appereth by writers that he doubted in manie points of the religion then in credit. For he liked not to protest openlie, that he belued no saint could profit aie man in the Lords sight, and therefore neither would he nor aie other that was wise (as he affirmed) make intercession, either to Peter, or to aie other for helpe.

He was of stature not so tall as the common sort of men, red of haire, whereof he toke his surname Rufus, somewhat big of bellie, and not readie of tongue, speciallie in his anger, for then his vtterance was so hindered, that he could scarcely shew the conceits of his mind: he died without issue, and vned concubines all the daies of his life. And that in apparell he loued to be gaye and gorgeous, & could not abide to haue aie thing (for his wearing) esteemed at a small valure. Whereupon it came to passe on a morning, when he should pull on a new paire of hose, he asked the grome of his chamber that brought them to him what they cost: These shillings faith he; Why thou horseon (said the king) doth a paire of hose of these shillings price become a king to weare? Go thy waies, and fetch me a paire that shall cost a marke of silver. The grome went, and brought him another paire, for the which he paid scarcely so much as for the first. But when the king asked what they stood him in, he told him they cost a marke: and then was he well satisfied, and said, Yea marie, these are more fit for a king to weare, and so drew them upon his legs.

In this kings daies John bishop of Welles ioined the monastrie of Bath vnto his see, and repairing the same monastrie, began to inhabit there in the yere 1094. The church of Couentrie was in like sort ioined vnto the see of Chester by Robert bishop of that diocese. Wolskan bishop of Worcester died about the same time, and Anselme having purchased bulles of pope Balchall, wherein was contained an admonition vnto king William to desist from his greivous oppressing of the church, and to amend his former doings, was now on his returne towards England, and by the waie heard of the kings death. Hugh earle of Chester in this kings daies builded the abbeie of Chester, and procured Anselme (afterwards archbishop of Cantuarburie) to come ouer from Normandie, that he might direct the same abbeie, and place such religious persons as were necessarie and conuenient for so good a foundation.

Long

An answer of
a good Jew.

A pretty deni-
sion.

King William
suspected of
infidelitie.

Hadmerus.

Prateng to
saints.

His stature,
whereof he
toke his sur-
name Rufus.

Wil. Malm.

Couentrie
church ioined
to the see of
Chester.

Long it was per Anselme would come ouer, his cause he doubted to be had in suspition of an ambitious desire in seeking to be made archbishop of Canturburie. For it was talked that if he went ouer into England, he should surely be elected before he returned into Normandie. But at length so it chanced, that the foresaid Hugh earle of Chester fell sicke, and despairing of life, sent with all speed to An-

selme, requesting him most instantlie to come ouer to him lieng in extremitie of sicknesse; adding, that if he hastned not the soner, it would be too late, whereof he would after repent him. Then Anselme, for that he might not faile his friends in such necessitie, came ouer, and gaue order to the abbete, according as it seemed best to him for the establishment of religion there.

Thus farre William Rufus.



Henrie the first, yoongest sonne to VWilliam the Conquerour.



Anno Reg. 1.
1100.

Wil. Thorne.
Geruafius Do-
robernenfis.

Matth. Paris.

Henrie the yoon-
gest sonne to Will-
iam the first, brother
to Rufus latelie de-
parted, the first of
that name that ru-
led here in Eng-
land, & for his know-
ledge in god like
rature surnamed
Beauclerke, was
admitted king by the whole assent of the lords and
commons, and began his reigne ouer England the
first of August, in the yeare after the creaton of the
world 1067. after the birth of our Saviour 1100.
and 44. of the emperour Henrie the fourth, Paschall
the second then gouerning the see of Rome, which
was about the 51. yeare of Philip the first of that
name king of France, and in the beginning of the
reigne of Edgar king of Scotland. This king was
consecrated and crowned at Westmister, the first
daie of August, by Thomas archbishop of York, and
Haurice bishop of London, because at that time An-
selme archbishop of Canturburie was exiled. This
prince had aforehand trained the people to his humo-
r and beine, in bringing them to thinke well of him,
and to conceine a marvellous euill opinion of his
brother duke Robert, perswading them moreover,
that the said duke was likelie to proue a sharpe and
rigorous gouernour, if he once obtained the crowne
and dominion of the land. Moreover, he caused to be
reported for a certeine truth, that the same Robert
was already created king of Jerusalem. And ther-
fore considering that the kingdome of Palestine (as
the rumour) was of greater revenues than that
of England, there was no cause why they shuld staie
for him, who would not willingly leaue the greater
for the lesser. By which meanes the Nobilitie and
Commons were the soner perswaded to decline
from the election of the said Robert, and to receiue
his brother Henrie for their lawfull king, who on the
other side ceased not to promise mountaines, till his
enterprise toke effect; and then at leisure paid some
of them with molhills: as by the sequele of the sto-
rie shall more at large appere.

This Henrie therefore comming thus to the

crowne, considered furthermore with himselfe, that
hereafter, when his eldest brother Robert should re-
turne, and vnderstand how the matter was brought
about, he would thinke himselfe to haue had much
wrong, and beerie verie euill dealt withall, first that
as well by birthright, as also by agreement made
with his brother William Rufus, he ought of right
to be preferred, and thereupon would not faile but
make earnest claime against him. Wherefore per he
should come home out of the holie land (where he then
remained) the king studied by all possible meanes
how to gratifie all the states of his realme, & to plant
in their hearts some good opinion of him. And first of
all he reformed such things as his brother had left
verie prejudiciall to the estate of the church, setting
the same free which before was sore oppressed. And
furthermore, somewhat to relesse the common-wealth,
he promised to restore the lawes of good king Ed-
ward, and to abolish or amend those which by his fa-
ther and brother were already ordeined to the hurt
& prejudice of the old ancient liberties of the realme
of England. He renoued Anselme the archbishop of
Canturburie out of exile, who fled (as yee haue
heard) to auoid the wrath of king William. More-
ouer, he placed in the see of Winchester, one Willi-
am Gifford, a graue and discret person, and also or-
deined monkes of honest reputation to be abbats in
certeine abbies which had bene long void, and in the
hands of William his brother: in like maner he re-
mitted certeine payments which his brother and pre-
decessour had caused to be raised by waie of taxes
and customes. Besides this, on the 8. daie of Sep-
tember, he committed Rafe bishop of Durham to
the Tower of London, by whose lewd counsell his
said brother being seduced, had in his life time done
manie oppressions to his people. He ordeined also
that one length of measuring should be used through-
out this realme, which was a yard, appointing it to be cut
after the length of his owne arme. Manie other
things he redressed, to the contentation and commo-
ditie of his subiects, who gaue God thanks that he
had in such wise deliuered them out of the hands of
cruell extortioners.

After he had thus brought the common-wealth in
so good estate, he consulted with his Nobilitie, where
he might best get him a wife, and thereby leaue his
latefull

The king se-
th to win
the peoples
fauour.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Matth. Paris.

Anselme cal-
led home.

Wil. Malm.
William Gif-
ford bishop of
Winchester.
Hen. Hunt.

Rafe bishop of
Durham com-
mitted to the
Tower.
Simon Dun.
The first or-
deining of the
yard measure.
Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

lawfull companie keeping with concubines: which demand was not disliked at all. Whereupon they considered that Edgar king of Scotland had a sister named Maud, a beautifull ladie, and of vertuous conditions, who was a professed nunne in a religious house, to the end she might avoid the stormes of the world, and lead hir life in more securitie after hir fathers deceasse. This gentlewoman, notwithstanding hir vow, was thought to be a meet bedfellow for the king: wherefore he sent ambassadores to hir brother Edgar, requesting that he might have hir in marriage. But she refusing superstitionlie at the first to breake hir professed vow, would not heare of the offer: wherewithall king Henrie being the more inflamed, sent new ambassadores to move the case in more earnest sort than before, in so much that Edgar, upon the declaration of their ambassage, let the abbess of the house (where then she abode) in hand to persuaide hir, who so effectualle and diuerslie telling hir how necessarie, profitable, & honorable the same should be both to hir countrie and kindred, did so persuaile at the last, that the yong ladie granted willinglie to the marriage. Whereupon she was transported into England, and wedded to the king, who caused the archbishop Anselme to crowne hir quene on S. Martins daie, which fell vpon a Sunday, being the eleuenth of Nouember.

¶ It should seme by Eadmerus, that she was neuer nunne, but onelie veiled by hir mother, and placed amongst nunnes against hir will (as she protested to the whole world) at such time as archbishop Anselme refused to solemnize the marriage betwixt them, till that doubt were cleared, and the occasion remoued, whereupon euill disposed men would haue furnished ill fauoredlie, and reported the worst. Howbeit whether she were professed, or veiled onelie, loth she was to consent at the first (as partlie ye haue heard) but after that she was coupled with the king in marriage, she proued a right obedient wife.

About this season the archbishop of Vienna came ouer into England with the popes authoritie (as he pretended) to be legat ouer all Britaine, which was strange newes vnto England, and greatlie wondrous at (as Eadmerus saith) of all men. For it had not bene heard of in England before that time, that any person should supplie the popes roome, except the archbishop of Canturburie. And so he departed as he came, for no man receiued him as legat, neither did he exercise anie legantine authoritie. Not long after, the king sent ambassadores to Rome, about a suit which he had against the archbishop Anselme, for that he denied not onelie to do him homage, but also would not consecrate such bishops and ecclesiasticall gouernours as he undertooke to inuest. Touching which matter no small trouble arose, as hereafter shall appere.

In the meane time, Robert the kings elder brother, returning out of the holie land, came into Normandie: for after he had aduertisement of the death of his brother Rufus, and that his yonger brother was crowned king of England, he was greatlie displeased in his mind, and meant with all speed to assaie if he might recouer it out of his hands.

¶ We read, that when christian princes had woone Hierusalem, they met together in the temple to chuse a king for the gouernement of that citie and countrie, in which conuent duke Robert was chosen before all the residue to be king there, by reason of a miracle (as some haue left recorded) wrought by quenching of a taper, and the sudden kindling thereof againe, as he held the same in his hand, standing in the church before the altar amongst other on Easter euen: so as thereby it should be thought he was appointed among all the residue to be king, and so was

nominated. But he hauing his mind more inclined to England, refused to take the charge vpon him: whereupon after that daie he neuer greatlie prospered in anie businesse which he toke in hand: as some doe gather. Other authors of good credit, which haue written that voiage into the holie land, make no mention of anie such matter, but declare, that God's fraie of Bolongne was by the generall consent of all the princes and capitaine there elected king, as in the description of that voiage more plainelie appereth. But now to returne from whence I haue digressed.

¶ When the same was blowne into England, that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for their duke with great triumph and ioy: there were diuerse which desiring inuouations, desiring in alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernement of king Henrie, wrote letters into England to the duke, signifying to him, that if he would make hast, and come to recouer the realme out of his brothers hands (who usurped it by an vnjust title) they would be readie to aid him with all their power. Wherewithall the duke being readie of his owne accord to this enterprise, was not a little inflamed, and grew more earnest to make hast about this businesse: in so much as, where he would not seme at the first to esteeme greatlie of the offer made to him by the Englishmen, who had thus written ouer vnto him (blaming generallie all the English Nobilitie, for that while he was abroad in the seruice of the christian common-wealth against the infidels, they would suffer him to be in such wise defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntruth and negligence) yet although he meant to delaie the matter, and thought it rather better to dissemble with them for a time, than to commit the successe of his affaires and person to their inconstancie; shortly after being set on fire, and still incouraged by the persuation of Rafe bishop of Durham (who by a wonderfull wilke shift, about the first of Februarie had broken out of prison with all speed possible he gathered an armie, purposing out of hand to passe ouer with the same into England, and to hazard his right by dent of sword, which was thus by plaine iniurie most wickedlie detained from him).

King Henrie in the meane time vnderstanding his meaning, assembled likewise his power, and rigged forth a great number of ships, appointing them to lie in a readinesse to stop his brothers coming to land if it might be. He himselfe also lodged with his maine armie nere the towne of Hastings, to giue him battell if he landed thereabouts.

Duke Robert also meaning to set forthward, sent certeine of his ships before, to chuse some conuenient place where he might land with his armie: which ships by chance fell into the danger of the kings nauie, but yet abstaining from battell, they recouered the wind, and returned backe to the duke, signifying from point to point how they had sped in this voiage. The duke as he was of a bold courage, and of so gentle a nature that he beleued he should win their good wills, with whom he should haue any thing to doe, passed forthward, and approaching to the kings nauie, used such mild persuations, that a great part of the souldiours which were aboard in the kings ships, submitted themselves vnto him, by whose conduct he arrived in Portsmouth haven, and there landed with his host, about the beginning of August. Now when he had rested a few daies & refreshed his men, he toke the way towards Winchester, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.

The king hauing knowledge as well of the arrival of his enemies, as also of the reuolting of his

Anno Reg. 2.

Duke Robert is solicited to come into England to claim the crowne.

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

In the kal. of
februarie.
R. Houe.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

Duke Robert arrived at Portsmouth.
Simon Dun.
Wil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

The archbishop of Vienna the popes legat.

He is not receiued for legat.

IOI I

Ran. Higd.
Duke Robert chosen king of Hierusalem.

D. f. Subiects,

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Thorne.
Matth. West.
Geruafius
Dorober.

1102

Simon Dun.
Robert de
Belesme earle
of Shrews-
burie.

Stafford
waiked.

Arundell ca-
stell besieged.

Widgenozth
besieged.

Anno Reg. 3.

The earle of
Shrewsburie
banished the
realme.

A synod of
bishops.
Eadmerus.

subiects, raised his campe, and came to lodge nere vnto his enemies, the better to perceiue what he attempted and purposed to do. They were also in manner ready to haue ioined battell, when diuers noble men that sought godd will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their minds so vnaturall discord, began to entreat for peace, which in the end they concluded vpon, conditionallie that Henric (who was borne after his father had conquered the realme of England) should now enioy the same, yielding and paying pærelie vnto duke Robert the summe of iij. M. marks. Provided, that whose hap of the two it should be to suruiue or outliue, he should be the others right and lawfull heire, by mutuall agrément. Conditionallie also, that those English or Normans, which had taken part either with the king or the duke, should be pardoned of all offenses that could be laid vnto them for the same by either of the princes. There were twelue noble men on either part that receiued corporall othes for performance of this agrément, which being concluded vpon in this sort, duke Robert, who in his affaires shewed himselfe more credulous than suspicious, remained with his brother here in England till the feast of S. Michaele, and then shewing himselfe well contented with the composition, returned into Normandie. In the second yeare of this kings reigne, the Quene was deliuered of hir daughter Maude or Mathild, so called after hir owne name, who afterward was emperesse, of whom yee shall heare by Gods grace anon in this historie.

The king being now rid of forein trouble, was shortly after disquieted with the seditious attempts of Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, sonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the castell of Widgenozth, and an other castell in Wales at a place called Caircoue, and furnished the towne of Shrewsburie, with the castles of Arundell & Tickerhill (which belonged to him) in most substantiall manner. Moreover he sought to win the fauour of the Welshmen, by whose aid he purposed to defend himselfe against the king in such vnlawfull enterprises as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inkling thereof about he went, straitwaies proclaimed him a traitor, wherevpon he got such Welshmen and Normans together as he could conuenientlie come by, with whom and his brother Arnold, he entered into Staffordshire, which they forraied and wasted exceedingly, bringing from thence a great bootie of beasts and cattell, with some prisoners, whom they led forthwith into Wales, where they kept themselves as in a place of greatest safetie.

The king in the meane time with all conuenient speed raised a power, first besieging the castell of Arundell, and then planting diuerse bastillions before it, he departed from thence, and sending the bishop of Lincoln with part of his armie to besiege Tickerhill, he himselfe went to Widgenozth, which he enuironed about with a mightie armie made out of all parts of his realme: so that what with gifts, large promises, and fearefull threatnings, at the last he allured to his side the sickle Welshmen, and in such wise won them, that they abandoned the earle, and took part against him. Wherevpon the king within 30. daies subdued all the towne and castles (which he held) out of his hands, and banished him the realme, and shortly after confined his brother Arnold for his traitorous demeanour vsed against him, whereby their attempts were brought vnto an end.

After this, at the feast of saint Michaele, Anselme archbishop of Canturburie held a councell at Westminister, whereat were present the archbishop of Doke, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Worcester, Chester, Bath, Norwich, Rochester, and two other bishops latlie elected by the king,

namelie, Salisburie and Hereford: the bishop of Exeter was absent by reason of sicknesse.

At this councell or synod, diuers abbats and priors, both French and English, were deprived of their promotions and benefices by Anselme, because they had come vnto them otherwise than he pretended to stand with the decrees of the church; as the abbats of Perfor, Ramsey, Lausfocke, Peterborough, Spiddleton, Burie, and Stoke, the prior of Elie, and others.

The chiefest cause of their deposing, was, for that they had receiued their inuestitures at the kings hands.

Diuers constitutions were made by authoritie of this councell, but namelie this one.

1 That priests should no more be suffered to haue wiues, which decre (as saith Henric of Huntingdon) seemed to some verie pure, but to some againe verie dangerous, least whilest diuers of those that coueted to profess such cleannesse and puritie of life as passed their powers to obserue, might haplie fall into most horrible uncleannesse, to the high dishonour of christianitie, and offense of the Almightie.

2 That no spirituall person should haue the administration of any temporall office or function, nor sit in iudgement of life and death.

3 That priests should not haunt alehouses, and further, that they should weare apparell of one manner of colour, and shewes after a comelie fashion: for a little before that time, priests vsed to go verie vnsamellie.

4 That no archdeaconries should be let to farme.

5 That euerie archdeacon should at the least receiue the orders of a deacon.

6 That none should be admitted to the orders of a subdeacon, without profession of chastitie.

7 That no priests sonnes should succeed their fathers in their benefices.

8 That monks and priests which had forsaken their orders (for the loue of their wiues) should be excommunicated, if they would not returne to their profession againe.

9 That priests should weare broad crownes.

10 That no tithes should be giuen but to the church.

11 That no benefices should be bought or sold.

12 That no new chappels should be builded without consent of the bishop.

13 That no church should be consecrated except prouision were first had to the maintenance of it and the minister.

14 That abbats should not be made knights or men of war, but should sleepe & eat within the precinct of their owne houses, except some necessitie moued them to the contrarie.

15 That no monks should intoyne penance to any man without licence of their abbat, and that abbats might not grant licence, but for those of whose soules they had cure.

16 That no monks should be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any mans child.

17 That monks should not hold and occupie any farmes in their hands.

18 That no monks should receiue any parsonages, but at the bishops hands, nor should spoile those which they did receiue in such wise of the profits and reuenues, that curats which should serue the cures might thereby want necessarie prouision for themselves and the same churches.

19 That contracts made betwene man and woman without witness concerning marriage should be void, if either of them denied it.

20 That such as did weare their heare long should be neuertheless so rounded, that part of their eares might appere.

21 That kinnsolke might not contract matrimonie

Abbats & priors deposed.

Matth. Park.

The cause why they were deposed.

Hen. Hunt.
Sim. Dun.

Eadmerus.
Marriage of priests forbidden.

Hen. Hunt.

Decrees instituted in this councell.

Against priests that were alehouse hunters.

Archdeacons.

Subdeacons.

Priests sons.

Priests to wear crowns.

Tithes.

Benefices.

New chapels.

Consecration of churches.

Abbats.

Monks.

Parsonages.

Contracts.

wearing of haire.

Buriall.

nie within the seventh degree of consanguinitie.

22 That the bodies of the dead should not be buried but within their parishes, least the priest might lose his dutie.

Fond shipping of men.

23 That no man should upon some new rash deuotion giue reuerence or honour to any dead bodies, fountaines of water, or other things, without the bishops authoritie, which hath bene well knowne to haue chanced heretofore.

24 That there should be no more buting and selling of men bled in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had bene kine or oxen.

25 That all such as committed the filthie sinne of Sodomitie should be accursed by the decre of this counsell, till by penance & confession they should obtaine absolution. Prouided that if he were a priest or any religious person, he should lose his benefice, and be made incapable of any other ecclesiasticall preferment if he were a laie man, he should lose the prerogative of his estate. Prouided also that no religious man might be absolved of this crime, but at the bishops hands.

The curse to be read euerie sundaie.

26 That euerie sundaie this curse should be read in euerie church.

The king also caused some necessarie ordinances to be deuised at this counsell, to moue men to the leading of a god and bright life.

S. Bartholomewes by Smithfield founded. Smithfield sometimes a common laie stall & a place of execution.

About the third yeare of K. Henries reigne, the foundation of saint Bartholomewes by Smithfield was begun by Kaler one of the kings musicians (as some write) who also became the first prior thereof. In those daies Smithfield was a place where they laid all the ordure and filth of the citie. It was also the appointed place of execution, where felons and other malefactors of the lawes did suffer for their misdeeds.

Anno Reg 3.

In this third yeare of king Henries roigne the quene was deliuered of a sonne called William.

When the earle of Shrewesburie was banished (as ye haue heard) the state of the realme seemed to be reduced into verie good order and quietnesse: so that king Henrie being aduanced with good successe in his affaires, was now in no feare of danger any manner of waie. Howbeit herein he somewhat displeased the cleargie: for leaning vnto his princelie authoritie, he toke vpon him both to nominate bishops, and to inuest them into the possession of their sees: amongst whom was one Kemelid, bishop of Hereford by the kings ordinance. This Kemelid or Kemeline did afterwards resigne that bishoprike to the king, because he was perswaded he had greatlie offended in receiuing the same at a temporall mans hands.

Polydor. The king bewaileth his thoppish. Marth. Paris.

Trulie not onelie king Henrie here in England, but also other princes and high potentates of the temporaltie about the same season, challenged this right of inuesting bishops and other cleargie men, as a thing due vnto them and their predecessors, without all prescription of time, as they alledged, which caused no small debate betwixt them and the spiritualtie, as in that which is written thereof at large by others may more easilie appeere.

Anselme refused to consecrate the bishops inuested by the king.

Howbeit Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie more earnest in this case than any other, would not admit nor consecrate such bishops as were nominated and inuested by the king, making no account of their inuestiture: and further he toke vpon him to admonish the K. not to violate the sacred lawes, rites and ceremonies of christian religion so latelie decreed concerning those matters. But so far was the king from giuing any eare to his admonitions, that he stood the more stiffelie in his challenge. And where Thomas the archbishop of Pothe was not long before departed out of this transitorie life, he

gaue that benefice then void to one Gerard, a man of great wit, but (as some writers report) more desirous of honoz than was requisite for his calling, and willed him in despite of Anselme to consecrate those bishops whom he had of late inuested. This Gerard therfore obeying his commandement, did consecrate them all, William Gifford bishop of Winchester excepted; who refused to be consecrated at his hands, whereupon he was depriued and banished the realme. The archbishop Anselme also was quite out of fauour, for that he ceased not to speake against the K. in reprobuing him in this behalfe, till time that the king was contented to referre the matter to pope Paschall, and to stand to his decre and determination: also, that such as he had placed in any bishoprike, should haue licence to go to Rome to plead their causes, whether he promised thortie to send his ambassadors, and so he did: appointing for the purpose, Herbert bishop of Norwich, and Robert bishop of Lichfield, being both of his priue counsell, and William Warlewast, of whom mention is made before, who went on their waie and came to Rome, according to their commission.

After them also folowed Anselme archbishop of Canturburie, Gerard archbishop of Pothe, & William the elect of Winchester, whom the pope receiued with a courteous kind of intertainment. But Anselme was highlie honozed aboue all the residue, whose diligence and zeale in defense of the ordinances of the see of Rome, he well enough vnderstood. The ambassadors in like maner declaring the effect of their message, opened vnto the pope the ground of the controuersie begun betwene the king and Anselme, & with good arguments went about to proue the kings cause to be lawfull. Upon the other side, Anselme and his partakers with contrarie reasons sought to confute the same. Whereupon the pope declared, that sith by the lawes of the church it was decreed, that the possession of any spirituall benefice, obtained otherwise than by meanes of a spirituall person, could not be good or allowable; from thenceforth, neither the king nor any other for him, should challenge any such right to appertene vnto them.

The kings ambassadors hearing this, were somewhat troubled in their minds: whereupon William Warlewast burst out and said with great vehemencie euen to the popes face: What soener is or may be spoken in this maner to or fro, I would all that be present should well vnderstand, that the king my maister will not lose the inuestitures of churches for the losse of his whole realme. Vnto which words Paschall himselfe replieng, said vnto him againe: If (as thou saiest) the king thy maister will not forgo the inuestiture of churches for the losse of his realme, know thou for certeine, and marke my words well, I speake it before God, that for the ransom of his head, pope Paschall will not at any time permit that he shall enioie them in quiet. At length by the aduise of his counsell, the pope granted the king certeine priuileges and customes, which his predecessors had bled and enioied: but as for the inuestitures of bishops, he would not haue him in any wise to meddle withall: yet did he confirme those bishops whom the king had already created, least the refusall should be occasion to solve any further discord.

This businesse being in this maner ordered, the ambassadors were licenced to depart, who receiuing at the popes hands great rewards, and Gerard the archbishop of Pothe his pall, they thortie after returned into England, declaring vnto the king the popes decre and sentence. The king being still otherwise perswaded, and looking for other newes, was nothing pleased with this matter. Long it was per he would giue suer his claime, or yeld to the popes

Gerard inuested archbishop of Pothe.

W. Gifford bishop of Winchester. Marth. Paris. Wil. Thorne. Polydor.

Polydor.

I 102
Anno Reg. 4.
Ambassadors sent to Rome.

Anselme goeth also to Rome.

Radmerus. The saying of wil. warlewast to the pope.

The popes answer to him

Polydor.

D. y. Iudge

iudgement, till that in proceſſe of time, ouercome with the earnest ſute of Anſelme, he granted to obrie the popes order hercin, though (as it ſhould appeare) right ſore againſt his will.

Wil. Malm.

The pope ſo piteuſly court-
reſonſie to the
king.

In this meane time, the king had ſeiſed into his hands the poſſeſſions of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and baniſhed Anſelme, ſo that he ſtaied at Lions in France for the ſpace of one yeare and ſoure moneths, during which time there paſſed manie letters and meſſages to and fro. The pope alſo wrote to king Henrie in berie courteous maner, exhorting him to call Anſelme home againe, and to releaſe his claime to the inueſtitures of biſhops, wherevnto he could haue no right, ſith it appertained not to the office of any tempoꝛall magiſtrate: adding furthermoze, if the king would giue ouer that vngodlie and blaſphemed cuſtome, that he would ſhew ſuch frendlie fauour in all things, as by the ſufferance of God in any wiſe he might be able to perſorme, and further would receiue not onelie him, but alſo his yong ſonne William (whom latelie it had pleaſed God to ſend him by his vertuous wiſe queene Maud) into his protection, ſo that who ſo euer did hurt either of them, ſhould be thought to hurt the holie church of Rome.

In one of the letters which the ſaid pope wrote vnto Anſelme (after that the king was contented to renounce the inueſtitures aforeſaid) he willed Anſelme, according to the promiſe which he had made, to aſſoile as well from ſinne as from penance due for the ſame, both the king and his wiſe queene Maud, with all ſuch perſons of honour as in this behalfe had trauelled with the king to induce him to be agreeable to his purpoſe.

1104
The earle of
Willelm.

Anno Reg. 4.

The k. per-
ſuaded to re-
nounce his ti-
tle to the inue-
ſtiture of pre-
lates.
Eadmerus.

Howeuer, the earle of Mellent, and Richard de Riuer, who had counſelled the king to ſtand ſtoutlie in the matter, and not to giue ouer his title of ſuch inueſtitures, ſith his anceſtors had uſed them ſo long a time beſore his daies, by reaſon whereof, in renouncing his right to the ſame, he ſhould doe a thing greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall eſtate and princelie maieltie) were now earnest labourers to agree the king and the pope, in ſo much that in the end the king was perſuaded by Anſelme and them to let go his hold, reſigning the inueſtitures with ſtaffe and ring; notwithstanding that, he reſerued the right of elections, and ſuch other roialties as otherwiſe appertained to his maieltie, ſo that ſuch biſhops as had done homage to the king, were not diſabled thereby, but quietlie permitted to receiue their iuriſdictions.

Duke Robert
commeth into
England to
viſit his bro-
ther.

About this time Robert duke of Normandie came into England to ſee his brother: who through the ſugred words and ſweet entertainment of the king, releaſed the perelie tribute of 3000. markes, which he ſhould haue had out of the realme upon agreement (as beſore ye haue heard) but chaſelie indeed at the request of the queene, being inſtructed by hir husband how he ſhould deale with him that was knowne to be free and liberall, without any great conſideration what he preſentlie granted.

How hauing bene here a certaine time, and ſolaced himſelfe with his brother and ſiſter, he returned into Normandie, where ſhortlie after he began to repent him of his follie, in being ſo liberall as to releaſe the ſoreſaid tribute: whereupon he menaced the king, and openlie in his repproch ſaid that he was craftilie circumuented by him, and ſtatlie couraged. Diuerſe in Normandie deſired nothing more than to ſet the two brethren at ſquare, and namely Robert de Beſelme earle of Shrewſburie, with William earle of Poꝛtaigne: theſe two were baniſhed the realme of England. The earle of Shrewſburie for his rebellious attempts (as beſore you haue heard) and the earle of Poꝛtaigne left the land of his owne willfull and ſubborne mind, crilling himſelfe onelie

Wil. Malm.
Factionous per-
ſons praetiſe
to ſet the two
brethren at
variance.

The earle of
Poꝛtaigne.

upon hatred which he bare to the king. For being not contented with the earledome of Poꝛtaigne in Normandie, and the earledome of Cornewall in England, he made ſute alſo for the earledome of Kent, which his vncle Doo ſometime held. How becauſe he was not onelie denied of that ſute, but alſo by order of laue had certaine parcels of land taken from him, which he wrongfullie deteined, he got him into Normandie, and there made war both againſt thoſe places which the king held, and alſo againſt other that belonged to Richard earle of Cheſter, who was then under the kings tuition and gouernement by reaſon of his minority.

Richard earle
of Cheſter.

The threating words of duke Robert comming at the laſt to king Henries eares, cauſed him ſortly with to conceiue verie ſore diſpleaſure againſt the duke, in ſo much that he ſent ouer a power into Normandie, which finding no great reſiſtance, did much hurt in the countrie, by ſetching and carteng ſpoiles and preies. Againe, the Normans rather fauoured than ſought to hinder the enterpriſe of king Henrie, becauſe they ſaw how duke Robert with his ſolliſh prodigalitie and vniſſerall liberalitie had made a waite all that belonged to his eſtate; ſo that of the whole duchie of Normandie, he had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne poſſeſſion, Roan onelie excepted, which he alſo would haue alienated, if the citizens would haue conſented to his ſond motion.

A power of
men ſent into
Normandie.

Gemeticens.

How king Henrie hearing of the good ſucceſſe of his men, paſſed ouer himſelfe ſone after with a mighty armie, and with little adoe toke Curreur or (as others haue) Baieur and Caen, which cities when he had furniſhed with ſufficient garriſons of men, he re- paſſed the ſea into England, becauſe the winter approached, and the wether waied troubleſome for ſuch as late in the field. Whereupon duke Robert conſidering how vnable he was (by reaſon that his people ſailed him at need) to reſiſt king Henrie, ſith the Britiſh alſo, and they of Aniou, toke part with the ſaid king, he thought good to laie armour aſide, and to paſſe ouer into England, to entreat with him by way of brotherlie amitie, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this preſent danger. But at his arriual here, he learned how the king his brother as then was at Poꝛthampton: wherefore he haſted thither, and comming to him, made earnest ſute for peace, beſeeching the king in reſpect of brotherlie loue to grant the ſame; or if it were that he regarded not the goodwill of his naturall brother, to conſider at leaſt wiſe what appertained to his accuſtomed gentleneſſe, and to thinke with himſelfe that warre be- twixt brethren could not be maintained without reproch, nor that victorie be honorable which was obtained againſt his owne fleſh. Wherefore he required him not to reſuſe peace, frendſhip, and voluntarie beneuolence, ſith he was now readie to render all that euer he had into his hands.

1105
The k. paſſed
ouer to Nor-
mandie.
Anno Reg. 6.
Simon Dun.
Gemeticens.
Polydor.

The king nothing moued herewith, but as one that diſdained to make a direct answer, murmured certaine things with himſelfe, and turned away from the duke, as one that either by experience knew his brothers light and unſtable mind, or as one that be- terminated to be reuenged of him euen to the bitter moſt. Duke Robert alſo, abhorring and bitterlie de- teſting this his brothers pride, ſtreightwaies retur- ned home, purpoſing with himſelfe to trie the hazard of warre, ſith he ſawe no hope to be had in brotherlie loue and amitie. Whereupon he provided for wars with all his power, ſeeking aid from all places where he might get any, though the king his brother gaue him ſmall leiſure thereto, who folloved him inconti- nentlie with a new ſupplie of ſouldiours, deſiring no- thing more than to get him within his danger.

1106
Anno Reg. 7.

The brethren
depart in diſ-
pleaſure.

K. Henrie paſ-
ſeth into Nor-
mandie to pur-
ſue his bro-
ther.

Some

They joine in
battell.

Some after, both the brethren approaching nere together, ech of them pitched their campe within the sight of other, preparing themselves to give battell with princelie stomachs. The king surmounting the duke his brother in number, first bringeth forth his men in order of battell, and straightwaies the duke like wise, both being ready to trie the matter by dint of sword. Then the one prouoking the other, and the trumpets sounding aloft, the conflict began. The kings souldiers trusting too much in their owne force, by reason of their great multitude, brake their arraie, and assailed their enemies on ech side verie disorderlie: but the Normans being wiselie ordered and instructed by their duke, kept themselves close together: so that the kings battell, which had without order kept forth to assaile them, finding sturdie resistance, began now to resolt or giue backe: for not onelie duke Robert but also William earle of Portaigne pressed forward amongst their men, and fought valiantlie with their owne hands. Whereupon the king, when he perceived how his men began to shrink, cried vpon them to staie, and withall commanded his horsemen to breake vpon the flanks of his enemies battell: which they did, with such violence that they disparkled the same, and caused the enemies to scatter. Herewith also the kings footmen, together with the horsemen invaded the Normans afresh, who neuerthelesse resisted a while, till being compassed about in maner on euerie side, they began to flee: as oftentimes it chanceth, when a few diuen in sunder by a multitude, are assailed on all sides. The king then hauing vanquished his aduersaries, followeth the chase, and maketh great slaughter of them, though not without some losse of his owne: for the Normans despairing of safetie, turned oftentimes againe vpon their pursuers.

The Normans
dismayed.

The earle of
Portaigne.

Eadmerus.
W. Crispine.
W. Ferreis.
Robert de
Stoutaile.
The number
slaine.

Gemeticensis.

Duke Robert and the earle of Portaigne fighting most manfully in the verie pzease of their enemies, were taken, or (as other saie) betrayed, and deliuered into their enemies hands: beside which twaine, William Crispine, William Ferreis, Robert Stoutaile the elder, with foure hundred men of armes, and to the number of 10. thousand footmen were taken. As for the number that were slaine in this battell, there is none that declareth the certainte: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that no one battell in those daies was sozer fought, nor with greater bloodshed either in Normandie, or elsewhere.

Gemeticensis sheweth briefly, that king Henrie was offended with his brother duke Robert, for alienating the duchie of Normandie his inheritance, & for waisting his reuenues with such riotous demeanour as he bled, so that he left himselfe nothing but the citie of Roan, which he had not passed to haue giuen awaie also, if the citizens would thereto haue granted their consent. The king (I saie) taking displeasure herewith, went ouer into Normandie, and assuming a mightie power, first besieged Baieur, & then halfe destroing it, he toke it by force. After this he toke Caen also, and then besieged a castell called Tenechbray pertaining to the earle of Portaigne, during which siege his brother Robert, and the said earle of Portaigne came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuenged of the king, and to chase him out of the countrie. But the punishment of God fell so vpon them, that they were both taken, and manie of their friends with them, as Robert de Stoutaile, William de Crispine, and others, who were brought before king Henrie as prisoners. Thus did almightie God grant vnto the king a notable victorie without bloodshed, for he lost not a man: as for his aduersaries, there died in the field not past thre score persons.

Wil. Malm.

This seemeth also to agree with that which Wil.

Malmesburie writeth: for he saith, that king Henrie with small adu brought into his hands duke Robert, who with a great troupe of men came against him then lodging nere the said castell of Tenechbray. The earle of Portaigne was also taken, but the erle of Shrewsburie escaped by flight, notwithstanding he was apprehended, as he went about to practise some priuie conspiracie against the king. ¶ This battell was fought (as the same Wil. Malm. affirmeth) vpon a saturday, being the daie of S. Michaell in gloria, and (as may be thought) by the prouident iudgment of God, to the end that Normandie should be subdued vnto England on that daie, in the which 40. yeares passed, king William the Conquerour first set foot on land at Hastings, when he came out of Normandie to subdue England. Neither doth Simon Dunelmensis varie in any thing from Gemeticensis touching the conclusion of this businesse, and the taking of duke Robert.

Robert de
Weslme.

The 27. of
September
ch. 20. de H. 2.

Simon Dun.

These wars being thus finished, and the countrie set in quiet, which through the mere folie of duke Robert was wonderfullie impouerished, the king receiued the keies of all the towne and castles that belonged either to the duke or the earle of Portaigne, and furnished the same with garisons to be kept for his behoefe. Hauing thus pacified the countrie of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechelour, where archbishop Anselme then remained, whome by mediation of friends he receiued to fauour againe, and sending him ouer into England, immediatlie after followed himselfe.

Math. West.

1107
Anselme re-
turneth home.

Duke Robert being also spoiled of his dominions, lands and liberties, was shortly committed to prison within the castell of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the space of 26. yeares, and then died. He gouerned the duchie of Normandie 19. yeares, he was a perfect and expert warior, & comparable with the best capitaines that then liued, had he bene somewhat more warie and circumspect in his affaires, and therewithall constant in his opinion. His worthie acts valiantlie and fortunatlie atchieued against the infidels, are notified to the world by manie and sundrie writers, to his high commendation and long lasting praise. It is said also, that he was after his taking once set at libertie by king Henrie, and bound to forswear the realme of England and Normandie, being appointed to auoid within the space of 40. daies, and twelue houres. But his cause he was perceiued to practise somewhat against the king, he was effones taken againe, and hauing his eyes put out, committed to prison, where finally worn through age and greife of mind, he ended his miserable life. ¶ The forme of banishing men out of the realme, was ordeined by Edward the Confessor, and remained as a law in vse till these our daies, for the benefit of them which fled to any church or other priuiledged place, thereby to escape the punishment of death due for their offences. By a latter custom it was also deuised, that they should beare a crosse in their hand, as a signe that they were pardoned of life, for the holie place sake where they sought for succour.

Duke Robert
prisoner in the
castell of Car-
difi.

Gemeticensis.

Polydor.

But duke Robert (as it should appere by that which others write) found no such fauour, saue onlie libertie to walke abroad in the kings forests, parks, and chases nere the place where he was appointed to remaine: so that vpon a daie, as he was walking abroad, he got a horse, and with all post hast rode his waie, in hope to haue escaped: howbeit his keepers being aduised thereof, followed him with hue and crie, and at length ouertoke him in a madow, where he had laid his horse by to the belkie in a quauemire. Then being brought backe, his keepers kept him in close prison, aduertising the king of his demeanour:

Math. West.

W. l.

where

whereupon he commanded that the sight of his eyes should be put out, but so, as the balles of them should remaine unbroken, for the avoiding of a noisome deformitie that otherwise would ensue, if the glasse tunicles should take hurt.

John Pike.

In his returne out of the holie Land, he married one Sibell, the earle of Conuerfians sister in Puglia, his father hight Roger or Gessrey (as some booke haue) and was neyue to Robert Guythard duke of Puglia, and by hir had issue one sonne named William after ward earle of Flanders, whereof (God willing) moze shall be said hereafter.

Here must I leaue duke Robert, and speake somewhat of Anselme the archbishop, who shortly after his returne into England, receiued letters from pope Balchall, wherein Anselme was authorized to dispose and order things as should seeme to him most expedient. Now, whereas the greater and better part of the English clergie consisted of preests sonnes, he committed to his discretion the order to dispense with them; namely, that such as were of commendable life and sufficient learning, might be admitted to the ministrerie, as the necessitie of time and state of the church should require. The pope also by the same letters gaue Anselme authoritie to absolue Richard the prior of Elie, vpon his satisfaction pretermitted, and to restore him to the gouernement of the priorie of Elie, if the king thought it conuenient.

Richard prior of Elie.

1107

About the calends of August, in this yeare 1107, the king held a counsell of bishops, abbats, and other lords of his realme in his pallace at London, where in the absence of Anselme, the matter touching the inuestitures of churches, was argued vpon for the space of thre daies togither, and in the end because the pope had granted the homages of bishops and other prelates to the king, which his predecessor Urban had forbidden, togither with the inuestitures; the king was contented to consent to the popes will in forbearing the same. So that when Anselme was come, the king in presence of him and a great multitude of his people, granted and ordeined, that from thenceforth no bishop nor abbat should be inuested within the realme of England, by the hand either of the king or any laie man: on the other side it was granted againe by Anselme, that no person elected into the prelacie, should be depriued of his consecration for doing his homage to the king.

These things thus ordeined, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were prouided of gouernors, which were placed without any inuestiture of staffe or ring. About this time, Anselme consecrated fise bishops at Canturburie in one day, archbishop William to the see of Winchester, Roger that was the kings chancelor to Salisbury, William Warlewast to Excester, Remaline the quenes chancelor to Hereford, and one Urban to Glamoigan in Wales.

Polydor. Ran. Higd.

Flemings coming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabit.

About this season a great part of Flanders being drowned by an erundation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beseeching the king to haue some void place assigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the first they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the east part of the riuer of Tweed: but within foure yerres after, they were remoued into a corner by the sea side in Wales, called Denbokeshire, to the end they might be a defense there to the English against the vniquiet Welchmen.

Wil. Malm.

It should appeare by some writers, that this multitude of Flemings consisted not of such onelie as came ouer about that time by reason their countrie was ouerflowed with the sea (as ye haue heard) but of other also that arrived here long before, even in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the

friendship of the quene their countrie woman, & then which time their number so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them: whereupon king Henrie deuised to place them in Denbokeshire, as well to auoid them out of the other parts of England, as also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fiercene of the Welchmen. Which thing in those parties they brought verie well to passe: for after they were settled there, they valiantlie resisted their enemies, and made verie sharpe warres vpon them, sometimes with gaine, and sometimes with losse.

In the yeare 1108. Anselme held an other synod or counsell, whereat in presence of the king, and by the assent of the earles and barons of the realme it was ordeined.

1108
A counsell.
Sim. Dunel.
Eadmerus.
Anno Reg. 9.

1 That preests, deacons, and subdeacons should liue chastlie, and keepe no women in their houses, except such as were nere of kin to them.

2 That such preests, deacons, and subdeacons, as contrarie to the inhibition of the counsell holden at London, had either kept their wiues, or married other (of whom as Eadmerus saith, there was no small number) they should put them quite away, if they would continue still in their preesthood.

Preests are
sequestred fro
their wiues.

3 That neither the same wiues should come to their houses, nor they to the houses where their wiues dwelled: but if they had any thing to say to them, they should take two or thre witnesses, and talke with them abroad in the street.

4 That if any of them chanced to be accused of breaking this ordinance, he should be driuen to purge himselfe with six sufficient witnesses of his owne order, if he were a preest: if a deacon, with foure: and if a subdeacon, with two.

5 That such preests as would forgo seruing at the altar, and holie order (to remaine with their wiues) should be depriued of their benefices, and not suffered to come within the quire.

6 That such as contemptuously kept still their wiues, and presumed to say masse, if being called to satisfaction, they should neglect it, they should then be excommunicated. Within compasse of which sentence all archdeacons and prebendarie canons were comprised, both touching the forgoing of their women, and auoiding of their companie, and also the punishment by the censures of the church, if they transgressed the ordinance.

Archdeacons
and canons.

7 That euerie archdeacon should be sworne, not to take any monie for fauouring any person transgressing these statutes: and that they should not suffer any preests, whome they knew to haue wiues, either to say masse, or to haue any vicars. The like oth should a deane receiue. Prouided that such archdeacons or deanes as refused this oth, should be depriued of their romes.

Archdeacons
to be sworne.

8 That preests, who leauing their wiues, would be content to serue God & the altar, should be suspended from that office, by the space of forty daies, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane time to serue for them: and after, vpon performance of their inioined penance by the bishop, they might returne to their function.

Penance.

In this meane time king Henrie being aduertised of the death of Phillip king of France, and not knowing what his sonne Lewis, surnamed Crassus might happlie attempt in his new preferment to the crowne, sailed ouer into Normandie, to see the countrie in good order, and the towne, castels, and fortresses furnished accordinglie as the doubtful time required. Now after he had finished his businesse on that side, he returned into England, where he met with ambassadours sent to him from the emperor Henrie. The effect of whose message was, to require his

Polydor.
Phillip king
of Fran. dead.
Lewis le gros
K. of France.

his daughter
from the em-
perour.

And the
kings daugh-
ter fianced
vnto the em-
perour.

Radmerus.
The death of
Gerard arch-
bish. of yorke.
Thomas the
kings chap-
leine succeeded
in that see.

The doubt of
Anselme.

Anselme writ-
teth to the
pope.

The popes
answer to
Anselme.

The archbi-
shop of yorke
refuseth to
come vnto
Canturbu-
rie to be con-
secrated.

Like in the 9.
page, and the
first colunne,
of the debate
between Tho-
mas of yorke
& Lanfranke
of Cantur-
burie.

his daughter And in marriage vnto the said em-
perour, wherevnto (though she was not then past five
yeares of age) he willingly consented, and shewing
to the ambassadours great signes of loue, he caused
the espousals by waie of procuracion to be solemniz-
ed with great feasts and triumphs. This being en-
ded, he suffered the ambassadours honored with great
gifts and princelie rewards to depart.

About this time Gerard archbishop of Porke died,
whom one Thomas the kings chapleine succeeded,
who for lacke of monte to furnish his iourne, and for
other causes (as in his letters of excuse, which he wrot
to Anselme it doth appere) could not come to Can-
turburie for to be consecrated of him in so short a
time as was conuenient. But Anselme at length
admonished him by letters, that without delay he
should dispatch and come to be consecrated. And

whereas Anselme vnderstood that the same Thomas
was purposed to send vnto Rome for his pall, he
doubted, least if the pope should confirme him in his
see by sending to him his pall, he would happilie re-
fuse to make vnto him profession of his due obedi-
ence. Wherefore to preuent that matter, Anselme
wrote to pope Paschall, requiring him in no wise to
send vnto the nominated archbishop of Porke his
pall, till he had (according to the ancient customes)
made profession to him of subiection, least some trou-
blesome contentions might thereof arise, to the no
small disquieting of the English church. He also ad-
uertised pope Paschall, that because he permitted the
emperour to inuest bishops, and did not therefore ex-
communicate him, king Henrie threatened, that
without doubt he would resume the inuestitures in-
to his hands, thinking to hold them in quiet as well
as he; and therefore he sought him to consider what
his wisdome had to do therein with speed, least that
building which he had well erected, should vnterlie de-
caie, & fall againe into irrecoverable ruine. For k.
Henrie maketh diligentlie inquirie (saith he) what
order you take with the emperour.

The pope receiuing and perusing these letters,
wrote againe vnto Anselme a verie francklie an-
swer concerning the archbishop of Porke. And as
for suffering of the emperour to haue the inuesti-
tures, he signified to him that he neither did nor
would suffer him to haue them: but that hauing
bozne with him for a time, he now ment verie short-
lie to cause him to feele the weight of the spirituall
sword of S. Peter, which alreadie he had drawen out
of the scaberd, therewith to strike if he did not the so-
oner forsake his horrible error & naughtie opinion.

There was another cause also that moued An-
selme to doubt of the archbishop of Porke his mea-
ning, as after it appered. For being summoned to
come and receiue his consecration at Canturburie
(as alreadie yee haue heard) through counsell of the
canons of Porke he refused so to do: because they
informed him that if he so did, it should be greatlie
preiudiciall to the liberties of that see, whose archbi-
shop was of like authoritie in all things vnto the
archbishop of Canturburie, so that he was bound
onlie to fetch his consecration and benediction at
Canturburie, but in no wise to acknowledge anie
subiection vnto that see. ¶ For yee must vnderstand,
that there was great stomaching betwixt the clergie
of the two prouinces, Canturburie and Porke, about
the metropolitane prerogatiue: and euer as occasion
serued, and as they thought the fauor of the prince, or
opportunitie of time might aduance their quarels,
they of Porke sticked not to vtter their grieues, in
that (as they toke it) some iniurie was offered them
therein.

The archbishop of Porke being thus instructed by
the canons of his church, signified to archbishop An-

selme the cause why he came not at his summons.
The copie of a parcell whereof is here exemplified.
*Causam, qua differtur sacratio mea, quam nemo studio-
sius quam ego vellet accelerare, qui protulerunt, non desistunt
corroborare. Quamobrem, quam periculosum & quam turpe
sit, contra consensum ecclesie, cui prefici debeo, regimen ipsius
inuadere, vestra discretio nouerit. Sed & quam formidabile
& quam sit euitandum, sub specie benedictionis maledictio-
nem induere, &c: that is;*

The cause why my consecration is deferred, which
no man liuing would wish to be done with more
speed than I my selfe: those that haue prolonged
it, cease not to confirme. Wherefore how dangerous
and how dishonest it should be for me to inuade the
gouernment of that church, which I ought to rule,
without consent of the same, your discretion rightwell
vnderstandeth. Yea and how dreadfull a thing it is,
and how much to be auoided to receiue a curse, in-
der colour of a blessing, &c.

Anselme hauing alreadie written twice vnto the
said Thomas archbishop of Porke about this matter,
and now receiuing this answer, could not be quiet
in mind, and therevpon taking aduice with certeine
bishops whom he called vnto him, determined to send
two bishops vnto the said Thomas of Porke: and so
the bishop of London (as deane to the archbishop of
Canturburie) & the bishop of Rochester (as his house-
hold chapleine) were sent to commune with him,
who met them at his manour of Southwell, where
they declared to him the effect of their message: but
he deferred his answer, till a messenger which he had
sent to the king (as then being in Normandie) was
returned, and so without any full answer the bishops
came backe againe.

Howbeit shortly after, there came to Can-
turburie a messenger on the behalfe of the archbi-
shop of Porke, with letters inclosed vnder the kings
seale, by the tenour whereof the king commanded
Anselme, that the consecration of the archbishop of
Porke might staie till the feast of Easter; and if he
might returne into England by that daie, he promi-
sed (by the aduice had therein of the bishops and ba-
rons of his realme) that he would set a direction be-
twixt them in all matters, whereof anie controuer-
sie had bene moued heretofore: or if he could not re-
turne so soone, he would yet take such order, that bo-
therlie loue & concord might remaine betwixt them.
When he that brought these letters required an an-
swer, Anselme answered, that he would signifie his
mind to the king, and not to his maister. Immediat-
lie therefore was the deane of Chichester sent ouer
from Anselme, with a monke of Bechelouin to the
king, to informe him of all the matter, and to beseech
his maiestie, by his authoritie to provide, that no dis-
cord should rise to the diuiding of the present state of
the church of England. Furthermore, whereas he
had commanded him to grant vnto Thomas the
archbishop of Porke, a time of respit; he should take
for certeine answer, that he would rather suffer him-
selfe to be cut in peeces, than to grant so much as one
hours space on the said Thomas of Porke, whome
he knew alreadie to haue set himselfe vniustlie a-
gainst the ancient constitutions of holie fathers, and
against the Lord himselfe. The messengers declared
these things to the king, and brought word backe a-
gaine at their returne, that the king had heard their
message with fauourable mind, and promised by the
power of God, to declare to the world that he cou-
ted vnitie, and not any diuision in the church of Eng-
land.

All this while Anselme was detained with long
and grieuous sicknesse, and yet not forgetfull of the
obstinate dealing of Thomas of Porke, he wrote let-
ters vnto him, by vertue whereof he suspended him
from

The bishop of
London deane
to the archbis-
hop of Can-
turburie.
The bishop of
Rochester his
chapleine.

A stout prelat.

Anselme sen-
deth to the
king.

Anselme sick.

from exercising all passioall function, till he had reformed his error, submitted himselfe to receive his blessing, and acknowledged his subiection to the church of Canturburie, as his predecessours Thomas and Gerard had done, and before them other ancients, as custome had prescribed. Thus he charged him, upon paine of cursing, except he would renounce his archbishops dignitie: for in so doing he did grant him licence to use the office and ministerie of a priest (which before time he had taken upon him) or else not.

Letters from
Anselme.

In the same letters he prohibited all the bishops within the precinct of the Ile of Britaine, that in no wise they should consecrate him, upon paine of cursing: and if he should chance to be consecrated by any stranger, that in no wise they should (under the like paine) receive him for archbishop, or communicate with him in any condition. Guerie bishop also within the whole Ile of Britaine had a copie of these letters directed to him from Anselme under his seale, commanding them to behaue themselves therein according to the contents, and as they were bound by the subiection which they owght to the church of Canturburie. The letters were dated alike in March.

1109
Anno Reg. 10.

Augusta Praetoriana.

March, West.
The first erection of the bishopricke of Elic.

Richard prior of Elic.

Polydor.
Eadmerus.
A legate from Rome.

The earle of Mellent.

Samson bishop of Worcester.

Notwithstanding all this, upon the 21. of Aprill insuing, Anselme ended his life in the sixteenth yeare after his first preferment to that see, being threescore and sixtene yeeres of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, nere to the Alpes, in a citie called Asta, he was brought up by Lanfranke, and before he was made archbishop, was abbat of the monasterie of Bechelouin in Normandie.

About the same time was the bishops see of Elic created by the king, who appointed one Harnie to be the first bishop there, who before had bene bishop of Bangor. Cambridgeshire was annexed to that see, which because it had of former time belonged to the see of Lincolne, the king gaue unto the bishop of Lincolne (as it were in recompense) the towne of Spalding which was his owne. The prior of Elic, named Richard, desirous to honour himselfe and his house with the title of a bishops dignitie, procured the erection of that bishopricke, first mouing the king therein, and after persuading with the bishop of Lincolne to grant his good will: but yet per the matter was brought to perfection, this prior died, and so the said Harnie enioied the come: wherein the prior he tooke place, that One so weth, but an other reapeth (as Polydor alledgeth it.) But to proceed.

Shortlie after the deccasse of Anselme, a Legat came from Rome, bringing with him the pall for the archbishop of Poze. Howbeit now that Anselme was dead, the said Legat wist not what to do in the matter, because he was appointed to deliuer the pall first and immediatlie unto Anselme, and further therein to deale (concerning the bestowing thereof) as should seeme good unto him.

In the feast of Pentecost next insuing, the king returned from Normandie, and held his court at London, where after the solemnitie of that feast, he called an assemblie of the bishops, to vnderstand what was to be done in the matter, for the consecration of the archbishop of Poze. Here were the letters shewed which the archbishop Anselme had (a little before his death) directed unto euerie of the bishops as before we haue heard. Which when the earle of Mellent had read, and vnderstood the effect, he asked what he was that durst receive any such letters without the kings assent and commandement: At length the bishops aduising themselves what they had to do, requied Samson bishop of Worcester to declare his opinion, who boldlie spake these words: Although this man, who is elected archbishop, is my sonne, whome in times past I begot of my wife, and therfore ought

to seeke his aduancement as nature and woollie respects might moue me: yet am I more bound unto the church of Canturburie, my mother, which hath preferred me to this honoz that I do beare, and by the ministerie of a bishoplike office hath made me partaker of that grace, which it hath deserued to enioy of the Lord. Wherefore I would it should be notified unto you all, that I meane to obeie in euerie condition the commandement contained in the letters of our father Anselme concerning the matter which you haue now in hand. For I will neuer giue mine assent, that Thomas nominated archbishop of Poze shall be consecrated, till he haue professed his due and canoncall obedience touching his subiection to the church of Canturburie. For I my selfe was present when my brother. Thomas archbishop of Poze, constrained both by ancient customes and inuincible reasons, did professe the like subiection unto archbishop Lanfranke, and all his successors the archbishops of Canturburie.

These words thus uttered by the bishop of Worcester, all the bishops returned together, and coming before the kings presence, boldlie confessed that they had received Anselmes letters, and would not do any thing contrarie to the tenour of the same. Whereat the earle of Mellent thoke the head, as though he ment to accuse them of contempt towards the king. But the king himselfe uttered his mind, and said, that whatsoeuer other men thought of the matter, he suerlie was of the like mind with the bishops, & would be loth to run in danger of Anselmes curse. Wherefore it was determined, that the elect of Poze should either acknowledge his subiection to the church of Canturburie, or else forgo his dignitie of archbishop: whereupon in the end he came to London, and there upon the 28. daie of Maie was consecrated by Richard bishop of London, as deane to the see of Canturburie. Then hauing the profession or protestation of his subiection to the see of Canturburie deliuered him under seale, he brake up the same, and read the writing in maner and forme following:

Ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesie consecrandus metropolitanus, profiteor subiectionem & canonicam obedientiam sanctae Dorobernen[sis] ecclesie, & eiusdem ecclesie primati canonice electo & consecrato, & successoribus suis canonice in throno salutis fidelitate domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum, & salua obedientia ex parte mea tenenda, quam Thomas antecessor meus sanctae Romanae ecclesiae ex parte sua professus est: that is;

I Thomas to be consecrated metropolitan archbishop of Poze, professe my subiection and canoncall obedience unto the holie church of Canturburie, and to the primate of the same church canonically elected and consecrated, and to his successors canonically inthronized, sauing the faith which I owe unto my souereigne lord Henrie king of the English, and sauing the obedience to be holden of my part, which Thomas my predecessour professed on his behalfe unto the holie church of Rome.

When this writing was read, the bishop of London toke it, and deliuered it unto the prior of Canturburie, appointing him to keepe the same as a testimoniall for the time to come. Thus was Thomas the archbishop of Poze consecrated, being the 27. in number that had gouerned that see, who when he was consecrated, the popes Legate went unto Poze, and there deliuered to the same archbishop the pall, wherewith when he was inuessed, he departed and returned to Rome, as he was appointed.

At the feast of Chistmasse next insuing, the king held his court at London with great solemnitie. The archbishop of Poze prepared to haue set the crowne on the kings head, and to haue song masse afore him, because

Awke in p. 9.
in both columns, where you shall see this matter determined.

The protestation of the bishops to the king.

The tenour of the protestation which the archbishop of Poze made unto the archbishop of Canturburie.

1110

Strife be-
twixt bishops.

bicause the archbishops see at Canturburie was void. But the bishop of London would not suffer it, claiming as high deane to the see of Canturburie to execute that office, and so did, leading the king to the church after the maner. Howbeit when they should come to sit downe at dinner, there kindled a strife betwixt the said two bishops about their places, bicause the bishop of London, for that he had bene ordeined long before the archbishop, and therefore not onelie as deane to the see of Canturburie, but also by reason of priozitie, pretended to haue the vpper seat. But the king perceiuing their maner, would not heare them, but commanded them out of his house, and got them to dinner at their innes.

Anno Reg. 11.

Præsts pro-
hibited to mar-
rie or keepe
women,

About the same time the cause of the mariage of præsts and their keeping of women came againe in question, so that by the kings commandement, they were more strenghtlie forbidden the companie of women than before in Anselmes time. For after his decesse, diuerse of them (as it were promising to themselves a new libertie to do that which in his life time they were constrained soze against their willes to forbear) decelued themselves by their hastie dealing. For the king being informed thereof, by the force of the ecclesiasticall lawes compelled them to stand to and obeie the decre of the counsell holden at London by Anselme (as before ye haue heard) at least wise in the sight of men. But if so it be (saith Eadmerus) that the præsts attempt to do worse, as it were to the condemnation and reproche of Anselmes doings, let the charge light on their heads, sith euerie man shall beare his owne burthen: for I know (saith he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their one cousins (I will not say their owne sisters and daughters) shall not suerlie escape his iudgement.

The river of
Trent dried
vp.

About the same time manie wonders were seene and heard of. The river of Trent nere to Nottingham, for the space of a mile ceased to run the wonted course during the time of foure & twentie houres, so that the channell being dried vp, men might passe ouer to and fro drie thod.

Monsters.

A comet.
Wil. Thorne.
Math. West.

Also a sow brought forth a pig with a face like a man, & a chicken was hatched with foure feet. Moreover a comet or blasing star appeared in a strange sort: for rising in the east, when it once came aloft in the firmament, it kept not the course forward, but seemed to go backward, as if it had bin retrograde.

John Stow.
Robert the
kings base
son created
earle of Glo-
cester.

About this season the king married Robert his base sonne to the ladie Maub, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzham, and withall made his said sonne earle of Gloucester, who afterwards builded the castles of Wyssow and Cardiff, with the priozie of St. James in Wyssow, where his bodie was buried.

I I I I
Anno Reg. 12.
Fabian.
The citie of
Constances
taken.

The king pas-
seth into Nor-
mandie.

In the yeare following, Forke earle of Anson, enuieng the prosperous estate of king Henrie, and lamenting the case of duke Robert, waite the citie of Constances, by corrupting certeine of the kings subiects the inhabitants of the same. Whereof king Henrie being aduertised, passed ouer into Normandie, recovered the said citie, punished the offenders, reuenged himselfe of the earle, and returned into England.

I I I 2

The archbi-
shops see of
Canturburie
in the kings
hand foure
yeares.

Now, as also before, the king continued his inordinate desire of enriching himselfe, for the fulfilling of which hungrie appetite (called *satura* of the poets *Per antiphrasin*) he pinched manie so soze, that they ceased not to speake verie ill of his doings. He did also incur the misliking of verie manie people, bicause he kept still the see of Canturburie in his hands, and would not bestow it, for that he found sweetnesse in receiuing all the profits and reuenues belonging thereunto, during the time that it remained vacant, which was the space of foure yeares, or thereabouts.

In like maner, when he was admonished to place some meet man in the see, he would saie, that he was willing to bestow it, but he took the longer time, for that he meant to find such a one to prefer thereto as should not be too far behind Lanfranke and Anselme in doctrine, vertue and wisdom. And sith there was none such yet to be found, he suffered that see to be void till such could be provided. This excuse he pretended, as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthy man, than of the gaine that followed during the time of the vacacion. Howbeit not long after, he translated one Richard bishop of London to that archbishopricke, who enioing it but a while, he gaue the same to one Rafe then bishop of Rochester, and made him archbishop of Canturburie, being the 35. in order that ruled that see. He was elected at Windsor the 26. of Aprill, and on the 16. daie of Maie installed at Canturburie, great preparation being made for the feast which was holden at the same. Some after likewise he sent for his pall to Rome, which was brought from Walschall by one Anselme nephew unto the late archbishop Anselme. About this time also the pope found himselfe grieved, for that his authoritie was but little esteemed in England, & for that no persons were permitted to appeale to Rome in cases of controuersie, and for that (without seeking to obtaine his licence and consent) they did keepe their synods & counsels about ecclesiasticall affaires, neither would obeie such Legats as he did send, nor come to the conuocations which they held. In so much that one Cono the popes Legat in France had excommunicated all the præsts of Normandie, bicause they would not come to a synod which they had summoned. Whereupon the king being somewhat troubled, by aduice of his counsell, sent the bishop of Excester to Rome, (though he were then blind) to talke with the pope concerning that matter.

The kings
excuse.

I I I 4
Anno Reg. 14.

Eadmerus.

The popes
authoritie not
regarded in
England.

The bishop of
Excester sent
to Rome.

Thurstans
archbishop
of York.

Not long after this Thomas the archbishop of Pothe died: after whom succeeded Thurstane, a man of a lustie stomach, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verie first began to contend with Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie about the title and right of the primasie. And though the king aduised him to stand to the order which the late archbishops of Pothe had obserued, yet he would not staie the matter, sith he saw that archbishop Rafe being sicke and diseased, could not attend to preuent his doings. Thurstane therefore consecrated certeine bishops of Scotland, and first of all Giles Aldane the elect bishop of S. Minian, who promised and took his oath (as the manner is) to obeie him in all things as his primate.

Giles Aldane
bishop of S.
Minian.

The citie of Worcester about this season was by a casuall fire almost wholie burnt vp and consumed. Which mishap, bicause that citie joineth nere vnto Wales, was thought to be a signification of troubles to folow by the insurrection of the Welshmen: who conceiuing hope of good speed by their god successe in the wars held with William Rufus, began now to invade & waste the English marches. Whereupon king Henrie desirous to fame their hautie stomachs (bicause it was a græfe to him still to be vexed with such tumults and bixlings as they daile procured) assembled a mightie armie, and went into Wales. Now bicause he knew the Welshmen trusted more to the woods and mountains, than to their owne strength, he beset all the places of their refuge with armed men, and sent into the woods certeine bands to laie them waste, & to hunt the Welsh out of their holes. The soldours (for their parts) needed no exhortation: for remembryng the losses sustained afore time at the Welshmens hands, they shewed well by their fresh pursute, how much they desired to be

Floriacensis
Wigorniensis.
Worcester
burnt.
Polydor.
The welshme
invade the en-
glish marches.
A. Henrie en-
treth into
wales with
an armie.

be reuenged, so that the Welsh were slaine on each hand, and that in great numbers, till the king perceiued the huge slaughter, & saw that hauing throwne away their armour and weapons, they sought to saue themselves by flight, he commanded the soldiours to ceasse from killing, and to take the residue that were left prisoners, if they would yeld themselves: which they did, and besought the king of his mercie and grace to pardon and forgive them.

Garrisons placed in wailes by H. Henrie. Floriacensis Wigorniensis.

A subsidie rated by the king to bestowe with his daughter. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

1114
The sea decreaseth. Wil. Thorne.

Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Marth. Westm.

1115
Anno Reg. 16.

1116
Anno. Reg. 17.

Griffin ap Rice doth much hurt on the marshes. Polydor.

The king thus hauing banquished and overcome the Welshmen, placed garrisons in sundrie townes & castles, where he thought most necessarie, and then returned to London with great triumph. Whither shortly after came ambassadours from the emperor, requiring the kings daughter affianced (as before you haue heard) vnto him, and (being now victorious of mariable) desired that she might be deliuered vnto them. King Henrie hauing heard their sute and willing with speed to performe the same, raised a great tax among his subjects, rated after euery hide of land which they held, & taking of each one thre shillings towards the payment of the monie which was couenanted to be giuen with hir at the time of the contract. Which when the king had leuied, with much more, towards the charges to be employed in sending hir forth, he appointed certeine of his greatest pères to safe conduct hir vnto hir husband, who with all convenient speed conueied hir into Germanie, and in verie honorable maner there deliuered hir vnto the foresaid emperor. After this, the king went into Normandie, and there created his sonne William duke of that countrie, causing the people to sweare fealtie and obedience to him, whereof rose a custome, that the kings of England from thenceforth (so long as Normandie remained in their hands) made euery their eldest sonnes dukes of that countrie. When he had done this with other his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England.

In this yeare about the fiftenth daie of October, the sea so decreased and shrank from the old accustomed water-markes and coasts of the land here in this realme, that a man might haue passed on foot ouer the lands and washes, for the space of a whole daie together, so that it was taken for a great wonder. It was also noted, that the maine riuers (which by the tides of the sea used to ebbe and flow twice in 24. houres) became so shallow, that in many places men might go ouer them without danger, and namely the riuer of Thames was so lowe for the space of a day and a night, that horses, men, and children passed ouer it betwixt London bridge and the tower, and also vnder the budge, the water not reaching above their knees. Moreover, in the moneth of December, the aire appeared red, as though it had burned. In like maner, the winter was verie extreame cold with frosts, by reason whereof at the thawing and breaking of the yce, the most part of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe.

Not long after this, Griffin ap Rice toke a great prize and botie out of the countreies subiect to the king within the limits of Wales, and burned the kings castles, because he would not restore such lands and possessions vnto him as appertained to his father Rice or Rice. Howbeit, the king (notwithstanding this businesse) being not otherwise troubled with any other warres or weightie affaires, deferred his voyage into those quarters, and first called a councell of his lordes both spirituall and tempozall at Salisburie on the nineteenth daie of March, wherein manie things were ordeined for the wealth and quiet state of the land. And first he sware the nobilitie of the realme, that they should be true to him and his sonne William after his decesse. Secondlie, he appealed sundrie matters then in controuersie betwixt the

nobles and great pères, causing the same to be brought to an end, and the parties made friends: the diuision betwixt the archbishops of Yorke and Canturburie (which had long depended in trial, and could not as yet haue end) excepted. For ambitious Turstan would not stand to any decree or order therein, except he might haue had his whole will, so that the king taking displeasure with him for his obstinate demeanour, commanded him either to be conformable to the decree made in Lanfranks time, or else to renounce his miter, which to doe (rather than to acknowledge any subiection to the archbishop of Canturburie) he seemed to be verie willing at the first, but afterwards repented him of his speech passed in that behalfe. Now when the councell was ended, and the king went ouer into Normandie, he followed, trusting by some meanes to persuade the king, that he might haue his furtherance to be consecrated, without recognizing any obedience to the see of Canturburie: but the king would not heare him, whereby the matter rested long in sute, as hereafter shall appeare.

¶ Hereby it is plaine (as Polydor saith) both the bishops in those daies were blinded with couetousnesse and ambition, not considering that it was their duties to despise such worldlie pompe, as the people regard, and that their calling required a studious endeuour for the health of such soules as fell to their charge. Neither yet remembered they the simplicitie of Christ, and his contempt of worldlie dignitie, when he refused to satisfie the humors of the people, who verie desirous would haue made him a king, but withdrew himselfe, and departed to a mountaine himselfe alone. They were rather infected with the ambition of the apostles, contending one with another for the primacie, forgetting the vocation thereto Christ had separated them, not to rule as kings ouer the gentiles, but to submit their necks to the yokes of obedience, as they had Christ their maister an example and president.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before this time, the kings of England used but seldom to call together the states of the realme after any certeine maner or generall kind of processe, to haue their consents in matters to be decreed. But as the lordes of the priuie councell in our time doe sit onlie when necessitie requireth, so did they whensoever it pleased the king to haue any conference with them. So that from this Henrie it may be thought the first vse of the parlement to haue proceeded, which sith that time hath remained in force, and is continued vnto our times, insomuch that whatsoever is to be decreed touching the state of the commonwealth and conseruation thereof, is now referred to that councell. And furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king or any other person to be vsed for the wealth of the realme, it shall not yet be receiued as law, till by authoritie of this assemblie it be established.

Now because the house should not be troubled with multitude of vnlearned commoners, whose proprietie is to vnderstand little reason, and yet to conceiue well of their owne doings: there was a certeine order taken, what maner of ecclesiasticall persons, and what number and sort of tempozall men should be called vnto the same, and how they should be chosen by voices of free

Charlaine refuseth to obey the kings pleasure. Eadmerus.

The first vse of parliament in England.

free holders, that being as attornies for their countries, that which they confessed or denied, should bind the residue of the realme to receiue it as a law. This counsell is called a parlement, by the French word, for so the Frenchmen call their publicke assemblies.

The manner of
the parlement
in England.

The manner of their consulting here in England in their said assemblies of parlement is on this wise. Whereas they haue to intreat of matters touching the commodities both of the prince and of the people, that euery man may haue free libertie to utter what he thinketh, they are appointed to sit in seuerall chambers, the king, the bishops, and lords of the realme sit in one chamber to conferre together by themselves; and the commoners called knights for the shires, citizens of cities, and burghesses of good towne in another. These chose some wise, eloquent, and learned man to be their prolocutor or speaker (as they terme him) who propoundeth those things vnto them that are to be talked of, and asketh euery mans opinion concerning the conclusion thereof. In like sort, when any thing is agreed vpon, and decreed by them in this place (which they call the lower house in respect of their estate) he declareth it againe to the lords that sit in the other chamber called the higher house, demanding likewise their iudgements touching the same. For nothing is ratified there, except it be agreed vpon by the consent of the more part of both those houses. Now when they haue said their minds, and yielded their confirmation therevnto, the finall ratification is referred to the prince; so that if he thinke good that it shall passe for a law, he confirmeth also by the mouth of the lord Chancellor of the realme, who is prolocutor to the lords alwaies by the custome of that house.

The same order is vsed also by the bishops and spiritualtie in their conuocation houses. For the bishops sit in one place by themselves as in the higher house, and the deanes, archdeacons, and other procurators of the spiritualtie in another, as in the lower house, whose prolocutor declareth to the bishops what is agreed vpon by them. Then the archbishop (by consent of the more part of them that are assembled in both those conuocation houses) ratifieth and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithstanding) the finall ratification of them to the temporall houses.

This is the order of the lawgiuing of England; and in such decrees (established by authoritie of the prince, the lords spiritual and temporall, and the commons of this realme thus assembled in parlement) consisteth the whole force of our English lawes. Which decrees are called statutes, meaning by that name, that the same should stand firme and stable, and not be repealed without the consent of an other

parlement, and that vpon good and great consideration.

About this season, one Dwin (whome some name prince of Wales) was slaine, as Simon Dunelmen. writeth, but by whom, or in what sort, he sheweth not. In this eighteenth yeare of king Henries reigne, on All hallowes daie, or first of Nouember, great lightning, thunder, and such a storme of haile fell, that the people were maruellouslie amazed therewith. Also on the thirteenth of December, there happened a great earthquake, and the moone was turned into a bloodie colour: which strange accidents fell about the midst of the night. At the same time, quene Haub, wife to king Henrie departed this life. But now to returne to other doings.

Simon Dun,

It chanced vpon a small occasion, that verie sore and dangerous warres followed out of hand, betwixt king Henrie and Lewes surnamed the grosse king of France: the beginning whereof grew hereby. Theobald earle of Champagne, descended of the earles of Blois, was linked in amitie with king Henrie, by reason of affinity that was betwixt them (for Stephan the earle of Blois married ladie Adila the sister of king Henrie.) Now it happened, that the foresaid Theobald had by chance offended the said Lewes, who in reuenge made sharpe warres vpon him. But earle Theobald hoping for aid to be sent from his friends in the meane time valiantlie resisted him, and at length (by reason of a power of men which came to him from king Henrie) in such sort bered and annoied the French king, that he consulted with Baldwin earle of Flanders, and Foulke earle of Anjou, by what means he might best depriue king Henrie of his duchie of Normandie, and restore the same vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, vnto whom of right he said it did belong.

Theobald
erle of Cham-
paigne.
Polydor.

Hen. Hunt.

Foulke earle
of Anjou.

Now king Henrie hauing intelligence of his whole purpose, endeuoured on the other side to resist his attempts, and after he had lenied a large tribute of his subjects, passed ouer into Normandie with a great power, and no small masse of monie, where joining with earle Theobald, they began to prepare for warre, purposing to follow the same euen to the bittermost. As Lewes in the meane time, supposing that all hope of victorie rested in speedie dispatch of present affaires, determined likewise to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the sudden. But after he perceived that his enemies were all in a readinesse, and verie well provided to resist him: he staied and drew backe a little while. Nevertheless in the end he became so desirous to be doing with king Henrie, that approaching nere vnto the confines of Normandie, he made manie skirmishes with the English, yet no notable exploit passed betwixt them in that yeare.

King Henrie
passeth ouer
into Norman-
die to assist the
erle of Cham-
paigne.

The French
K. inuadeth
Normandie.

¶ Here will I leaue the kings of England and France skirmishing and encountering one another, and shew something more of the contention that was betwene the archbishops of Canturburie and Pothe, to the end that their ambitious desire of worldlie honor may in some respect appeere.

About this verie time, Anselme the nephew to archbishop Anselme came againe from Rome, with free authoritie to execute the office of the popes legat in England: which seemed a thing right strange to the English clergie. Wherefore the bishop of Canturburie, to preuent other inconueniences likelie to insue, took vpon him to go vnto Rome, to vnderstand the popes pleasure concerning the truth and certaintie of this matter, and to require him in no wise to diminish the authoritie or to extenuat the prerogative of his see of Canturburie, which hitherto vsed to determine all causes rising in his prouince.

This said archbishop came to Rome, but finding not

1117
Anno. Reg. 18.
Anselme the
popes legat.
The bishop of
Canturburie
goeth to Rome,

Pope Gelasius succeeded pope Baschall

1118
Anno Reg. 17.

Calixtus the second of that name pope.

not the pope there, he sent messengers with letters unto him, then lying sicke at Benevento, and obtained a favourable answer, wherewith returning towards England, he came to the king at Roan (where he had left him at his setting forth forward) certifying him how he had sped in this boiage. The foresaid Anselme was also staied by the king at Roan, and could not be suffered to passe ouer into England all that time, till it might be understood by the returne of the archbishop, what the popes pleasure should be further in that matter. Shortly after whose repaire to the king, word was brought that pope Baschall was departed this life, and that Gelasius the second was elected in his place. This Gelasius (to auoid the dangers that might insue to him by reason of the schisme and controuersie betwixt the see of Rome, and the emperor Henrie the first) came into France, where he liued not long, but died in the abbey of Clugnie, after whose decease Calixtus the second was called to the papacie.

Thus by the chance and change of popes, the legatship of Anselme could take no place, although his bulles permitted him without limitation of time, not onelie to call and celebrate synods for reformation of disorders in the church, but also for the receiuing of Peter pence to be leuied in England (in the which point pope Baschall in his life time thought them in England verie slacke) as by the same bulles more largelie doth appere. The archbishop of Canturburie had alreadie staied foure or fife yeares in the parties beyond the sees, about the matter in controuersie betwixt him and Thurstane archbishop of Porke, who was likewise gone ouer to solicit his cause. But where as at the first he could not find the king in anie wise agreeable to his mind, yet when the counsell should be holden at Rheims by pope Calixt, he sued at the leastwise for licence to go thither: but he could neither haue any grant so to do, till he had promised (vpon his allegiance which he ought to the king) not to attempt anie thing there that might be preiudiciall to the church of Canturburie in anie manner of wise. Neuerthelesse, at his comming thither, he so wrought with bribes and large gifts, that the popes court (a thing easilie done in Rome) fauoured his cause; yea, such was his successe, that the pope consecrated him with his owne hands, although king Henrie had giuen notice to him of the controuersie depending betwixt Thurstane and Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie, requiring him in no wise either to consecrate Thurstane himselfe, or grant licence to anie other person to consecrate him: for if he did, surelie (for his part) he would banish him quite out of his dominion, which should not be long vndone. But now to the purpose.

1119
Anno Reg. 20.
The two kings of England & France come battell. King Henrie hurt in the battell.

The earle of Curreux taken prisoner.

In this meane time, the warres were busilie pursued betwixt the two kings of England & France, and a battell was fought betwene them, with great slaughter on both sides for the space of nine houres. The foresaid on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowne; and king Henrie receiued sundrie stripes on his head at the hands of one William Crispine countie de Curreux, so as (though his helmet were verie strong and sure) the blood burst out of his mouth: wherewith he was nothing afraid, but like a fierce lion laid more lustilie about him, and stroke downe diuerse of his enemies, namelie the said Crispine, who was there taken prisoner at the kings feet. Now were the kings people encouraged at the valiantie and prowess of their king and chieftaine, so that at length they opened and ouercame the maine battell, and setting vpon the reterward, ouerthrew the whole armie of France, which neuer recoiled, but fought it out euen to the bittermost. There died and were taken prisoners in this conflict manie

thousands of men. The French king leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andelie: and the king of England, recouering a towne by the waie called Picasium, which the French king had latelie wonne, returned vnto Rouen, where he was with great triumph receiued, and highlie commended for his noble victorie thus atchiued.

The earle of Flanders (as some write) was so wounded in this battell, that he died thereof. But others affirme, that coming into Normandie in the yeare last past, to make warre against king Henrie in fauour of king Lewes, he won the towne of Andelie, and an other which they name *Aqua Nicaia*. But as he was come before the towne of Augen in the moneth of September, and assailed the same, he receiued his death wound in the head, wherevpon returning home in the ninth moneth after, when he could not be cured of his hurt, he departed this life at Roslare the 17. daie of June.

Shortly after Foulke earle of Aniou (who before had aided the French king against king Henrie) became now kings Henries friend by aliance, marrying his daughter to William king Henries eldest sonne. But the French king (as their histories make mention) minding still to be reuenged of the earle Theobald, invaded his countrie againe with a puissant armie, and had destroyed the citie of Chartres, which belonged vnto the same earle, had not the citizens humbled themselves to his mercie: and so likewise did the earle, as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatlie followed betwixt Lewes and the emperor Henrie, the erle aided the French king against the same emperor to the uttermost of his power. Some after this, the king came to an enteriue with pope Calixtus at Gisors, where manie matters were talked of betwixt them: and amongst other, the king required of the pope a grant of all such liberties as his father entioed within the limits of England and Normandie, and chesclie, that no legat should haue any thing to do within England, except he required to haue one sent him for some vrgent cause.

All which matters being determined (as the state of the time present required) the pope besought the king to be good vnto archbishop Thurstane, and to restore him to his see: but the king protested that he had bowed neuer so to do whilst he liued. Wherevnto the pope answered, that he was pope, and by his apostolike power he would discharge him of that vow, if he would satisfie his request. The king to shift the matter off, promised the pope that he would take aduice of his counsell, and giue him further knowledge, as the cause required, wherevpon departing from thence, he did afterwards (vpon farther deliberation) send him this message, in effect as folloiweth.

Whereas he saith he is pope, and will (as he said) assoile me of the vow which I haue made, if contrarie thereto I will restore Thurstane to the see of Porke: I thinke it not to stand with the hono^r of a king, to consent in any wise vnto such an abdication. For who shall beleue an others promise hereafter, if by mine example he see the same so easilie by an abdication to be made void? But sith he hath so great a desire to haue Thurstane restored, I shall be contented at his request, to receiue him to his see, with this condition, that he shall acknowledge his church to be subiect vnto the see of Canturburie, as his predecessors haue done before him; although in this offer would not serue the turne.

But now to returne againe to the said matters. Not long after the departure of the pope, Foulke earle of Aniou found means to make an agreement betwixt king Henrie & king Lewes,

Matth. Paris, la. Mair.

The earle of Flanders wounded. He departed this life. Foulke earle of Aniou became the king of England's man.

The king and the pope come to an enteriue at Gisors

The pope is a suitor for Thurstane.

The pope offereth to discharge the k. of his vow.

Eadmerus. The kings answer sent to the pope.

Simon Dun. Eadmerus,

1120
Simon Dun. Anno Reg. 21.

Ch
En
Fr
acc
Wd
Ead

Bl
of

Cal
seim
ple.

Cal
ceue
stasse
altar,

The kings of
England and
France are
accorded.
Wil. Malm.

Eadmerus.

Alexander K.
of Scots.

Eadmer An-
selmes disci-
ple.

Eadmer re-
ceiveth his
stafte from an
altar.

to that William sonne to king Henrie did homage unto king Lewes for the duchie of Normandie. And further it was accorded betwene them, that all those that had bozne armour either on the one side or the other, should be pardoned, whose subjects sooner they were. In like maner, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, after he had remained long in Normandie, because of the controuersie betwixt him and Thurstan archbishop of Yorke, as is aforesaid.

Soth shortly after his returne to Canturburie, messengers came with letters from Alexander king of Scotland unto him, signifieng, that where the see of S. Andzeus was void, the same king did instantlie require him to send ouer Eadmer a monke of Canturburie (of whome he had heard great commendation for his sufficiency of vertue and learning) to be seated there. ¶ This Eadmer is the same which wrote the historie intituled *Historia nouorum in Anglia*, out of which (as may appeare) we haue gathered the most part of our matters concerning Anselme and Rafe archbishops of Canturburie, in whose daies he liued, and was Anselmes disciple.

Archbishop Rafe was contented to satisfie the request of king Alexander in that behalfe, and obtayning the consent of king Henrie, he sent the said Eadmer into Scotland with letters of commendation vnto the said king Alexander, who receiued him right iustfullie, and vpon the third daie after his coming thither (being the feast of the apostles Peter & Paule) he was elected archbishop of S. Andzeus by the clergie and people of the land, to the great reioicing of Alexander, and the rest of the Nobilitie. The next daie after the king talked with him secretly of his consecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue him consecrated at the hands of Thurstan archbishop of Yorke. In which case when he was informed by the said Eadmer, that no such thing needed to trouble his mind, since the archbishop of Canturburie, being primate of all Brittain, might consecrate him as reason was; the king could not away with that answer, because he would not heare that the church of Canturburie should be preferred before the church of S. Andzeus. Hereupon he departed from Eadmer in displeasure, and calling one William (sometime monke of S. Edmundsbury) vnto him, a man also that had gouerned (or rather spoiled) the church of S. Andzeus in the vacacion: this William was commanded to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, at the kings pleasure, whose meaning was vtterlie to remoue Eadmer, as not worthy of that roome. Whobest, within a moneth after (to satisfie the minds of his Nobles) he called for the said Eadmer, and with much adoe got him to receiue the stafte of that bishopricke, taking it from an altar whereon it laie (as if he shuld haue that dignitie at the Lords hands) whereby he was inuested, & went streight to S. Andzeus church, where he was receiued by the quier, the schollers, and all the people, for true and lawfull bishop.

In this meane while Thurstan nothing slackening his sute in the popes court, obtained such fauour (wherein the king of England also was greatlie laboured vnto) that he wrote letters thrice vnto the king of Scotland, and once vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, that neither the king should permit Eadmer to be consecrated, nor the archbishop of Canturburie in any wise consecrate him if he were thereunto required. Hereupon it came to passe, that finally Eadmer, after he had remained in Scotland twelue moneths or thereabouts, and perceived that things went not as he would haue wished (for that he could not get the kings consent that he shuld be consecrated of the archbishop of Canturburie,

as it was first meant both by the archbishop and Eadmer) he departed out of Scotland, and returned againe to Canturburie, there to take further aduice in all things as cause should moue him. In like maner king Henrie, hauing quieted his businesse in France, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with great ioy and triumph; but such publike reioicing lasted not long with him. For indeed, this pleasantesse and mirth was

changed into mourning, by aduertisement giuen of the death of the kings sons, William duke of Normandie, and Richard his brother, who together with their sister the ladie Marie countesse of Berch, Richard earle of Chester, with his brother Mitell gouernour to duke William, and the said earle of Chester his wife the kings neece, the archdeacon of Hereford, Geoffrey Kiddle, Robert Ganduit, William Bigot, and diuerse other, to the number of an hundred and fourtie persons, besides fiftie mariners, took ship at Harflew, thinking to follow the king, and sailing forth with a south wind, their ship through negligence of the mariners (who had drunken out their wits & reason) were throlune vpon a rocke, and vtterlie perished on the coast of England, vpon the 25. of Nouember, so that of all the companie none escaped but one butcher, who catching hold of the mast, was driuen with the same to the shore which was at hand, and so saued from that dangerous shipwreake. Duke William might also haue escaped verie well, if pittie had not moued him more than the regard of his owne preservation. For being gotten into the shipboat, and lanching toward the land, he heard the shrieking of his sister in dreadfull danger of drowning, and crying out for succour; whereupon he commanded them that rowed the boat to turne backe to the ship, and to take hir in. But such was the preefe of the companie that stroue to leape in with hir, that it streightwaies sanke, so that all those which were already in the boat were cast awaie.

¶ Here (by the way) would be noted the brastlesed speech of William Rufus to the shipmaister, whome he emboldened with a vaine and desperat persuasion in tempestuous weather and high seas to hoise vp sailes; adding (for further encouragement) that he neuer heard of any king that was drowned. In which words (no doubt) he sinned presumptuously against God, who in due time punished that offense of his in his posteritie and kinred, euen by the same element, whose fearlenes he himselfe seemed so little to regard, as if he would haue commanded the stormes to cease; as we read Christ did in the gospel by the vertue and power of his word. Here is also to be noted the variableness of fortune (as we commonly call it) or rather the vncertaine and changeable euent of things, which oftentimes doth raise vp (euen in the minds of princes) troublefome thoughts, and græuous passions, to the great empairing of their quietnesse: as here we see exemplified in king Henrie, whose mirth was turned into mone, and his pleasures relished with pangs of penitence, contrarie to his expectation when he was in the midst of his triumph at his returne out of France into England. So that we see the old adage verified, *Miscentur tristitia lætitiæ*; and that saying of an old poet iustified;

Sena nouerca dies nunc est, nunc mater amica.

But to returne to the historie. King Henrie being thus deprived of issue to succeed him, did not a little lament that infortunate chance: but yet to restore that losse, shortly after, euen the 10. of Aprill next ensuing, he married his second wife named Adelicia, a ladie of excellent beaultie, and noble conditions, daughter to the duke of Lorraine, and descended of the noble dukes of Lorraine, howbeit he could

King Henrie
returneth into
England.

Ran. Higd.
Wil. Malm.
Polydor.
Matth. Paris.
The kings
sonnes and
his daughter
with other
Nobles are
drowned by
shipwreake.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm.
Matth. Paris.

Take in page
23. colunne 2.
against the
number 60.

Hesod. in lib.
cuius. opera
& dies.

I I I I
Anno Reg. 22.
Eadmerus.
Hen. Hunt.
The king mar-
ried againe.

Eadmerus.

The pope writ-
teth to king
Henrie, in fa-
uour of the
archbishop
Thurstan,
& accurseth
him with the
archbishop of
Canturburie.

The welsh-
men make
sturres.
Eadmerus.
The king rat-
teth an armie
to go against
the welshmen.

The welsh-
men sue for
peace.

More doubt
of losse than
hope of gaine,
by the warres
against the
welshmen.

Simon Dun.
A chancell cast
from Eozkesp
to Lincoln.

Posham ca-
stell built.
H. Hunt.

Polydor.

1122
13. Kalends of
November.
Anno Reg. 23.

neuer haue any issue by hir. The archbishop Thurstan after the manner of obtaining suites in the court of Rome found such fauour at the hands of pope Calist, that he directed his letters as well to king Henrie, as to Rafe archbishop of Canturburie, by vertue whereof he accursed them both, and interdicted as well the prouince of Poike as Canturburie from the vse of all manner of sacraments, from baptisme of infants, the penance of them that died onelie excepted: if archbishop Thurstan were not suffered (within one moneth next after the receipt of those letters) to enjoy his see, without compelling him to make any promise of subiection at all. The king to be out of trouble, permitted Thurstan to returne into the realme, and so repaire vnto Poike; but with condition, that he should not exercise any iurisdiction out of his owne diocesse as metropolitane, till he had confessed his obstinat error, and acknowledged his obedience to the church of Canturburie.

Whilest these things were thus a doing, king Henrie was aduertised, that the welshmen breaking the peace, did much hurt on the marshes, & speciallie in Cheshire where they had burned two castles. Meaning therefore to be reuenged on them to the bittermost, he assembled an armie out of all parts of his realme, and entred with the same into Wales. The welshmen, hearing that the king was come with such puissance to invade them, were afraid, and forthwith sent ambassadours, beseeching him to grant them pardon and peace. The king moued with their humble petitions, took hostages of them, & remitted them for that time, considering that in mainteining of warre against such manner of people, there was more feare of losse than hope of gaine. But yet to prouide for the quietnes of his subjects which inhabited nere the marshes, that they shuld not be overrun and harried daile by them (as oftentimes before they had bene) he appointed Warren earle of Shrewsburie to haue the charge of the marshes, that peace might be the better kept and maintained in the countrie.

Some after king Henrie caused a chanell to be cast along the countrie in Lincolnshire, from Eozkesp to the citie of Lincoln, that vessels might haue passage out of the riuer of Trent vnto the same. Moreouer, Rafe bishop of Durham began to build the castell of Posham, vpon the banke of the riuer of Tweed.

At this time likewise Fouke Earle of Antou being now come out of the holie land (whither he went after the peace was made betwixt king Henrie and the French king) began to picke a quarrell against king Henrie, for withholding the ioincture of his daughter, who (as before you haue heard) was married vnto William the kings sonne that was dootuned. He also gaue hir sister in marriage vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, assigning vnto him the earledome of Maine to enjoy in the right of his wife.

In the meane time, king Henrie visited the north parts of his realme, to vnderstand the state of the countrie, and to prouide for the suertie and good gouernement thereof, as was thought requisite.

In the yeare next ensuing, the twentieth of October, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had ruled that see the space of 8. yeares, in whose toime succeeded one William archbishop, who was in number the eight and twentieth from Augustine. Moreouer, Henrie the sonne of earle Blois, who before was abbat of Classenburie, was now made bishop of Winchester, a man for his singular bountie, gentleness and modestie greatlie beloued of the English.

But to returne to the affaires of the king. It

chanced about this time, that the parts beyond the sea (being now void of a gouernour (as they suppose) by means of the death of the kings sonne) began to make commotions. Some after it came also to passe that Robert earle of Mellent rebelled against the king, who being speedilie aduertised thereof, sailed forthwith into those quarters, and besieged the castell of Ponteaudemere pertaining to the said earle, and took it. About the same time also the king fortified the castell of Roan, causing a mightie thick wall with turrets therabout as a fortification to be made. Likewise, he repaired the castell of Caen, the castles of Arches, Elbois, Falaise, Argentone, Damfront, Metnon, Ambres, with others, & made them strong. In the meane season, the earle of Mellent (desirous to be reuenged of king Henrie) procured aid where he could, and so with Hugh earle of Mountfort entered into Normandie, waiting and destroying the countrie with fire and sword, thinking ver long to bring the same to obedience. But the kings chamberlaine and lieutenant in those parts, named William de Tankerville, being thereof aduertised, laid an ambush for them, and training them within the danger thereof, set vpon them, and after long fight, took them twaine prisoners, with diuers other, and presented them both vnto the king, whereby the warres ceased in that countrie for a time.

The king hauing in this maner purchased quietnesse by the sword, gaue himselte somewhat to the reformation of his house, and among other things which he redressed, he caused all his knights and men of warre to cut their haire short, after the maner of the Frenchmen, whereas before they wore the same long after the vlage of woimen.

After this also, in the yeare 1125. a cardinall named Johannes Cremenensis was sent into England from pope Honorius the second, to see reformation in certaine points touching the church: but his chiefe errand was to correct preests that still kept their wines with them. At his first comming ouer, he sojournd in colledges of cathedrall churches, and in abbeyes, adding himselte to lucre & wantonnesse, reaping where he had not sowed. At length, about the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, he called a conuocation of the cleargie at London, where making an oration, he inuicied sore against those of the spiritualtie that were spotted with any note of incontinencie. Manie thought themselves touched with his words, who hauing smelled somewhat of his secret tricks, that whereas he was a most licentious liuer, and an vnchast person of bodie and mind, yet he was so blinded, that he could not perceiue the beame in his owne eyes, whilest he espied a mote in another mans. Here vpon they grudged, that he should in such wise call other men to accompts for their honest demeanour of life, which could not render any good reckoning of his owne: insonmuch that they watched him so narrowly, that in the euening (after he had blown his hoine so loud against other men; in declaring that it was a shamefull vice to rise from the side of a strumpet, and presume to sacrifice the bodie of Christ) he was taken in bed with a strumpet, to his owne shame and reproch. But being reproued thereof, he alledged this excuse (as some write) that he was no preest, but a reformer of preests. Howbeit to conclude, being thus defamed, he got him backe to Rome againe from whence he came, without any performance of that wherabout he was sent.

But to returne to king Henrie, who whilest he remained in Normandie (which was a long time after the apprehension of the two foresaid earles) vnderstood that his sonne in lawe Henrie the emperor was departed this life at Ulrecht, the 23. of Maie last past. Wherevpon he sent for his daughter the emperre

1123
Anno. Reg. 24.
Robert earle
of Mellent
rebellt.

Hen Hunt.
The castle of
Roan fortified
Marth. Paris.

1124
Anno. Reg. 25.
Polydor.
H. Hunt.
Marth Paris.

Long haire
redressed in
the court.
Marth. West.

1125
Anno. Reg. 26.
Johannes
Cremenensis
legat sent
into England

But this
shuld not seem
to be any iust
excuse, for M.
P. saith that
same day he
consecrated
the Lords bas-
tie, & therefore
he must needs
be a preest.

1126
Anno. Reg. 27.

Polydor.
In oth taken
by the lordes
touching the
succession of
the crowne.

Stephan erle
of Bullongne
the first that
offered to re-
ceiue the oth.

Wil. Malm.

I I 2 7

Matth. Paris.

Strife be-
twixt the pre-
lates for pre-
eminence.

Polydor.

William sonne
to Robert
Curthose
made erle of
Flanders.

The emperesse
Maude married
to the earle of
Amors.
Ger. Dor.

emperesse to come ouer vnto him into Normandie, and hauing set his businesse in order on that side the sea, and taken hir with him, he returned into England before the feast of S. Michaell, where calling a parlement, he caused hir by authoritie of the same to be established as his lawfull heire and successor, with an article of intaile vpon hir issue, if it should please God to send hir any at all. At this parlement was David I. of Scotland, who succeeded Alexander the fierce. Stephan earle of Mortoth and Bullongne, and son of Stephan earle of Blois, nephew to I. Henrie by his sister Adela; these two princes cheselic took their oth amongst other, to obey the foresaid emperesse, as touching hir right and lawfull claime to the crowne of England. But although Stephan was now the first that was to sweare, he became hostile after the first that brake that oth for his owne preferment. ¶ Thus it cometh often to passe, that those which receiue the greatest benefits, do oftentimes soonest forget to be thankfull.

This Stephan latelie before by his vnckle I. Henries meanes, had purchased & got in marriage the onelie daughter and heire of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and so after the decease of his father in law, became earle there; and further, had goodlie possessions in England giuen him by the king, and yet (as farther shall appeare) he kept not his oth made with I. Henrie. Some write that there rose no small strife betwixt this earle Stephan, & Robert erle of Glocester, in contending which of them should first receiue this oth: the one alledging that he was a kings son, the other affirming that he was a kings nephew.

Hostile after this parlement was ended, I. Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor, where Thurstan archbishop of Dorke (in preludice of the right of William archbishop of Canturburie) would haue set the crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to the church: but he was put backe with no small reproch; and his chapleine (whom he appointed to beare his crosse before him at his entrance into the kings chappell) was contemptuouslie and violentlie thrust out of the doores with crosse and all by the friends of the archbishop of Canturburie. In that time, this vnseemlie contention betwixt Thurstan and William the two archbishops grew so hot, that not onelie both of them, but also the bishop of Lincoln went to Rome about the deciding of their strife.

In this yeare Charles earle of Flanders, the successor of earle Baldwin, was traitorouslie murdered of his owne people: & because he left no issue behind him to succeed as his heire, letwes the French king made William the sonne of duke Robert Curthose earle of Flanders, as the next confine in blood to the same Charles. ¶ Truth it is, that by his fathers side, this William was descended from earle Baldwin surnamed *Pim*, whose daughter Maude being married vnto William Conqueror, bare by him the foresaid Robert Curthose, father to this William, now advanced to the government of Flanders, but he wanted not aduersaries that were competitors and malignant suitors for that earldome, who sought to preferre themselves, and to displace him.

King Henrie mistaking the promotion of the said William, although he was his nephew, for that he supposed he would seeke to reuenge old displeasures if he might compasse to haue the French kings assistance, thought good with the aduice of his counsell to withstand the worst. Wherevpon he took order for the maintenance of the warre abroad, and the supplie of souldiers, and other things necessarie to be considered of for the suertie of his realme.

After this, because he was in despaire to haue issue by his second wife, about Whitsuntide he sent ower his daughter Maude the emperesse into Norman-

die, that she might be married vnto Geoffrey Plantagenet earle of Anjou, and in August after he followed himselfe. Now the matter went so forward, that the marriage was celebrated betwixt the said earle and emperesse vpon the first sundaie in Aprill, which fell vpon the third of the moneth, and in the 27. of his reigne.

In the yeare ensuing, king Henrie meaning to cause the French king to withdrawe his helping hand from his nephew William earle of Flanders, passed forth of Normandie with an armie, and invading France, remained for the space of eight daies at Hipard, in as good quiet as if he had bene within his owne dominions, and finallie obtained that of the French king which he sought for, namely, his refusal to aid his nephew the said earle of Flanders. Who at length contending with other that claimed the earldome, chanced this yeare to be wounded, as he pursued his enemies vnto the walles of a towne called Alhust, and some after died of the hurt the 16. of August.

¶ It was thought that the great felicitie of king Henrie was the chiefe occasion of this earles death, who meant (if he might haue brought his purpose to passe, and be once quietlie set in the dominion of Flanders) to haue attempted some great enterpryse against king Henrie for the recouerie of Normandie, and deliuerie of his father out of prison. Which was knowne well enough to king Henrie, who maintained those that made him warre at home, both with men and monie; namely, William of Hyppres, who took vpon him as regent in the name of Stephan earle of Bullongne, whome king Henrie procured to make claime to Flanders also, in the title of his grandmother quene Maude, wife to William Conqueror. But to proceed with our historie.

When king Henrie had sped his businesse in Normandie, where he had remained a certeine space, both about the conclusion and solemnizing of the marriage made betwixt his daughter Maude the emperesse and the earle of Anjou, and also to see the end of the wars in Flanders, he now returned into England, where he called a great councell or parlement at London, in August: wherein (amongst other things) it was decreed, that priests, which liued vnchastlie, should be punished, and that by the kings permission, who hereby took occasion to serue his owne turne: for he regarded not the reformation which the bishops trusted (by his plaine dealing) would haue followed, but put those priests to their fines that were accused, and suffered them to keepe their wives still in house with them, which offended the bishops greatlie, who would haue had them sequestred asunder.

After this parlement ended, the king kept his Christmas at Worcester, and his Eastermasse following at Woodstocke, where a certeine noble man named Geoffrey Clinton was accused to him of high treason. In this 31. yeare of king Henries reigne, great death and murren of cattell began in this land so vniuersallie in all places, that no towne nor village escaped free: and long it was before the same discontinued or ceased. King Henrie passing ouer into Normandie, was troubled with certeine strange dreames or visions in his sleepe. For as he thought, he saw a multitude of ploughmen with such toles as belong to their trade and occupation; after whom came a sort of souldiers with warlike weapons: and last of all, bishops approaching towards him with their crozier staves ready to fall vpon him, as if they meant to kill him. Now when he awaked, he lept forth of his bed, got his sword in his hand, & called his seruants to come & helpe him. Neuertheless, repelling those perturbations, and somewhat better abusing himselfe, parlie by his

Anno Reg. 28.
Matth. Paris.
I I 2 8

Anno Reg. 29.
Ia. Meir.

William earle
of Flanders
deceaseth of a
wound.

The fortunat
& good hap of
I. Henrie.

William de
Hyppres.

I I 2 9
Anno Reg. 30.

I I 3 0
Anno Reg. 31.
Matth. Paris.
Polydor.
An act against
vnchast
priests.

Wil. Malm.
In nouella his-
toria.
Polydor.

owne reason, and partly by the counsell of learned gentlemen, was perswaded to put such fantasies a- waie, and was admonished withall, that whilst he had time and space here on earth, he should redeeme his passed offenses and sinnes committed against God, with repentance, almesdeeds, and abstinence. Wherefore being moued herewith, he began to pra- cise an amendment of his former lewd life.

Here it shall not be amisse to compare the two sonnes of William the Conquerour; namely Wil- liam Rufus, and Henrie Beaulerke together; and to consider among other euenths the supernaturall dreames wherewith they were admonished, to excel- lent good purpose (no doubt) if they could haue applied them to the end whereto they were directed. For William Rufus (as you shall read in pag. 26. col. 2.) neglecting to be admonished by a dreemfull dreame wherewith he was troubled, shortly after recei- ued his deaths wound by casualtie or chancemedlie, even in the prime of his pastime and disport. This o- ther brother H. Beaulerke had the like warnings by the same means, and (to a good effect) as the lear- ned do gather. Their rash opinion therefore is much to be checked, which contemne dreames as mere de- lusion, alledging by waie of dispofe an old erron- ous verse:

Somnia ne cures, nam fallunt plurima plures,

Speaking indefinitely of dreames without distin- ction: whereas in truth great valure is in them in respect of their kind and nature. For though some sort of dreames (as those that be physically) are not greatlie to be relied upon; yet those of the metaphy- sicall sort, hauing a speciall influence from aboue na- tures reach, are not lightlie to be ouerslipped. To de- termine this matter I remit the studious readers to that excellent chapter of Peter Martyr, in the first part of his common places, pag. 32. columnne 2. where dreames *In genere* are copiously handled.

About the same time, Maud daughter of this Hen- rie, being forsaken of hir husband Gessrey earle of Anion, came to hir father then being in Normandie. What the cause was why hir husband put hir from him, is not certeinlie knowen: but the matter (be- like) was not verie great, sith shortly after he recei- ued hir againe, and that of his owne accord. During the time also that king Henrie remained in Nor- mandie, pope Innocent the 2. came into France, to auoid the danger of his enemies: and holding a counsell at Cleremont, he accursed one Peter Fitz Leo, who had usurped as pope, and named himselfe Anaclethus. Afterward at breaking vp of the same counsell at Cleremont, he came to Orleans, and then to Charters, meeting king Henrie by the waie, who offered vnto the pope to mainteine his cause a- gainst his enemies to the vitermost of his power, for the which the pope gaue the king great thanks: and seeming as though he had bene more carefull for the defense of the common cause of the christian com- mon-wealth than for his owne, he exhorted king Henrie to make a iournie into the holie land, a- gainst the Saracens and enemies of the christian re- ligion.

In this enterprise betwixt the pope and the king, the Romans were moued to maruell greatlie at the wisdom and sharpnesse of wit which they per- ceiued in the Romans. For king Henrie, to shew what learning remained amongst the people of the west parts of Europe, caused the sonnes of Robert earle of Melent to argue and dispute in the points and subtilt sophismes of Logike, with the cardinals and other learned chaplains of the pope there pre- sent, who were not ashamed to confesse, that there was more learning amongst them here in the west parts, than euer they heard or knew of in their

owne countrie of Italie.

King Henrie after this returned into England, and vpon the sea was in danger to haue bene drow- ned by tempest: so that iudging the same to be as a warning for him to amend his life, he made manie bolnes, and after his landing went to S. Edmunds- burie in Suffolke to do his deuotions vnto the se- pulchre of that king. Now at his comming from thence, being well disposed, towards the reliefe of his people, he lessened the tributes and impositions, and did iustice aswell in respect and fauour of the poore as of the rich.

Not long after, Gessrey earle of Anion had a son named Henrie by his wife the emperesse, who (as be- fore is said) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henrie hauing no issue male to succeed him, caused the emperesse and this Henrie his sonne to be established heires of the realme: all the Nobles and other estates taking an oth to be their true and loiall subiects. After this king Henrie kept his Christmasse at Dunstable, and his Easter at Woodstocke. In the same yeare, or (as some haue) in the beginning of the yeare precedent, or (as other haue) in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a bishops see at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwolfe, who before was abbat of S. Wothoulfs, and the kings confessor, was the first bishop that was instituted there. This man immediatlie after his consecration placed regular canons in that church.

Not long after, or rather before (as by Wil. Mal- mel. it should seeme) king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, from whence (his being the last time of his going thither) he neuer returned alieue. And as it came to passe, he toke ship to saile this last iournie thither, even the same daie in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which daie (falling vpon the Wednesday and being the second of August) a won- derfull and extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne and mone appeared, in somuch that Wil. Malmel. who then liued, writeth that he saw the starres plainlie a- bout the sunne at the verie time of that eclipse. On the fridaie after such an earthquake also happened in this realme, that manie houses and buildings were ouerthrowne. This earthquake was so sensible, or rather so visible, that the wall of the house wherein the king then sat, was lift vp with a double remoue, & at the third it sealed it selfe againe in his due place. Moreover at the verie same time also fire burst out of certeine riftes of the earth, in so huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwise it could be quenched.

In the 34. yeare of his reigne, his brother Ro- bert Curthose departed this life in the castell of Car- diff. It is said that on a festiuall daie king Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape therof being streid, he rent it in striving to put it ouer his head: and per- ceiuing it would not serue him, he laid it aside, and said: Let my brother Robert haue this robe, who hath a sharper head than I haue. Which when it was brought to duke Robert, and the rent place not so- ued vp, he perceiued it, and asked whether any man had woone it before. The messenger told the whole matter, how it happened. Wherevnto duke Robert toke such a greefe for the scornfull mocke of his bro- ther, that he wared wearie of his life, and said: Now I perceiue I haue liued too long, that my brother shall clothe me like his almes man with his cast and rent garments. Thus cursing the time of his natui- tie, he refused from thenceforth to eat or drinke, and so pined awaie, and was buried at Glocester.

King Henrie remaining still in Normandie, rode round about a great part of the countrie, shewing no small loue and courtesie to the people, striving by all means possible to win their fauours, and being merie amongst them. Howbeit nothing reioised him

King Henrie returneth in- to England.

I I 3 2
Anno. Reg. 33.

I I 3 3
Anno Reg. 34.
Matth. Paris.
Hic of L.
Oswald as
Wil. Thorne
hath, and
likewise
Matth. Paris.
Matth. Westm.

In eclipse.

In earth- quake.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. West.
Anno Reg. 35.

The decease of Robert Curthose.

Polyd
1 1
Anno

Matth
Sim. L

King
depar-
teth.

Matth
Ran. L
Sim. L

The
king
the fir

This

This

This

This

Polydor.

I I 3 1
Anno Reg. 32.
King Henrie
and pope In-
nocent meet at
Charters.

Wil. Malm.

The sons of
Robert erle of
Melent prai-
sed for their
learning.

him more, than that his daughter Maude the emperesse at the same time was deliuered of hir second sonne named Gesefrey, so that he saw himselfe prouided of an assured successeur.

Polydor.

1125

Anno. Reg. 35.

Match. West.
Sun. Duncel.King Henrie
deparreth this
k. r.Matth. West.
Ran. Higd.
Sun. Duncel.

But whilst he thus passed the time in mirth and solace, he began some after to be somewhat diseased, and neuer could perceiue any euident cause thereof. Wherefore to driue his griefe away, he went abroad to hunt, and being somewhat amended thereby (as he thought) at his coming home he would needs eat of a lamprey, though his physician counselled him to the contrarie: but he delighting most in that meat (though it be in qualitie verie hurtfull to health) would not be dissuaded from it, so that his stomach being annoyed therewith, he fell immediatlie into an ague, and so died shortly after, on the first day of December, being as then about 67. yeares of age, after he had reigned 35. yerres, & foure moneths lacking foure daies. His bodie was conueied into England, and buried at Reading within the abbey church which he had founded, and endowd in his life time with great and large possessions. It is written, that his bodie, to auoid the stench which had infected manie men, was closed in a buls hide, and how he that clement the head died of the sauer which issued out of the braine.

Thus we see that euen princes come to the like end by as base meanes as other inferiour persons; according to that of the poet:

Dant alios furia a torio spectacula Marti,

Exitio est auidis mare nautis :

Missa senum ac iuuenum densantur funera, nullum

Sena caput Proserpina fugit.

And here we haue to note the neglect of the physicians counsell, and that same ill disposition in diet which the king chose rather to satisfie, than by restraining it to auoid the danger whereinto he fell. But this is the preposterous election of vntoward patients, according to that :

Nititur in vetitum semper, cupimusq. negata.

The issue of
King Henrie
the first.

Touching his issue, he had by his first wife a sonne named William, drowned (as ye haue heard) in the sea: also a daughter named Maude, whome with hir sonnes he appointed to inherit his crowne and other dominions. He had issue also by one of his concubins, euen a sonne named Richard, and a daughter named Marie, who were both drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a sonne named Robert, who was created duke of Gloucester.

His stature.

He was strong of bodie, fleshie, and of an indifferant stature, blacke of haire, and in maner bald before, with great and large eyes, of face comelie, well countenanced, and pleasant to the beholders, speciallie when he was disposed to mirth.

His vertues.

He excelled in thre vertues, wisdom, eloquence, and valiance, which notwithstanding were somewhat blemished with the like number of vices that reigned in him; as couetousnesse, crueltie, and fleshie lust of bodie. His couetousnesse appeared, in that he sore oppressed his subjects with tributes and impositions. His crueltie, in that he kept his brother Robert Curthose in perpetuall prison, and likewise in the hard bing of his cosine Robert earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onelie detained in prison, but also caused his eyes to be put out: which act was kept secret till the kings death revealed it. And his fleshie lust was manifest, by keeping of sundrie women.

His wisdom.

But in his other affaires he was circumspect, in defending his owne verie earnest and diligent. Such wars as might be auoided, with honourable peace he ever sought to appease; but when such iniuries were offered as he thought not meet to suffer, he was an impatient reuenger of the same, ouercomming all

perils with the force of vertue and manlie courage, shewing himselfe either a most louing friend, or an extreame enemie: for he would subdue his foes to the bittermost, and aduance his friends about measure.

His manlie
courage.

With iustice he ruled the commons quietlie, and entertained the nobles honorable. Thanes, counterfeisers of monie, and other transgressors he caused to be sought out with great diligence, and when they were found, to be punished with great severity. Neither did he neglect reformatiions of certeine naughtie abuses. And (as one author hath written) he ordeined that thanes should suffer death by hanging. When he heard that such peeres of monie as were cracked would not be receiued amongst the people, although the same were good and fine siluer, he caused all the coine in the realme to be either broken or slit. He was sober of diet, bing to eat rather for the qualling of hunger, than to pamper himselfe with manie daintie sorts of banquetting dishes. He neuer drank but when thirst moued him, he would sleepe soundlie and snore oftentimes till he awaked there-with. He pursued his warres rather by policie than by the sword, and ouercame his enemies so nere as he could without bloodshed, which if it might not be, yet with as little slaughter as was possible. To conclude, he was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in those daies, in wisdom and policie, and so behaued himselfe, that he was honoured of the

His zeale to
iustice.Simon Dun.
Thanes appointed to be
hanged.

His policie.

His praise for
his princelie
gouernment.

30

nobles, and beloued of the commons. He builded diuerse abbeies both in England and Normandie, but Reading was the chiefe. He builded the manour of Woodstocke, with the parke there, wherein (beside the great store of beere) he appointed diuerse strange beasts to be kept and nourished, which were brought and sent vnto him from forren countries, farre distant, as lions, leopards, lynxes, and porcupines. His estimation was such among outlandish princes, that few would willingly offend him.

Reading ab-
bey builded.

40

Murderdagh king of Ireland & his successors had him in such reuerence, that they durst do nothing but what he commanded, nor write any thing but what might stand with his pleasure, though at the first the same Mordach attempted something against the Englishmen more than held with reason, but afterward (vpon restraint of the entercourse of merchandise) he was glad to shew himselfe more frendlie.

Murcherdach
K. of Ireland.

50

Whereouer the earle of Arkeney, although he was the king of Norwaies subiect, yet did he what he could to procure king Henries frendship, sending such strange beasts and other things to him oftentimes as presents, wherein he knew the king toke great delight and pleasure. He had in singular fauour above all other of his counsell, Roger the bishop of Salisburie, a politike prelate, and one that knew how to order matters of great importance, vnto whome he committed the gouernment of the realme most commonlie whilst he remained in Normandie.

The earle of
Arkeney.Roger bishop
of Salisburie.

60

As well in this kings daies, as in the time of his brother William Rufus, men forgetting their owne sex and state, transformed themselves into the habit and forme of women, by suffering their haire to grow in length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiously, after the manner of damocels and yong gentlewomen: insomuch that they made such account of their long bushing perukes, that those which would be taken for courtiers, contended with women who should haue the longest tresses, and such as wanted, sought to amend it with art, and by knitting wreathes about their heads of those their long and side locks for a brauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue commandement to all his people to cut their haire, about the 28. yeare of his reigne. Where

The abuse of
wearing long
haire.I 127
Matth. West.

C. iij.

thers

chers indeed inueied against such vnseemlie maners in men, as a thing moze agreable and seemlie for the contrarie fer.

Wil. Malm. reciteth a tale of a knight in those daies that toke no small liking of himselfe for his faire and long haire, who chanced to haue a verie terrible dreame. For it seemed to him in his slepe that one was about to strangle him with his owne haire, which he wrapped about his throte and necke, the impression whereof ranke so deepe into his mind, that when he awaked out of his slepe, he straightwaies caused so much of his haire to be cut as might seeme superfluous. A great number of o-

ther in the realme followed his commendable example, but the remorse of conscience herein that thus caused them to cut their haire, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuse againe, so as within a twelue moneths space they exceeded therein as farre beyond all the bounds of seemlie order as before.

In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heires male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the title of the heires generall, after that the Normans had reigned about 69. yeares: for so manie are accounted from the coming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, who succeeded the said Henrie.

*Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Normans; namelie,
William Conquerour the father, William Rufus,
and Henrie Beauclerke the sonnes.*



Stephan earle of Bullongne.



Stephan earle of Bullongne, the sonne of Stephan erle of Blois, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conquerour, came ouer with all speed after the death of his vncl, and toke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of England, partly through confidence which he had in the puissance and strength of his brother Theobald earle of Blois, and partly by the aid of his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester and abbat of Gloucestre, although that he with other of the Nobles had swoyne afore to be true vnto the emperesse and hir issue as lawfull heires of king Henrie latelie deceased.

The same day that he arrived in England, there chanced a mightie great tempest of thunder horrible to heare, and lightning dreadfull to behold. Now because this happened in the winter time, it seemed against nature, and therefore it was the more noted as a foreshewing of some trouble and calamitie to come.

This Stephan began his reigne ouer the realme of England the second day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1135. in the eleuenth yere of the emperour Lothair, the first of pope Innocentius the second, and about the rebij. of Letwes the seventh, surnamed Crassus king of France, Dauid the first of that name then reigning in Scotland, & entring into the twelue of his regiment. He was crowned at Westminster vpon S. Stephens day, by William archbishop of Canturburie, the most part of the Nobles of the realme being present, and swearing fealtie vnto him, as to their true and lawfull soueraigne.

Howbeit, there were diuerse of the wisser sort of all estates, which regarding their former oth, could haue bene contented that the emperesse should haue gouerned till hir sonne had come to lawfull age; not-

withstanding they held their peace as yet, and consented vnto Stephan. But this breach of their othes was worthilie punished afterward, insomuch that as well the bishops as the other Nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerse kinds of calamities and mischances, and that euen here in this life, of which some of them as occasion serueth shall be remembred hereafter. Yet there were of them (and namelie the bishop of Salisburie) which protested that they were free from their oth of allegiance made to the said emperesse, because that without the consent of the lords of the land she was married out of the realme, whereas they toke their oth to receiue hir for quene, vpon that condition, that without their assent she should not marrie with any person out of the realme.

Whereouer (as some writers thinke) the bishops toke it, that they should do God good seruice in providing for the wealth of the realme, and the aduancement of the church by their perjurie. For whereas the late deceased king vsed himselfe not altogether for their purpose, they thought that if they might set vp and creat a king chællie by their especiall meanes and authoritie, he would folloio their counsell better, and reforme such things as they iudged to be amisse. But a great cause that moued manie of the lords vnto the violating thus of their oth, was (as some authors rehearse) for that Hugh Bigot, sometime steward to king Henrie the first, immediatlie after the decease of king Henrie, came into England, and as well before the archbishop of Canturburie, as diuers other lords of the land, toke a voluntarie oth (although most men thinke that he was hired so to do because of great promotion) declaring vpon the same that he was present a little before king Henriess death, when the same king adopted and chose his nephew Stephan to be his heire and successor, because his daughter the emperesse had graueously displeased him. But vnto this mans oth the archbishop and the other

Simon

I I

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March

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Henricus p
nished.Wil. Malm.
The bishop of
Salisburie
protestation.

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The bishops
think to please
God in brea-
king their oth

March. Paris

Hugh Bigot.

Polydo

1135
Anno Reg.A tempest.
March. West.Matth. Paris
Wil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

I I 2 6

Polydor.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.The faire pro-
mises of king
Stephan.Polydor.
Ran. Higd.
Licence to
build castels,Wil. Malm.
In nouella hi-
storia.The resort of
strangers to
serue king
Stephan.

Polydor.

her lords were so hasty in giuing of credit. Pow-
d e said Hugh for his perurie, by the iust iudgement
of God, came shortly after to a miserable end.

But to our purpose. King Stephan (by what ti-
tle he obtained the crowne) immediatly after
his coronation, went first to Reading to the buri-
all of the bodie of his uncle Henrie, the same being
now brought ouer from Normandie, from whence
after the buriall he repaired to Drenford, and there
calling a councell of the lords & other estates of his
realme; amongst other things he promised before
the whole assemblie (to win the hearts of the people)
that he would put downe and quite abolish that tri-
bute which ofentimes was accustomed to be gather-
ed after the rate of their acres of hides of land, com-
monly called Danegilt, which was two shillings of
euerie hide of land. Also, that he would so provide,
that no bishops sees nor other benefices should re-
maine void, but immediatly after upon their first
vacation, they should be againe bestowed upon some
conuenient person meet to supplie the roome. Fur-
ther he promised not to seise upon any mans woods
as forfeit, though any priuate man had hunted and
killed his deere in the same woods, as the maner of
his predecessour was. ¶ For a kind of forfeiture
was denied by king Henrie, that those should lose
their right inheritance in their woods, that chanced
to kill any of the kings deere within the same.

Moreover, he granted licence to all men, to build
either castell, towne, or other hold for defence of them-
selues upon their owne grounds. All this did he chief-
ly in hope that the same might be a safeguard for him
in time to come, if the emperesse should invade the
land, as he doubted the shortly would. Moreover he
advanced many young & lustie gentlemen to great
linings. For such as were of any noble familie, and
thereto through a certaine stoutnesse of stomach
sought preferment, easilie obtained of him the posses-
sion of castels and great lordships, diuerse of whom
he honored with titles of dignitie, creating some of
them earles and some lords. Now, such was their
imfortunate fate in demanding, that when he had
little more to bestow amongst them, hauing already
giuen sundrie portions that belonged to the crowne,
they ceased not to be in hand with him for more, and
being denied with reasonable excuses on his behalfe,
they thought themselves ill dealt withall, and so tur-
ning from him, fortified their castels and holds, ma-
king open warre against him: as hereafter shall
appeare.

There came ouer vnto him also a great number
of Flemings and Britons to serue him as souldiers,
whom he retained, to be the stronger and better able
to defend himselfe against the malice of the em-
peresse, by whom he looked to be molested he wist not
howe soon. Wherefore he shewed himselfe verie libe-
rall, courteous, and gentle towards all maner of
persons at the first, and (to saie truth) more liberall,
familiar, and free harted than stood with the maiestie
of a king: which was afterward a cause that he grew
into contempt. ¶ But to such meanes are prin-
ces byuen, that attaine to their estates more through
fauour and support of others, than by any good right
or title which they may pretend of themselves. Thus
the gouernement of this prince at the beginning
was nothing bitter or heauie to his subjects, but
full of gentleness, lenitie, courtesie, and mildnes.

Howbeit whilst these things were a doing, cer-
taine of the English Nobilitie, abhorring both the
king and the present state of his gouernment, went
privilie out of the realme into Scotland to king
David, declaring vnto him that a detestable act was
committed by the lords of England, in that (contra-
rie to their oath made vnto the emperesse Dauid, and

his issue) they had now crowned Stephan. Where-
fore they besought the said king to take in hand to
reuenge such a vile iniurie practised against him, and
to restore the kingdome vnto the said emperesse, which
if he did, it should be a thing most acceptable both to
God and man.

King Dauid hauing heard and well weighed the ef-
fect of their request, shortly was so moued at their
words, that in all possible haste he assembled an ar-
my, and entering into England, first took the citie
and castell of Carleil: afterward comming into
Northumberland, he took Newcastle, and many o-
ther places vpon the borders there. Whereof king
Stephan being aduertised, straightwaies assembled
a power, and shortly hasted into Cumberland,
meaning to recouer that againe by force of armes,
which the enimie had stolen from him by craft and
subtiltie. At his approach nere to Carleil, he pitched
downe his field in the euening, thinking there to
stale till the morning, that he might vnderstand of
what power the enimie was, whome he knew to be
at hand.

King Dauid also was of a fierce courage, and re-
die inough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when
he beheld the English standards in the field, and di-
ligentlie viewed their order and behauiour, he was
at the last contented to giue eare to such as intrea-
ted for peace on both sides. Whereupon comming
to king Stephan, he entred a frendlie peace with
him, wherein he made a surrender of Newcastle,
with condition that he should retein Cumberland
by the free grant of king Stephan, who hoped there-
by to find king Dauid the more faithfull vnto him in
time of need: but yet he was deceived, as after-
wards manifestlie appeared. For when king Ste-
phan required of him an oath of allegiance, he answe-
red that he was once sworne already vnto Dauid
the emperesse. Howbeit to gratifie him, he comman-
ded his son Henrie to receiue that oath, for the which
the king gaue him the earldome of Huntingdon to
hold of him for ever.

¶ The Scottish chronicles set out the matter in o-
ther order, but yet all agree that Henrie swore fea-
tie to king Stephan, as in the said historie of Scot-
land you may see more at large. Now after that
king Stephan had concluded a peace with king Da-
uid, he returned to London, and there kept his Cas-
tles with great toy and triumphes: who whilst he
was yet in the middell of all his pastime, about Ro-
gation weeke, he chanced to fall sicke of a litargie,
by reason wherof a rumoz was spred ouer all the realme
that he was dead. Which though it was but a vaine
tale, and of no importance at the first, yet was it af-
ter the occasion of much euill. For vpon that report
great sedition was raised by the kings enemies a-
mongst the people, the minds of his friends were a-
lienated from him, & many of the Normans (which
were well practised in perjuries & treasons) thought
they might boldly attempt all mischeues that
came to hand, and her vpon some of them undertooke
to defend one place, and some another. Hugh Bigot
erle of Norfolk a valiant chieftain entred into Nor-
wich, Baldwin Reduers took Excester, & Robert
Quisquere got certaine castels also into his hands.

King Stephan hearing what his enemies had
done, though he was somewhat moued with this al-
teration of things, yet as one nothing afraid of the
matter, he said merlie to those that stood about him:
We are alius yet God be thanked, and that shall be
knowne to our enemies yet if he long. Neither
doubted he any thing but some secret practise of
treason, and therefore using all diligence, he made the
more haste to go against his enemies, whose attempts
though straightwaies for the more part he repelled,
yet

The king of
Scots inva-
deth the En-
glish marches.
Sim. Duncl.
Matth. Paris.
Polydor.K. Stephan
encamped
nere to his
enimie the
K. of Scots.An accord
made betwixt
the two kings
Stephan and
Dauid.

Hec. Boetius.

Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.Simon Dun.
King Ste-
phan sicke.False rumors
what hurt
they often-
times doe.Hugh Bigot.
Baldwin
Reduers.
Robert
Quisquere.

Polydor.

Geffrey earle
of Anion.Simon Dunc.
Wil. Paraus.
Polydor.Anno Reg. 2.
1137
K. Stephan
passeth into
Normandie.The earle of
Anion put to
flight.Lewes king
of France.
Eustace son
to king Ste-
phan.Marth. Paris.
Theobald earle
of Blois.K. Stephan
agreeth with
the earle of
Anion.

Polydor.

The Scots
inuaide the
English boy-
vers.

yet could he not recouer the places (without much ado) that they had gotten, as Excester, and others; which then he had obtained, he contented himselfe for a time, and folloved not the victorie any further in pursuing of his enemies. Whereupon they became more bold afterward than before; in somuch that some after they practised diuerse things against him, whereof (God willing) some in places conuenient shall appeare: howbeit they permitted him to remaine in quiet for a time. But whilst he studied to take order in things at home (perceiuing how no small number of his subiects did daily shew themselves to beare him no hartie good will) he began by little and little to take awaie those liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his reigne he had granted vnto them, and to denie those promises which he had made, according to the saying, That which I haue giuen, I would I had not giuen, and that which remaineth I will keepe still. This sudden alteration and new kind of rough dealing purchased him great enuie amongst all men in the end. About the same time great commotions were raised in Normandie by meanes of the lord Geffrey earle of Anion, husband to Maude the emperesse, setting the whole countrie in trouble: but yet any newes there of came into England, king Stephan went against Baldwin Redvers, who being latelie (though not without great and long siege) expelled out of Excester, got him into the Isle of Wight, and there began to deuise a new conspiracie. Howbeit the king coming suddenly into the Isle, took it at the first assault, and eriled Baldwin out of the realme.

Hauing thus with good successe finished this enterprise, and being now aduertised of the businesse in Normandie, he sailed thither with a great armie: and being come within two daies iourne of his enemies the earle of Anion, he sent forth his whole powder of horsemen, diuided into three parts, which were not gone past a daies iourne forward, but they encountered the earle, finding him with no great force about him. Whereupon giuing the charge vpon him, they put him to flight, and slue manie of his people. Which enterprise in this maner valiantlie achieved, euen according to the mind of king Stephan, he ioined in friendship with Lewes the seventh king of France: and hauing latelie created his sonne Eustace duke of Normandie, he presentlie appointed him to do his homage vnto the said Lewes for the same.

Now whereas his elder brother Theobald earle of Blois at that time in Normandie, found himselfe grieved, that Stephan the younger brother had vsurped the lands that belonged to their vnckle king Henrie, rather than himselfe, Stephan to stop this iust complaint of his brother, and to allaie his mood, agreed with him, covenanteeing to paie him yearelie two thousand marks of such currant monie as was then in vse. Furthermore, whereas Geffrey the earle of Anion demanded in right of his wife the emperesse the whole kingdome of England, to be at an end with him, king Stephan was contented to satisfie him with a yearelie pension of five thousand marks, which composition he willingly receiued.

Thus when he had provided for the suertie of Normandie, he returned againe into England, where he was no longer arrived, but aduertisement was giuen him of a warre newlie begun with the Scots, whose king vnder a colour of obseruing the oth to the emperesse, made daily insurrections and inuaasions into England, to the great disturbance of king Stephan and the annoyndance of his people. Wherewith being somewhat minded, he went straightwaies towards the north parts, and determined first to besiege Bedford by the waie, which appertained to the earle

dome of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henrie the sonne of king Dauid, and thereupon at that present kept with a garison of Scottish men.

This place did the king besiege by the space of 30. daies together, giuing thereto euerie daie an assault or alarme, in somuch that coming thither on Christmasse daie, he spared not on the morrow to assault them, and so at length won the towne from them by mere force and strength. King Dauid hearing those newes, and being already in armour in the field, entered into Northumberland, and licensed his men of warre to spoile and rob the countrie thereabout at their pleasure. Whereupon followed such crueltie, that their rage stretched vnto old and young, vnto priest and clearkie, yea women with child escaped not their hands, they hanged, headed, and slue all that came in their waie: houses were burnt, cattell diuened awaie, and all put to fire and sword that serued to any vse for release, either of man or beast.

Here we see that a band of calamities do accompany and waite vpon warre, wherein also we haue to consider that a traine of felicitities do attend vpon peace, by an equall comparing of which twaine together, we may easilie perceiue in how heauenlie an estate those people be that liue vnder the scepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwise what a hellish course of life they lead that haue swozne their seruice to the sword. We may consider also the inordinat outrages of princes, and their frantike fiercesnes, who esteeme not the losse of their subiects liues, the effusion of innocent blood, the population of countreies, the ruinating of ample regions, &c: so their will may be satisfied, there desire serued. And therefore it was aptlie spoken by a late poet, not beside this purpose:

*Reges atque duces dira impelluntur in arma,
Imperiumque sibi miserorum cede lucrantur.
O caci, o miseri, quid? bellum pace putatis
Dignius aut melius? nempe hoc nil turpius, & nil
Quod magis humana procul a ratione recedat.*

Candida pax homines, trux decet ira ferar.

But to our storie. King Stephan hearing of this pittifull spoile, hasted forward with great iourneies to the rescue of the countrie. The Scots put in feare of speedie coming to encounter them, drew backe into Scotland: but he pursued them, and entering into their countrie, burned and destroyed the south parts of that realme in most miserable maner. Whilst king Stephan was thus about to beat backe the foren enemies, and reuenge himselfe on them, he was assailed by other at home, and not without the iust vengeance of almighty God, who meant to punish him for his perurie committed in taking vpon him the crowne, contrarie to his oth made vnto the emperesse and his children. For Robert earle of Gloucester, base brother vnto the emperesse, and of his priuite counsell, sought by all meanes how to bring king Stephan into hatred, both of the Nobles and commons, that by their helpe he might be expelled the realme, and the gouernment restored to the emperesse and his sonne.

Such earnest travail was made by this earle of Gloucester, that manie of his friends which fauoured his cause, now that king Stephan was occupied in the north parts, ioined with him in conspiracie against their soueraigne. First the said earle himselfe tooke Bristowe: and after this dierse other towne and castles there in that countrie were taken by him and others, with full purpose to keepe the same to the behoofe of the emperesse and his sonne. Amongst other William Talbot tooke vpon him to defend Hertford in Wales: William Louch held the castell of Cary: Paganell or Painell kept the castell of Ludlow: William de Spoun the castell of

Anno Reg. 3.
1138
King Dauid
inuaide North-
umberland,
Marth. West.
Polydor.
Marth. Paris.
Simon Dun.

M. Pal. in suo
Capit.

Ouid.
K. Stephan
maketh haste
to rescue the
north parts.
The Scots
retire.
K. Stephan
burnt the
south parts
of Scotland.

Robert earle
of Gloucester.

Bislaw taken.

Simon Dun.
Talbot.
Marth. Paris.
Louch.
Painell.

Duneston:

Fitz-John.
Fitz-Alain.

Dunelso: Robert de Micholl, the castle of Warram; Euface Fitz-John, the castle of Walton; and William Fitz-Alain, the castle of Shrewesburie.

When word hereof came to king Stephan, he was marvellouslie bered: for being determined to haue pursued the Scots euen to the uttermost limits of their countrie, he was now driuen to change his mind, and thought it good at the first to stop the proceedings of his enemies at home, least in giuing them space to increase their force, they might in pro-
10 cesse of time growe so strong, that it would be an hard matter to resist them at the last. Hereupon therfore he returned southward, and comming vpon his enemies, recovered out of their hands diuers of those places which they held, as Hereford, and the castle of Shrewesburie. About the same time one Walkeline yelded the castle of Douer vnto the queene, who had besieged him within the same.

Simon Dun.
March. Paris.
The castle of
Douer deli-
uered to the
queene.
Polydor.

Thurstan
archbishop of
York made
lieutenant of
the north parts.

Now king Stephan knowing that the Scots were not like long to continue in quiet, returned
20 northwards againe; and comming to Thurstan the archbishop of Yorke, he committed the keeping of the countrie vnto his charge, commanding him to be in a readinesse to defend the borders vpon any sudden inuasion. Which thing the courageous archbishop willingly undertooke. By this meane king Stephan being eased of a great part of his care, fell in hand to besiege the residue of those places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the danger of an assault, fled away, some into one part, and some
30 into an other; whom the kings power of horsemen still pursuing and ouertaking by the way, slew, and toke no small number of them prisoners in the chase. Thus was the victorie in maner wholie atchieued, and all those places recovered, which the enemies had fortified.

The Scots
effronies in-
made For-
thumberland.

In like maner when king David heard that the king was thus bered with ciuill warre at home, he entred England againe in most forceable wise: and sending his horsemen abroad into the countrie,
40 commanded them to waste and spoile the same after their accustomed maner. But in the meane time he purposed with himselfe to besiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue wone, he determined to haue made it the frontier hold against king Stephan, and the rest that toke part with him. Hereupon calling in his horsemen from straens further abroad, he marched thitherwards, and comming nere to the citie, pitched downe his tents.

Archbishop
Thurstan
raileth a pow-
er to fight
with the
Scots.

In this meane while the archbishop Thurstan, to
50 whom the charge of defending the countrie chiefe lie in the kings absence appertained, called together the Nobles and gentlemen of the shire and parties adioining, whom with so pitie and effectuall words he exhorted to resist the attempts of the Scots (whose cruell doings could keepe no measure) that incontinently all the power of the northparts was raised, and (vnder the leading of William earle of Albe-
60 marle, Walter Speke, William Peurrell of Pottingham, and two of the Lacies, Walter and Gilbert) offered euen with perill of life and limme to trie the matter against the Scots in a pight field, and either to drine them out of the countrie, or else to lose their liues in the quarrell of their prince.

Simon Dun.
Captaines of
the armie.

It chanced at this time, that archbishop Thurstan was sicke, and therefore could not come into the field himselfe, but yet he sent Rafe bishop of Durham to supplie his roome, who though he saw and perceived that euerie man was readie enough to encounter with their enemies; yet he thought good to vse some exhortation vnto them, the better to encourage them, in maner as here ensueth.

Rafe bish. of
Durham sup-
plieth the
roome of the
archbishop.

March Paris.
Sim. Dun.

Most noble Englishmen, and ye right valiant Normans, of whose courage the Frenchman is a

fraid, by you England is kept order, by you Apul-
doth flourish, and vnto you Ierusalem and Antioch
haue yelded their subiection. We haue at this pre-
sent the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right
ought to be subiect to the crowne of England) come
into the field against vs, thinking for euermore to
rid themselves of their submission, and to bring both
vs and our countrie into their bondage and thral-
dome. Now albeit I see in you courage sufficient, to
beat them backe from any further attempt; yet least
when you shall come to the triall, by any manner of
chance, you should lose any peece thereof, I lament-
ing the state of my countrie (whose grieuances I
with you should redresse) doe meane to vse a few
words vnto you, not for that I would exhort you to
do any man wrong, but rather to beat them backe
which offer to do you iniurie. Consider therefore that
you shall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue
oftentimes banquished, and oftentimes offending in
periurie, haue oftentimes most worthilie punished:
whome also (to be briefe) raging after the maner of
cruell robbers, wickedlie spoiling churches, and fa-
king away our goods, you did latelie constrain to
lurke in desert places and corners out of sight. A-
gainst this enimie (I say) therefore worthy of re-
uengement for his so manifold outrages, shew your
selues valiant, and with manlie stomaches drine him
out of our confines. For as far as I can perceiue, the
victorie is yours, God surelie will aid you, who can-
not longer abide the sinnes of this people. Wherefore
he that loseth his life in so iust a quarrell (according
to the saying of our saviour) shall find it. Let not
their rash and presumptuous boldnesse make you
afraid, sith so manie tokens of your approued vali-
ancie cannot cause them to stand in doubt of you.
You are clad in armour, and so appointed with hel-
met, curase, greines, and target, that the enimie
knoweth not where to strike and hurt you. Then sith
you shall haue to doe with naked men, and such as vse
not to weare any armour at all, but more meet for
brablers and ale-houfe quarrellers than men of war-
bled to the field: what should you stand in doubt of?
Their huge number is not able to stand against your
skillfull order and practised knowledge in all warlike
seats and martiall discipline. A rude multitude is but
a let, rather than a furtherance to atchieue the victo-
rie. A small number of your worthy elders haue of-
tentimes banquished great multitudes of enemies.
As the bishop was thus speaking to the English ar-
mie, and before he grew to an end of his exhortati-
on, the Scots approached with their battels, a first cer-
taine of their bands of horsemen were sent afoze, to
take the higher ground: which when the Englishmen
perceiued, they staid not till the enemies should be-
gin the battell, but straightwaies caused their trum-
pets to sound, and so gaue the onfet.

The English-
men set vpon
the Scots.

The Scots were as readie to encounter with
them, so that the battell began to be verie hot, and e-
uen at the first out flew the arrowes, and then the
footmen joined, who fought most fiercelie on both
sides. Herewith a wing of them of Lodian, which
were in the Scottish hauntgard, brake in vpon the
hauntgard of the English: but yet closing together
againe, they kept out the enemies, and casting about
with a wing, compassed the Scottish horsemen round
about, and panning their horses, they slew a great
number, and constrained the residue to retire. Which
thing when their felowes in the other wing saw, their
hearts began to faint, and by and by betooke them to
their heeles.

The Scots
of Lodian dis-
order the
Englishmen:
Simon Dun.
March. Paris.

The rumor of this flight being notified to the maine
battell of the Scottish men, where king David him-
selfe was fighting with his enemies, discomfited
them also, in such wise, that they in like sort began to
fly: inke

The Scots
put to flight.

shinke backe: first by parts, and after by heaps together. The king did what he could to staie them: but the English pressed so upon them, that there was no recovery. Therefore he himselfe was glad in the end to beare his men companie, in seeking to saue himselfe by flight, and make such shift as he could amongst the residue.

Henrie earle
of Hunting-
ton his balli-
ancie.

His sonne Henrie the earle of Huntington more regarding his honour, than the danger of life, neither moued with the sight of his father, nor the ouerthrow of the other, came in amongst his men, being readie to turne their backs, and with bold countenance spake these or the like words vnto them, as the shortnesse of the time would permit. Whither go you good fellowes: here shall you find armour and force, neither shall you, whilst life remaineth in your capteine (whom ye ought to follow) depart without the victorie. Therefore choose whether ye had rather trie the matter with the enemies by battell, or to be put to a shamefull death at home after your returne thither. The Scots moued with these vehement words of their valiant capteine, recoiled vpon their enemies, and began to make hauocke of them: but being no great number, and beset with the English footmen before, and the horsemen behind, they were shortly brought to distresse, and for the more part either taken or slaine.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
The number.

Simon Dun.
Marth. Paris.
Wil. Paru.
Polydor.

At length earle Henrie perceiuing how the matter went, and that there was no hope left of recovery, fled also with those that could escape, bitterlie cursing the forwardnesse of fortune, and mishap of that dates chance. The number of them that were killed at this battell was aboue ten thousand. In which number there were not manie of the English: but yet among other, Walter Lacie the brother of Gilbert Lacie, one of their chiefe capteines is remembered to be one. This battell was fought in the moneth of August, in the fourth of king Stephan, who hearing of this victorie, greatlie reioiced, and gaue infinite commendations to his subiects (the Englishmen and the Normans) but principallie praised archbishop Thurstan and the bishop of Durham for their faithfull and diligent seruice shewed in this behalfe.

Ran. Higd.
Castels reco-
uered by king
Stephan.

N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.
Marth. Paris.
Theobald
archbishop of
Canterburie.

On the other side he himselfe using the like good successe amongst the rebels at home, ouercame them, and chased them out of the land. For in this meane time he had taken the castles of Hereford, Gloucester, Wechelepe, Wythorne, Dudley, and Shrewesburie. Likewise Robert earle of Gloucester not being able to resist the king thus preuailing against his aduersaries on eche hand, fled into France vnto his sister the emperesse. After this, about Advent, the popes legat one Alberike bishop of Hostia, held a synod at London, within Pauls church, where by the kings consent, Theobald abbat of Becheillonin was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being the 37. archbishop which had ruled that see, after Augustine the monke.

Anno Reg. 5.
1140
Polydor.
Marth. Paris.

R. Stephan
inuaith
Scotland.

A peace con-
cluded be-
tweene the
two kings of
England and
Scotland.

The king hauing now accomplished his purpose, taken the castell of Leides, and brought the state of the realme to a meetlie good staie, thought it expedient after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to pursue the victorie, and vtterlie to subdue them with all expedition. He brought his armie therefore into Scotland, first waisting and spoiling the countrey, and afterward preparing to fight with such Scots as came forth to defend their goods and houses. David perceiuing himselfe to be too weake, made sute to the king for peace, which with much difficultie he obtained at length, by deliuering his sonne Henrie vnto king Stephan in pledge for the sure performance of conuenants concluded vpon betwixt them. Whereupon king Stephan hauing thus ended his bu-

sinesse in Scotland, returned into England: and after directing his iornie towards Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne (being held by his aduersaries) he was per long out of their hands.

Ludlow run.

After this he went to Drenford, where whilst he remained, a great brute was spread abroad, that the emperesse was comming with hir brother the earle of Gloucester: which caused him to put the lesse trust in his people from thenceforth, in so much that he began to repent himselfe (although too late) for that he had granted licence to so manie of his subiects to build castles within their owne grounds. For he had them all in suspicion: and amongst other, he vehementlie suspected Roger bishop of Salisburie (who had done verie much for him) and Alexander bishop of Lincoln neptue to the said bishop of Salisburie, or (as some thought) more nere to him in kindred than his neptue, I mean, his sonne. For the said Roger had builded diuerse castles, as at Shierborne, at the Wiles, and at Palmesburie. The said Alexander likewise following his uncles example, bestowed his monie that way verie frælie, hauing builded one castle at Peterwarke, and an other at Selesford.

Roger bishop
of Salisburie.
Alexander B.
of Lincoln.
Wil. Malm.

Castels built
by the bishop
of Salisburie.

The king therefore hauing committed both these bishops to prison, and furthermore sent Bigell or Bigill the bishop of Ely into exile (which Bigell was neptue also to the foresaid bishop of Salisburie) he threatened to keepe them without either meate or drinke, if they would not cause these castles to be deliuered into his hands, whereby he obtained them, and moreover found in the bishop of Salisburies coffers 40. thousand marks, which he toke to his owne vse, by way of confiscation for his disoiall demeanour. This ingratitude of the king wounded the bishops hart, in so much that taking thought for the losse of his houses and monie, he pined awaie, and died within a while after.

Simon Dun.
Peterwarke
castell built by
the bishop of
Lincolne.
The B. of E.
lie banished.

The bishop of
Salisburie
dieth of
thought.
Wil. Malm.
In nouella bi-
storia.

The quarrell which was first picked at these bishops, rose by occasion of a fraie betwixt the bishops men and the seruants of Alaine duke of Britaine, about the taking vp of Innes at their comming to Drenford. In which fraie one of the dukes men was killed, his neptue almost slaine, and the residue of his folkes sore beaten and chased. Whereupon were the bishops first committed to ward, and afterward handled at the kings pleasure, as partlie ye haue heard.

¶ Here by the way, good reader, thou hast one example worthe to be marked of sickle fortunes inconstancie, whereof the poet speaketh verie excellently;

Fortunes in-
constancie.
Wil. Paru.

— Varias semper fortuna tenorem,

Diuisi gaudent mortalia voluere casu.

Nam qui scire velit, cur hunc fortuna vel illum

Aut premat aut sursum tollat, nimis ardua querit:

Terrarum siquidem est illi concessa potestas

Maxima, huic illam præfere Iuppiter orbis.

M. Palmira
ser.

For this Roger bishop of Salisburie, was in the daies of William Rufus a poore priest, seruing a cure in a village nere the citie of Caen in Normandie. Now it chanced, that the lord Henrie the kings brother came thither on a time, and called for a priest to say masse before him. Whereupon this Roger comming to the altar, was by and by readie and quithe at it, and therewithall had so speedilie made an end thereof, that the men of warre then attendant on the said lord Henrie, affirmed that this priest aboue all other, was a chapleine meet to say masse before men of warre, because he had made an end when manie thought he had but netolke begun. Whereupon the kings brother commanded the priest to follow him, in so much that when opportunitie serued, for his diligent seruice, and readie dispatch of matters, when Henrie had attained the crowne, he was by him advanced

The bishop of
Salisbury
made lord
Chancelour.

advanced to great promotions: as first to be Chancelour of England, & after bishop of Salisbury, growing still into such estimation, that he might do moze with the king than any other of the counsell.

But to returne to king Stephan, who after he had thus imprisoned the aforesaid bishops, manned those castles which he took from them with his owne soldiers, in like maner as he had done all the rest which he had taken from the rebels, that he might the better withstand the emperesse and hir sonne, whose coming he ever feared. He began also to shew himselfe cruell towards all men, and namelie against those that had chieflie furthered his title to the obtaining of the crowne. ¶ This (as manie wrote it) came to passe by the prouidence of almightie God, that those should suffer for their perjuries, which contrarie to law and right had consented to crowne him king.

¶ Stephan
doubtes whom
to trust.

In deed he wist not well whom he might trust, for he stood in doubt of all men, because he was aduertised by credible report, that the emperesse sought for aid on all sides, meaning verie shortly to come into England. For this cause also he thought good to procure the frendship of Lewes king of France, which he brought to passe, by concluding a marriage betwene his sonne Cyssace and the ladie Constance sister to the said Lewes. But within a few yeares after, this Cyssace died, and then was Constance married to Raimond earle of Chouloise.

Wil. Malm.
Polydor.
Matt. Paris.
Alberike de
Aier pleases
the kings cause.

In the meane time, namelie on the first daie of September, a counsell was holden at Winchester, wherein earle Alberike de Aier pleaded with great eloquence the kings case, in excuse of his fault for imprisoning the bishops, which was fore laid to his charge by his owne brother the bishop of Winchester, being also the popes legat: who (together with the archbishop of Canturburie and other bishops) had called this counsell for that purpose. Howbeit they got nothing of the king but faire words, and promises of amendment in that which had bene otherwise than equitie required, which promises were utterly unperformed, and so the counsell brake up.

The emperesse
landed here in
England.

In the moneth of Iulie the emperesse Aud landed here in England at Portelmouth, & went strait to Arundell, which towne (together with the countie of Sussex) hir mother in law Adelicia king Henries second wife, wedded to William de Albenay, held in right of assignation for hir dowter. There came in with the emperesse hir brother Robert and Hugh Bigot, of whom we haue heard before.

what power
she brought
with hir.

Some write that the emperesse brought with hir a great armie, to the intent that joining with Ranulph earle of Chester (who took part with Robert erle of Glocester, because the same Rob. had married his daughter) she might fight with king Stephan, and trie the battell with him. Other declare that she came to England now at the first, but with a small power (as seven score horsemen or men of armes as we may call them) in hope of Gods assurance (who seldom faileth those that fight in a rightfull cause) and againe vpon trust of aid of friends, who for the benefits receiued at hir fathers hands, would be ready to go against king Stephan. Whereupon hir brother earle Robert leauing his sister in the castle of Arundell, rode with all speed vnto Glocester thorough his enemies countie, not taking with him past 12. men of armes, and as manie archers on horsebacke, that vpon his coming thither he might leuie an armie with so much speed as was possible.

Earle Robert
cometh to
Glocester.

Now when he came to Glocester, though the citie was kept with a garison of soldiours placed there by king Stephan, yet the townesmen, after they heard that their earle was approached to the gates, they drew out the garison, & receiued him into the towne, where he remained a time, partlie to assemble an ar-

mie, and partlie to practise with other townes and castles thereabouts, to reuolt vnto his sister. Amongst all other, the earles sonne Brian, and Miles of Glocester were right iofull of the newes of the emperesses arrivall, and gladlie prepared themselves to fight in defense of hir cause.

Matt. Paris.
Brian the
castell of Glo-
cesters sonne.
Miles earle
of Hereford.
Polydor.

The emperesse
besieged in Arundell castell.

In the meane time king Stephan, hauing knowledge of the landing of the emperesse, and other his enimies, came strait to Arundell, where he besieged hir in the castle, and spent his labour certeine daies in vaine about the winning of it. Howbeit at that present he did not preuaile, for there were certeine with him, who in fauour of the emperesse bare him in hand, that it was not possible to win that fortreffe, and therefore aduised him to raise his siege, and suffer the emperesse to be at libertie to go to some other place, where he might with moze ease and lesse damage get hir into his hands. The king not perceiving the drift of those secret praaisers, followed their counsell. Whereupon the emperesse being now at libertie, went from place to place to trie and sollicit hir friends: and as a river increaseth in the passage, so the further the ladie went, the moze hir power increased. About the midd of the next night after the siege was raised, she departed out of the castle, and with great iournies sped hir towards Wyllow, which was already reuolted to hir side.

The king
raileth his
siege.

The emperesse
goeth to Wyllow.

These things being thus bruted abroad, the Deeres of the realme resorted to hir, as they that well remembred how in time past by oath of allegiance they were suerlie bound to hir and hir issue. The king in the meane time besieged the castle of Wallingford, but after he vnderstood that the emperesse was gotten to Wyllow, repenting himselfe for his light credit giuen to euill counsell, he left off the siege of Wallingford, and drew towards Wyllow, that he might (if it were possible) inclose his aduersaries within that walled citie. But the emperesse, being aduertised of his determination (by such of hir friends as were resident about him) first went to Glocester, and after to Lincolne, where she provided vittailles and all other things necessarie for hir armie and defense: purposing to remaine in that citie, till the matter were either tried by chance of warre betwixt hir and king Stephan, or that by the peoples helpe reuolting to hir side, he might be driuen out of the realme, and she restored to the whole gouernement. The king followed hir verie earnestlie, and committing vnto Lincolne besieged it, assailing on euerie side which waite he might best find means to win it, & enter into the same. At length the emperesse found shift to escape from thence, and within a little while the king got possession of the citie. But shortly after, Robert earle of Glocester, and Ranulph earle of Chester, Hugh Bigot, and Robert of Hereford assembling their power, aswell of Welshmen as others, to come to the succour of those that were thus besieged, came to Lincolne, & pitching downe their tents nere to the enimies, they rested the first night without making any great attempt.

Anno Reg. 6.
I I 4 I

Sim. Dunc.
R. Houe.
¶ Stephan
winmeth
Lincolne.
Ran. Higd.
Simon Dunc.

Polydor.
N. Truett.

In the morning being the second daie of Februarie, so soon as it was daie, they set their men in order of battell, and brought them forth in sight of the king and his host: who on the other side, not meaning to refuse the conflict, ordered his men ready to encounter them, whom he diuided into 3. seuerall battells. The chieft part of his armed men he appointed to remaine on foot, amongst whom he placed himselfe, with certeine noble men, as earle Baldwin, and others. The residue being horsemen, he disposed into two seuerall wings, in one of which were Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigot earle of Herefolke, Simon earle of Hampton, and two other earles, Apellent and Waren: howbeit they were not furth

The ordering
of the kings
armie ready
to giue bat-
tell.

Simon Dunc.
Matt. Paris.

The earles
of Herefolke,
Hampton,
Apellent, &
Waren.

The earle of
Albemarle,
William de
Pyres.
The ordering
of the battels
on the kings
aduersaries
part.

shed with such number of men as had bene requisit; for as it fell out, they brought no great retinues with them. The other wing was gouerned by the earle of Albemarle, and William de Pyres.

Now on the aduersaries side, the earle of Chester led the fore ward, and those whome king Stephan had disherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the reere ward the earle of Gloucester with his compaignie had the rule. And besides those thre battels, the Welshmen were set as a wing at one of the sides.

The oration
of the earle
of Chester.
Ran. Higd.

Here the earle of Chester (to utter the good will which he had to fight) appointed in faire armour as he was, spake these words in effect as followeth, directing the same to the earle of Gloucester, and other the capteines, saieing: I giue you hartie thanks, most inuincible chieftaine, and you my fellows soldiers, which declare your hartie good wils towards me, euen to the leoparding of your liues at this my request and instance. With then I am the occasion of your perill, it is conuenient that I make the first offence, and giue the onset of the battell vpon that most disloiall king, who granting a truce, hath broken the peace; and swearing to be a subiect, is now proued a most wicked blurper: I therefore trusting both vpon reuenge of the vnjust dealings of this king, and also vpon mine owne force and courage, shall straitwaies brake in sunder the arrate of his armie, and make waie through the middell of the enimies with sword in hand. It shall be your parts then to follow me, who will lead you the waie: for euen now my mind giueth me, that I shall passe thorough the battels, tread the capteines vnder foot, and run the king through with this my sharpe sword.

The earle of
Gloucesters
answer to the
earle of Che-
sters oration.

When he had thus ended, the earle of Gloucester answered in this wise: It is not against reason that you should require the honoz of the first onset, both for the nobilitie of your house, and also in respect of the prouesse wherein you excell: but yet if you stand vpon nobilitie, for my part, being the sonne and nephue of a king, ought not I to be preferred: If vpon baliance, here are manie verie worthy men, afore whom there is not one aliuie that may chalenge any prerogatiue. But another reason moueth me most chieftie to be the foremost. The king, who contrarie to his oth made to my sister, hath cruellie usurped the kingdome, and setting all in trouble, hath bene the cause of manie thousand mens deaths, and distributed lands and liuings to such as haue no right to the same, which he hath violentlie taken from the rightfull owners, who are quite disherited. This king (I saie) is first to be assailed with the assistance of the righteous iudge, who prepareth punishment for wicked doers. For almighty God, who iudgeth his people with equitie, will looke downe from his heauenly habitation, and will not leaue vs comfortlesse in this so great a necessitie. One thing there is, most valiant capteines, and all you right hardie souldiers, which I would haue you to consider, that through the fennes, which with much adoe you haue passed, there is no waie to escape by flight. Here must we either vanquish the enimies, or else die in the field: for no hope of safegard remaineth in fleeing awaie. This onelie resteth (I saie) that you make waie for you to enter the citie with force of your weapons. If I be not deceiued in that which my mind giueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meanes to escape, otherwaie than by the slaying your selues valiant men, by Gods helpe will bring vs the victorie. For he must needs plaie the man, who hath not other succoz to auoid the danger of destruction. The citizens of Lincoln, who shall fight so nere their houses as you shall see, will not staie long to get them thither for their refuge. And herewith consider and weie (I beseech you) against whom you shall match in this battell. There

The necessi-
tie to fight
baliantlie.

is Alane duke of Britaine, who commeth armed against you, yea rather against God, a wicked person, and spotted with all kind of filthinesse; who in malice hath no pære, as one that neuer wanted desire to do mischief: and who to be comparable in crueltie, would iudge it a great reproch. Where commeth also the earle of Mellent, a man full of all guile and deceit, in whose hart iniquitie is rooted, and nothing sounding in his mouth but vnthankfulnessse; besides this, he is slothfull in dedes, presumptuous in words, not hastie to fight, but swift to run awaie. Then cometh earle Hugh, who hath not thought it sufficient to breake his oth to my sister the emperesse, but he must commit perurie the second time, in aduouching (vpon a new oth) that king Henrie granted the kingdome to Stephan, and disabled his daughter. After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man of singular constancie in euill, verie readie to attempt and loth to giue ouer a mischief: whose wife, through irkesomnes of his filthie behauiour is gone from him: & he that keepeth hir, cometh with him also against vs, an open adulterer, & one well esteemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with Mars. Then setteth forth Simon earle of Hampton, whose dedes consist in words, & whose gifts rest in promises. For when he hath said, he hath done, & when he hath promised, he get no more. Finally there come together a knot of Pæres & Noble men, like to their king and maister, accustomed to robberies, enriched with rapines, embued with manslaughteres, & defamed with perurie. You therefore (most valiant capteines & hardie souldiers) whom king Henrie hath aduanced, and this man hath brought vnder foot; whom he made wealthie, and this man hath impouerished; vpon trust of your worthy baliance, yea rather vpon trust of Gods iustice seeke your reuenge thus offered by God vpon these wicked wretches, & with manlie machs bolv to go forward, & forswere stepping back. When the earle had made an end, all the armie (lifting vp their hands to God) abjured all intention to flee, and so made themselves readie to set forward.

King Stephan hauing no pleasant voice of himselfe, appointed earle Baldwin to giue an exhortation to his armie, wherevpon getting himselfe to an high place where he might be seene & heard of them, he thus began. All such as shall giue battell, ought to foresele thre things: first, that their cause be righteous: secondlie, the number of their men to be equall at the least: and thirdlie, the goodnesse and sufficiency of them. The righteousness of their cause ought to be regarded, least men runne in danger of the soule; the number of men is to be respected, least they should be oppressed with multitude of enimies; and the goodnesse of the souldiers is to be considered, least trusting in the multitude, they should presume vpon the aid of feeble persons, & such as are of small valure. In all these points we see our selues sufficientlie furnished. The iustice of our cause is this: that obseruing the thing which we vowed to our king before God, we stand to the same against those that haue falsified their faith, euen to the perill of death. Our number is not much lesse in horsemen, and in footmen we exceed them. As for the goodnesse or sufficiency of our men, who is able to expresse the noble prouesse of so manie earles, of so manie lordes and souldiers, trained vp euer in warres: The passing baliance of our king may stand in place of innumerable souldiers. With then he being the lordes annointed, is here amongst you, vnto whom ye haue vowed allegiance, performe your vow. For the more earnestly and faithfully ye serue your prince in this battell, which you are readie to fight against perjured persons, the more shall your reward be at the hands of God and him. Therefore be of good comfort, & haue

Earle Bal-
win his or-
ation in the
baisse of king
Stephan.
Thre things
to be fore-
seene by them
that shall
giue battell.

Marth
Hen. I

W. Pa
Hqn. H

Polyd.

An. Reg. 6.

“ in remembrance against whom you do darraigne the
battell. The force of erle Robert is well knowne, his
erle Robert. “ maner is to threaten much, & to worke little, furious
“ in words, eloquent of speach, but cold or rather dead
The earle of “ harted in dedes. The earle of Chester what is he?
Chester. “ A man of unreasonable boldnesse, bent to conspira-
“ cie, inconstant to perforce that which he rashly ta-
“ keth in hand, readie to run into battell, vncircumspect
“ in danger, practising things of great importance, see-
“ king after things vnpossible, bringing with him few
“ good soldiers, but gathering a vagarant rout of ras-
“ cals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be
“ afraid of, for loke what former he attempteth man-
“ fullie, the same he giuethouer womanlie, in all his
“ doings vnfortunate, in all encounters either he is
“ overcome and sleth awaie, or if he get the vpper hand
“ (which seldome times chanceth) he suffereth greater
“ losse than they whom he doth vanquish.
“ The Welchmen, whom he bringeth with him are
“ little esteemed of vs, who pretend a naked rashnesse
“ without any vse of armor, so that as men without
“ any knowledge of martiall policie, they fall as brutes
“ beastes vpon the hunters saueline. The other, as well
“ the nobles as the common souldiers are but runna-
“ gates and vagabounds, of whom I would wish the
“ number greater than it is: for the more they be, the
“ worse in effect their seruice shall proue in time of
“ need. You therefore (most worthie chetaines) you
“ men of honor, it standeth you vpon to haue in regard
“ your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your
“ renowne, and follow the footsteps of your famous
“ ancestors, leaue to your sonnes an euerlasting com-
“ mendation. The continuall successe of victorie ought
“ to be a prouocation vnto you to do manfullie: the
“ continuance of euill speed may be to ponder side an
“ occasion to run away. For euere already (I dare say)
“ they repent them of their coming hither, and could
“ be contented to be gone, if the nature of the place
“ would suffer them to depart. When kith it is not possi-
“ ble for them either to fight or to fle, what other thing
“ can they do, but (as appointed by Gods ordinance)
“ offer themselves and all they haue about them pre-
“ sentlie vnto vs. We see then their horses, their ar-
“ mour, and their bodies readie here at your pleasure,
“ list vp your hearts therefore, and reach your hands to
“ take that with great chearefulness of mind, which
“ the Lord hath thus offered and freely presented vnto
“ you.

Continuall
god successe
a prouocation
of boldnesse.

Marth. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.

W. Paru.
Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.

Now per he had all made an end of his words,
the batells were readie to ioine, they met with great
noise of trumpets and other instruments, and the
fight began with a verie foye and cruell slaughter.
Hard it was in the beginning to gesse who should
haue the better. The wing of the disherited men
ouerthrew and bare downe their aduersaries, which
were led by the duke of Britaine, and the forenamed
earles. On the contrarie part, the earle of Albemarle
and William de Pyres put the Welchmen to flight,
but by the earle of Chester and his retinue, the same
earle and William de Pyres were sterclie assailed
afresh, and put out of order. Thus was the kings side
put to the worse, namelie his horsmen, who being
placed in the forefront, and there overmatched, fell to
galoping. Which thing when the king beheld, he was
not yet any whit therewith abashed, but like an har-
die captein (as he was no lesse indeed) comforted his
sotmen whom he had about him, and rushing vpon
his enemies, bare them downe, and overthrew
so manie as stood before him, so that with the point of
his weapon he made himselfe wake. His sotmen,
who were but a few in number to the multitude of
his enemies, counteruailed in all points the prowess
and manlike doings of their king and capteine, in-
somuch that few batells had bene better fought, no

with greater slaughter on both sides, if the kings
foze ward (which in maner at the first shanke backe
and was disordered, not without some suspicion of
treason) had staied the huint of the enemies a while,
as it had bene requisite. At length the king encour-
tring with the earle of Chester, being overcharged
with multitude, was taken prisoner by one William
de Cahames.

Earle Baldwin, who had made the oration in the
kings behalfe, was also taken, after he had fought
valiantlie and receiued manie foye wounds: like-
wise Richard fitzpyre, who on that daie had shewed
god proue of his manhod, and had giuen and recei-
ued manie a foye stripe. To conclude, all those that
abode with the king, and namelie all the sotmen
were taken prisoners, those which were slaine in the
place excepted. This battell was fought in the first
yeare of king Stephans reigne, vpon Candlemas
daie, being sundae, as Niger saith.

The king being apprehended and brought to the
empresse lieng at Glocester, was commanded by
hir to be conueied in safetie vnto Wistow, where he
was kept as prisoner from that time of his taking,
vntill the feast of All saints next ensuing. Not long
after this field fought, as ye haue heard, Gessrey
earle of Arion husband to the empresse, receiuing ad-
uertisement of this victorie achieved in England,
forthwith inuaded Normandie, inducing all the po-
bles of the countrie to incline vnto him: for by pub-
lishing the captiuitie of king Stephan, it was easie
for him to come by the possession of the same.

Moreouer, David king of Scotland entred into
Northumberland, and by commandement of the em-
presse toke the countrie into his hands, whilste she
(like a woman of great wisdom, as she was no
lesse indeed) iudging that it stood hir vpon to vse the
victorie which fell to hir lot, slept not hir businesse, but
went forthward, and setting from Glocester, she came
to Winchester, where she was honorablie receiued
of bishop Henrie, though he was king Stephans
brother, and inwardlie lamented the misfortune of
the king. Then came she backe againe to Wiltson,
and so to Drenford, from thence to Reading, and
then to S. Albons, into all which cities and tostones
she was receiued with great triumph and honour.

Having thus passed through all the south parts of
the realme on that side, she finally came to London,
where the citizens welcomed hir in most iollitall and
hartie maner. Now being come to London, and con-
sulting with those of hir counsell for the quieting of
the whole state of the realme, queene David wife to
king Stephan (for so she was also called) made
humble suit vnto hir to haue hir husband set at li-
bertie, promising that he should resigne his whole
claime and title into hir hands, and content himselfe
with a priuate life. But hir suit was so farre off from
being granted, that she was reieted and cast off with
reprochfull words. Wherevpon she conceived a most
high displeasure, and vnderstood well inough; that
peace was to be purchased by force of armes onelie,
and not by any other meanes: insomuch that with
all diligence she sent to hir sonne Euface (then be-
ing in Bent) to willed him to prepare an armie, which
he did most speedilie.

It chanced at the same time that the citizens of
London made great and laborious suit vnto the said
empresse, that they might haue the lawes of king
Edward the Confessor restored, and the straight
lawes of hir father king Henrie abolished. But for
so much as they could get no grant of their petition,
and perceiued the empresse to be displeased with
them about that importunat request, wherein onelie
the ouerthot hir selfe, they deuised how and by what
meanes they might take hir prisoner, knowing that

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Marth. Paris.

W. Paru.

Polydor.
The king led
to Wistow.

W. Paru.

The king of
Scots taketh
Northumber-
land into his
possession.
Polydor.
The empresse
followeth the
victorie.

She cometh
to London.

The queene
sucth to the
empresse for
the deliuerie
of hir husband

The Londo-
ners conspire
to take the
empresse.

Steph fled in
the night time
out of the citie.

N. Triuet.

Geffrey de
Mandeville.
The bishop of
Londō taken.

Polydor.

Castels forti-
fied by the bi-
shop of win-
chester.

William de
Wylle.
La. Meir.

Wil. Malm.
In muella hi-
floria.
N. Triuet.
Sim. Dun.
Polydor.
The emperesse
armie put to
flight.
Wil. Malm.
Robert earle
of Glocester
taken priso-
ner.

Matt. Paris.

Wil. Paruus.
N. Triuet.
David king
of Scots reti-
red home.
Simon Dun.
R. Houe.
Alberike de
Clere flaine.

Wil. Malm.

all the kientishmen would helpe to strengthen them
in their enterprise. But reckoning with his selfe that

Nil poterit prospera tutius esse fuga,

And being warned thereof, he fled by night out of
the citie, and went to Drenford, determining to be
revenge upon his adversaries when time should
serve his turne. Wherewith he began to war more
displeased both against those Nobles whom he kept
in prison, & other also whom he troubled, but name-
lie king Stephan, whom he commanded to be loden
with yrons, and served with verie slender diet.

Now when he had thus fled out of London, which
was about the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Bap-
tist, the tower of London was besieged, which Gess-
frey de Mandeville held, and valiantlie defended. The
same Gessfrey rushing out on a time, came to Ful-
ham, where he took the bishop of London then lodg-
ing in his manor place, being one of the contrarie
faction.

Henric bishop of Winchester perceiuing the wrath
of the emperesse more and more to increase daile
against his people, thinking it wise to serve the
time, manned all the castels which he had builded
within his dioces, as at Waltham, Farnham, and o-
ther places, and withdrew himselfe into the castell of
Winchester, there to remaine, till he might see to
what end the furie of the woman would grow. This
being knowne, the emperesse took unto her David
king of Scotland that was his vnckle, who immediat-
lie joining their armies together, went to Winches-
ter and besieged the castell. In the meane time the
quene and his sonne Eustace, with the helpe of their
friends, as the kientishmen, the Londoners and other
had assembled a great armie, and appointed the go-
uernement and generall conduct thereof unto one
William of Wyres a Fleming, who for his valian-
cie was by king Stephan created earle of Kent: he
was sonne to Philip of Flanders, begotten of a con-
cubine, his father also was sonne to Robert earle of
Flanders, surnamed Frisus. This William was ban-
ished out of his countrie by Theobald earle of
Flanders, because he attempted to bereaue him
of his earledome.

The quenes armie thus committed to his gui-
ding, came nere unto Winchester, and kept the em-
peresse and his people in maner besieged: at length
perceiuing the aduantage after the coming of a
great supplie of Londoners to their aid, they set upon
his armie as the same was departing, with such vio-
lence, that straightwaies his host was put to flight
and discomfited. The emperesse was glad to saue his
selfe dead, and so to be conueied in a coach as a dead
corps unto Glocester. His brother Robert with ma-
nie other of the Nobles that staid behind, till she
and other might get out of danger, were taken pri-
soners. And because the king was kept at Wyke
under the custodie of the said Robert, the quene cau-
sed him to be hardlie handled, that he might proue
the words of the gospell true: With what measure ye
meat unto other, with the same by other shall it be
remeasured unto you. He had deserved verie euill of
the king heretofore, and therefore it was now re-
membred. He was taken (in maner abovesaid) on
the feast day of the exaltation of the crosse.

David king of Scotland was not at the battell
himselfe, but hearing of the discomfiture, got him
out of the countrie, and by helpe of trustie guides re-
turned into Scotland, whilst Alberike de Clere was
flaine at London in a seditious tumult raised by the
citizens. The kingdome being thus diuided into two
fewer all factions, was by all similitudes like to come
to bitter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one
against another, sought nothing else but reuenge on
both sides, and still the land was spoiled and wasted

by the men of warre which lodged within the castels
and fortresses, and would often issue out to harrie and
spoil the countreies. But now that the two chiefest
heads were prisoners, there was good hope conceiued
that God had so wrought it, whereby might grow
some ouerture of talke, to quiet such troubles by
friendlie peace and agreement.

Whereupon those lords that wished well to the com-
mon-wealth, began to intreate betwixt them, and
articles were propounded for a concord to be had, and
an exchange of prisoners on both sides. But the em-
peresse and his brother would not hearken to any a-
greement, except that the realme might whole re-
maine to the said emperesse. Whereby the enmities
were rather increased than decreased by this treatie,
so that at length the king and the earle (winded with
tedious yskommesse of yrons and hard imprison-
ment, and putting all their hope in the chance of war)
about the feast of All saints made exchange by de-
liuering of the one for the other, without making
mention of any peace at all: and so kindled with
new displeasures, they renewed the warre.

King Stephan being deliuered in such wise as you
haue heard, coming to London, and there being
accompanied with his brother Henric bishop of
Winchester (then the popes legat) Theobald archbi-
shop of Canturburie, and others, he called a parle-
ment, wherein the king declared the present state,
how the enemie was brought to this point, that if it
would please the Nobles of the realme to mainteine
him with men & monie, he trusted now so to worke,
as they should not need to feare submission to the
pope of a womans gouernment: which at the first
they seemed much to dislike, and now others (to
their great græfe) had proued to be intollerable. The
summe of his talke tended to this end, that those
which were able of themselves to aid him with their
owne persons, should prepare them out of hand so to
do; and the residue that were not met (as bishops,
and such like manner of men) should be contributors
to aid him with hired souldiers, armour, and monie.

This was gladlie agreed vpon, with the generall
consent of all the assemblee. And because the bishops
shewed themselves verie liberrall towards the ad-
uancing of the kings purpose, there was a statute
made at the same parlement, that who so euer did
laie any violent hands on a sacred person, or else
toke vpon him to apprehend any of them, for what
fault soeuer, without the bishops licence, he should be
accursed, and not be absolved of any manner of person,
except of the pope, as by a canon it was already de-
creed, but not obeyed among the Englishmen till that
daie. The cause of making this statute was this:
he, for that preys during the time of the ciuill wars,
were daile either flaine, or taken prisoners, and so
put to their ransoms, or charged with great penal-
ties and greuous fines.

The bishop of Winchester at this counsell also
began another byall among the cleargie, for being
brother to king Stephan, & armed with the popes au-
thoritie as his legat in England, by reason of exer-
cising his authoritie, fell at variance with the bishop
of Canturburie, who took himselfe for his superior,
because he was his primat. This quarell grew so far
in question, that they went both to Rome to haue the
controuersie decided, and so bying their sates
thither, contented well the eares of them that had the
hearing of the same: for the more weightie the cause
seemed, the better it liked them.

A late writer, noting in clergiemens of his age &
countrie not onelie the aspiring vice of ambition,
but other disorders also, and monstrous outrages,
after a complaint made that gold (by which title he
calleth those of the ecclesiasticall order) is turned in-
to

Polydor.

Geruasius
Dorober.
The king and
the earle of
Glocester de-
liuered by ex-
change.

Anno Reg. 7.

I 142
Geruasius Do-
robernis.
A parlement
callic.

A statute est-
ablihed in fa-
uour of præs-
b.

Paul. Lang. in
Chron. clari-
gen. pag. 760.

to hrosse, and swaet wine become tart vineger, concludeth with the illation of the cause hereof compzised in this metricall accomplement, saleng :

*Dum factor rerum priuaret flamine clerum,
Ad satana votum successit turba nepotum.*

Which he inferred vpon occasion against the posterous elections of vniuersal men into episcopall sees, for that they were not so qualified as the dignitie of the place required; otherwile peradventure enabled with competent knowledge and learning. And suerlie, we may note these inordinate affections from the beginning of this our chronicle in the best (I meane in respect of their estates) of this linerie, and may iustlie impute it to the defection of Gods spirit in them, whose nature is to plant peace and meekenesse in the harts of his tenants, not discord, not ambition, not the woorks of darknesse, which be seeme not the children of light. But to the purpose.

As the king began (after his libertie obtained) to prouide for warres, so earle Robert (after he was discharged) sailed ouer into Normandie, taking with him the sonnes of diuerse noble men who fauored the emperesse, whome he deliuered to his husband the earle of Aniou to be kept as pledges, & earnestlie besought him to passe ouer into England with an armie to aid the emperesse. Howbeit because he was newlie intred into the conquest of Normandie, and had already won the most part thereof, he thought good to make first an end of his warres there, hating somewhat to do against certeine rebels of his owne countie of Aniou, which did not a little molest him. But he recovered (whilest the earle of Gloucester was there with him) Alney, Mortaigne, Trenchay, and diuerse other places pertaining chieflie to the earle of Mortaigne: about the same time also they of Constances submitted themselves vnto him. Thus the earle of Aniou being occupied in those parties, could not well come into England.

Wherevpon the earle of Gloucester came backe againe himselfe, and bringing with him somewhat lesse than foure hundred men of armes (imbarked in 52 ships) landed with the same at Warrham, and besieged the castell there, which his enemies had won out of his hands whilest he was absent in Normandie. In the end they that were within it (vnder the gouernment of Herebert de Lucy) fell to agrement by composition, that if they were not succoured by a certeine time, they should deliuer the castell vnto the earle. King Stephan himselfe the same time held a siege before Driford, within the which he had inclosed the emperesse, as hereafter shalbe shewed: so that they within the castell of Warrham had no succour sent vnto them, and therefore (according to the articles of their composition) they yelded by the hold, after earle Robert had lien there three weekes before it.

This castell being thus twone, earle Robert subdued also such as kept the Ile of Portland, and had fenced it after the maner of a fortrese: afterwards he came to Circester, and there assembled all those that fauoured the part of the emperesse, meaning with all conuenient speed to go to Driford, & there to giue battell to king Stephan, if he would abide it. Who after his deliuerance from captiuitie, had assembled a great host of men, and comming to Driford, where the emperesse then late, suddenly besieged hir, before she looked for him. And to the end also that he might compell the townsmen to yeld, or else keepe them from entring which would come to their succors, he ranged abroad into the countrie with part of his armie, waiking all afore him by fire & sword. This siege continued almost two moneths, in maner from his deliuerie in the beginning of Nouember, vntill Christmasse immediatlie following: in somuch that through lacke of vittells they within the towne be-

gan to raise mutinies. The emperesse therefore doubting the sequele, and seeing hir prouision to decaye, deuised a thift how to escape that present danger, which by force she was vnlikelie to performe.

It was a verie hard winter that yeare, the Thames and other riuers thereabouts were frozen, so that both man and hourse might safelie passe ouer vpon the yce, the fields were also couered with a thicke and deepe snow. Herevpon taking occasion, she clad hir selfe and all hir companie in white apparell, that a far off they might not be discerned from the snow; and so by negligence of the watch that kept ward but slenderlie, by reason of the exceeding cold weather, she and hir partakers secretlie in the night issued out of the towne, and passing ouer the Thames, came to Wallingford, where she was receiued into the castell by those that had the same in keeping to hir vse: of whom Brian the sonne to the erle of Gloucester was the chiefe.

Here we may see the subtiltie of the emperesse, whereby she obtained free and safe passage out of hir enemies hands, who otherwile had taken hir in their net. So that it will be true, that hath neuer bene false, which Aeneas Syluius (and before him many more) bring vpon the like argument doth saie in this distichon:

*Non audet hygius Pluto tentare, quod audens
Effrenis monachus plenaque fraudis illa,*

Meaning *Mulier*, a woman. And therefore loke that they want in magnanimitie, in strength, in courage, the same is supplied by deceit, by circumvention, by craft, by fraud, by collusion; sometimes applied to a good intent, but most commonlie directed to an euill meaning and purpose, as the euents themselves do many times declare. But let vs see what followed vpon this escape of the emperesse.

After hir departure from Driford, the townsmen yelded vnto the king, who hauing taken order for the keeping of them in obedience, marched toward Wallingford, minding to besiege the castell there: but being encountred in the way by his enemies, he was driuen backe, and so constrained to turne another waie. Earle Robert hearing that his sister was escaped and gotten to Wallingford, halsted thither with all speed to visit hir: & (as some write) brought with him hir sonne the lord Henrie that was come with him from beyond the seas, to see his mother: so that the emperesse now beholding both hir sonne and brother, receiued them with all the ioy and honour that she could or might presentlie make them. Hir son remaining vnder the gouernment of earle Robert, was then appointed by him to abide within the citie of Wyke, & there continued for the space of 4. yeeres, being committed to one Mattheu his scholemaster, to be instructed in knowledge, and trained by in ciuill behauiour.

King Stephan (after the spoiling of sundrie churches, the robbing and burning of manie townes and villages by the hands of his hired souldiers, who for the more part were Flemings) came at length with his brother the bishop of Winchester stronglie armed vnto Wilton, where he took in hand to fortifie the nurrie in stead of a castell, to resist the incursions and inrodes of them of Salisburie, who in the behalfe of the emperesse had done manie displeasures vnto his friends: but earle Robert vnderstanding of his doings, got a power together with all speed, and the first daie of Iulie about sunne setting came to Wilton, and suddenly set the towne on fire.

The king being lodged within the nurrie, and fearing no such matter, after he heard of the sudden assembling of his enemies, was put in such feare, that he took himselfe dishonorable to fight, leaving his men, his plate, and other riches altogether behind him.

N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.
Wil. Paru.
Ran. Higd.
Math. Paris.
The emperesse escapeth out of Driford.
Polydor.
Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.
Math. Paris.
Brian sonne to the erle of Gloucester.

Aeneas Syluius.

Polydor.
Simon Dun.
N. Triuet.

Anno Reg. 8.
1143
The emperesse hir sonne lord Henrie.

The king commeth to wilton.

Math. Paris.
Earle Robert passeth ouer into Normandie.

Normandie twone by the earle of Aniou.

Wil. Malm.
Earle of Gloucester returneth.

Ger. Dor.

Wil. Malm.

The Ile of Portland.
Circester.

The emperesse besieged in Driford.

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Stephan of Bullongne.

56

Wi'. Paru.
Sim Dun.
M. Triuet.
Matt. Paris.

him. The earles souldiers egerlie assailed the kings people, killed and spoiled them at their pleasure, rifled the kings treasure without resistance, and satisfied themselves with greedines. In this boile was William Marcell or Martell taken prisoner by earle Roberts men, & led to the castell of Wallingford, where Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne having charge of that castell, kept him in close prison, and used him hardlie, who by reason of the opinion which men had conceived of his valiance, could not be deliuered, till he had paid 300. marks for his ransome, and deliuered the castell of Shirborne into the earles hands. Within a few daies after, Spiles earle of Hereford departed this life, whose death was verie greivouslie taken of the empresse, for he was one of hir chiefe friends and councillors. His eldest sonne Roger succeeded him, a gentleman though young in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feats of armes. William Spandevile earle of Essex, an ancient capteine, & an expert warriour (who had served the empresse, was taken also at S. Albons) but not without great slaughter of the kings souldiers: in so much that among other, the erle of Arundell mounted on a courageous palfrie & a verie valiant man was overthrowen in the midst of a water called Haliwell, by a knight named Walkeline de Wyche, so that the same earle was sore bruised in his bodie, and almost dyed. The king was present himselfe at the taking of the said Spandevile, whom he spoiled of all his goods, and constrained by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings hands the Tower of London, the castell of Wallben, and Wichey. Hereupon the same earle being released was driven through pouertie to seeke some recovery of his losses by fundrie spoiles and robberies. First of all therefore he spoiled the abbey of S. Albons, and then the abbey of Ramsay, which he fortified and defended as a fortreffe, casting the monks out of houses, and in euery place where soeuer he came, he robbed the countrie before him, till at length in the midst of his reuenge and malicious doings, he was shot thorough with an arrow amongst his men by a sillie footman, and so ended his life with confusion, receiving woorthie punishment for his vngodlie behaviour. For he was a man of high stomach & losse courage, but verie obstinate against God, of great induritie in wooldie businesse, but passing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of him.

Likewise Robert Palmion, who had attempted the semblable robberte & spoile in the abbey church of Couentrie, was slaine before the same abbey by a like mischance. For going forth to encounter with the earle of Chester (his mortall enimie, and being approached as then towards the citie) he fell with his horse into a ditch, which he caused to be couertlie made for the destruction of his enimies: and before he could be relieved, a souldier of the earles part slept to him, and stroke his head from his shoulders in sight of both armies. Ernulfus the sonne of earle Geoffrey Spandevile that kept the church of Ramsay as a fortreffe, after his fathers death, was taken at length and banished.

¶ Thus we see how Gods iudgement hunteth and pursueth the wicked, in somuch that they be ouertaken in their owne imaginations: according to that of the scripture, The wicked and bloudthirstie man shall not liue halfe his daies. And true it is, that as men liue, so commonlie they die: for, as one faith verie well;

M. Palin suo
for.

— bona nulla sceleris
Et in his mala nulla quidem contingere possunt.

About the same time aduertisement was giuen, that the citie of Lincolne, which the earle of Chester had in keeping, was but slenderlie manned. Where-

upon the king conceiuing some hope to win the same, halted forward: and comming thither in the night, laid siege thereunto, and began to cast a trench to stop them within fro making any sallies without.

Lincolne besieged.

The earle at the first being somewhat amazed with the sudden approach of the enimie, yet beholding from the walles the maner of them without, he perceived the ranks to be verie thin: and thereby guessing their number to be but small, suddenly issued forth at the gates to encounter with them. The king abode not the giuing of the charge, because he was but weake and therefore fled: neither could the earle follow the chace conuenientlie, for the like cause; but setting upon those that were about to make the trench, he slue 80. of the workemen, and then retired into the castell.

The siege raised.

N. Triuet.

This yeare was an heinous act committed by the Jewes at Norwich, where they put a child to death, in crucifying him upon a crosse to the reproch of christian religion.

A child crucified by the Jewes.

In the yeare following, namely, in the 10. yeare of king Stephens reigne, Robert earle of Glocester and other capteins toke in hand to build a castell at Faringdon. But king Stephan assembling an armie of Londoners and other, came thither, and besieged them within. Now whilst earle Robert and others of the empresses capteins remaining not far off, taried for a greater power to come to their aid, the king with sharpe assaults (but not without losse of his men) wan the fortreffe: whereby his side began to waie the stronger, and to be more highlie advanced. After this he came with a mightie armie vnto Wallingford, and there builded a strong castell ouer against the other castell which his aduersaries held against him.

Matth. Paris.
Simon Dun.
Anno. Reg. 10.
1145
A castell built at Faringdon.
Hen. Hunt.

The king winneth it by force.

Anno Reg. 11.
1146

Thither also came the earle of Chester with a great traine of knights and gentlemen vnto the king, and so at length they were not vnfeignebly accorded and made friends, but in apperance on the kings behalfe. For shortly after, the earle was craftilie taken at a parlement holden at Rothampton, by the practise of R. Stephan, and could not be deliuered, till he had surrendered the citie and castell of Lincolne, with other fortresses pertaining to the crowne into the kings hands. About that time did the Welshmen destroy the prouince of Chester, but at last they were distressed. This yeare also the lord Geoffrey earle of Anjou sent three noble men into England, accompanied with certeine men of warre, vnto earle Robert, requesting him to send ouer his sonne Henrie into France, that he might see him, and if need required, he promised to send him backe againe with all conuenient speed. Earle Robert was contented to satisfie his request: and so with a good power of armed men brought the lord Henrie vnto Warham, where he toke leaue of him, neuer after to see him in this world. For when the child was transported, earle Robert returned speedilie to the parties from whence he came, and there falling into an ague, departed this life about the beginning of November, and was buried at Bisskew. The lord Henrie comming to his father, was ioyfully receiued, and remained in those parties for the space of two yeares and foure moneths.

Ran. Higd.
Matth. Paris.
N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd.
The welshmen waste Cheshire.
Ger. Dor.

The earle of Glocester departeth this life.

In the meane season, the british proceedings of R. Stephan against the earle of Chester, purchased him new hatred of his old aduersaries, and like suspicion of such as were his friends, for it founded not a little to his dishonour. Euery man therefore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it stood them upon to take heed to themselves. But he (as one that thought he had achieved some high exploit) in triumphant wise shortly after entred into Lincolne in his roiall robes, and his crowne on his head, whereas it had not

Anno Reg. 12.
1147

Simon Dun.
R. Stephan entred into Lincolne with his crowne on his head.

not bene heard that any king had done the like manie peaces before.

¶ It is reported by some writers, that he did this, to rot out of mens minds a foolish superstitious conceit, which belueued that no king with his crowne upon his head might enter that citie, but some mischance should light vpon him: wherevpon he seemed by this meanes to mocke their superstitious imagination.

About the same time manie of the Nobles of the realme (perceiuing the kings authoritie to repress violent wrongs committed by euill doers, to be defective) builded sundrie strong castels and fortresses vpon their owne grounds, either to defend themselves, or to make force vpon their enemies nere adioining. After the departing of the king from Lincoln, the earle of Chester came thither with an armie, to assaie if he might recouer that citie. But his lieutenant that had the leading of his men, was slaine at the entring of the northgate, and so the earle was beaten backe with the losse of manie of his men: and the citizens hauing got the upper hand, re-toised not a little for the victorie.

But here (to stay a little with temporall affaires) it shall not be amisse to rehearse the effect of a contention, which fell about this time betwene that king and the archbishop of Canturburie. For so it happened (as Geruasius Dorobernensis writeth) that pope Eugenius came this yeare into France, about the middelt of Lent, and afterward held a synod or councell at Rheims: wherevnto Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, with others of the English bishops were summoned. The archbishop therevpon asking licence of the king, & not obtaining it, found meanes to sleale awaie in a small bote, not without danger of his person.

Now therefore the case of this Theobald stood verie hard: for Henrie bishop of Winchester the kings brother through enite had so wrought, that if the archbishop passed ouer without licence, he should be confined of the king. Againe, he was sure, if he came not to the councell, that he should be suspended by the pope. Wherevpon the archbishop meaning rather to offend the king than the pope, got ouer, as it were swimming, rather than sailing; the vessel where in he passed ouer being starke naught: for all the ports were kept by the kings seruants, so that he was glad to take such a bote as came next to hand. In consideration whereof he was highlie commended by the pope.

In this councell the prebendaries of Poike, togither with Henrie Goddach then abbat of Fountney, presented themselves, exhibiting their complaint against William archbishop of Poike, for that (as they alledged) he was neither canonicallie chosen, nor lawfullie consecrated, but intruded by the kings authoritie. At length archbishop William was conuicted and deposed, Albert bishop of Poissa pronouncing sentence in this wise: We doe decree by the apostolike authoritie, that William archbishop of Poike is to be deposed from his see, because Stephan king of England, before any canonicall election, named him.

Then, for that pope Eugenius had thus deposed archbishop William, although not with the consent of the more part of the cardinals, the chapter of the church of Poike, by his commandement comming togither, part of them chose Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and the other part elected Henrie Goddach abbat of Fountney. Now pope Eugenius, when both elections were shewed him at Auerre, confirmed the election of Henrie Goddach, and disanulled the other, and then consecrated the foresaid Henrie with his owne hands. The late nominated archbishop

William being thus deposed, returned into England, and remained at Winchester with king Henrie till the death of pope Eugenius, following the counsell of the same bishop in all things.

Now when the councell at Rheims was ended, archbishop Theobald returned into England, and comming to Canturburie, was receiued with great honour of the couent and citizens there. But the king remaining then at London, when he heard of it, was sore displeased, and came with great speed vnto Canturburie, where much conference being had betwixt him and the archbishop (although to small purpose) for the bringing of them to an agreement, at length the king compelled the archbishop to depart the realme. Wherevpon, after a few daies respite, he went to Douer, where he took ship and sailed into France. But within a while he was called backe by the quene and William of Ppres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the sooner aduertise him of the kings mind and pleasure. Here he consecrated Gilbert, the elect bishop of Hereford, the first daie of September, Theobald bishop of Amiens and Nicholas bishop of Cambze assisting him.

After this, when by sending of messengers to and fro, aswell bishops, abbats, and other, both spiritual persons and temporall, there could no agreement be made, he directed his letter to certaine churches here in England, pronouncing by a certaine day, namelie the twelue day of September, a sentence of interdiction to be obserued through the realme. The monks of Canturburie sore offended herewith, before the prefixed day of this sentence to be put in vse, sent two monkes of their owne house, spigell and Absolon, vnto the pope: whose errand when the pope had vnderstood, he commanded them to returne home, and to obeie their archbishops sentence in all things.

In the meane time the archbishops men and tenants were sore oppressed, and his rents and reuenues seized to the kings vse, yea euen before the daies of payment. Which manner of proceeding sore grieved the archbishop: in so much that departing from S. Omers, he came to Graueling, and there taking the sea, crossed ouer to a towne called Goleford that belonged vnto Hugh Wigot earle of Northfolke: which earle receiued him with great honour, and sent him all necessarie prouision, so long as he remained in his countrie. At the terme appointed, he interdicted all the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the sentence, till Robert bishop of London, Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and William bishop of Norwich, with manie other Noblemen, came to him vnto Framlingham in Northfolke, a castell appertaining to the said earle, where at length an attornment was concluded betwixt him and the king: wherevpon he was brought home vnto Canturburie with great toy and honoz.

He accused the monks of Canturburie, for disobeying the interdiction, trusting that the pope would not heare those two monkes whom they had sent, as he did not indeed. He excommunicated also all those that had receiued the sacraments amongst them, during the time of the interdiction. Now these monkes being at their wits end, dispatched with all speed other two monkes to the pope, to obtaine an absoluti on, before the archbishop should vnderstand it: but they were sent backe againe with checks, and commanded to obeie their archbishop in all things, as the other were, which had bene there with him before.

The monks of Canturburie that were sent to Rome, returning, came from thence to Bullongne, where they found those that were first sent thither: and so they all foure came to Canturburie. The pope also had sent a priuie commandement to the archbishop,

Geruasius.
Anno Reg. 13.
1148

F. ly.

shop,

shop, that he should duelic punish as well them as the other. Whereupon the archbishop taking counsell with his friends, deposed Syluester the prior, and suspended William the secretarie of the house from entering the quere. It was decreed also, that the residue should cease so long a time from taking service, as they had said it before unlafulle, against the archbishops commandement. For it was thought reason, that whilste other sang and were merrie, they should keepe silence, which wilfullie took upon them to sing, whilste other held their peace and were still. They began therefore to cease from taking diuine service, and from ringing their bells in the second weeke of Lent: & kept silence from the twelue day of March, untill the first day of August.

The queene wife to king Stephan in this meane while lay much at S. Augustines in Canturburie, because of hastening forward the building of Feuerham abbeie, which she and hir husband had begonne from the verie foundation. And because the monkes of S. Augustine might not celebrate diuine service, she called thither commonlie the monkes of Christes church to say service before hir. Thus much for that purpose: and now to other matters.

The lord Henrie Fitzempresse after all these businesses returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a great compaignie of men of warre both horsemen and footmen: by reason whereof many revolted from king Stephan to take part with him: whereas before they sat still, and would not attempt any exploit against him. But now encouraged with the presence of the lord Henrie, they declared themselves friends to him, and enemies to the king. Immediately after his arrivall, he took with him the earles of Chester and Hereford, Ranulfe and Roger, and diuers other noble men and knights of great fame, beside those whom he had brought with him out of Normandie, and went unto Carleil, where he found his cousin David king of Scotland, of whom he was most fullie receiued: and upon Whitsunday with great solemnitie, being not past thirtene yeares of age, was by the same king made knight, with diuerse other yong gentlemen that were much about the same age.

Some write, that the king of Scots receiued an oath of him before he gaue him the honor of knight-hood, that if he chanced to attaine unto the possession of the realme of England, he should restore to the Scots the towne of Newcastle, with the countie of Northumberland, from the riuer of Tyne, to the riuer of Uine. But whether it were so or no, I am not able to make warrantie.

Now king Stephan hearing that the king of Scots, and his aduersarie the lord Henrie with the chiefe lords of the west parts of England lay thus in Carleil, he raised an armie, and came to the citie of Poike, where he remained for the most part of the moneth of August, fearing least his enemies should attempt the winning of that citie. But after the one part had remained a time in Carleil, and the other in Poike, they departed from both those places without any further exploit for that season, saving that Eustachius king Stephens sonne (hauing also lately receiued the order of knight-hood) did much hurt in the countries which belonged to those noble men that were with the lord Henrie.

The great raine that fell in the summer season this yeare, did much hurt unto corne standing on the ground, so that a great dearth followed. In the winter also after, about the tenth day of December, it began to freeze extreame, and so continued till the nineteenth of Februarie: whereby the riuer of Thames was so frozen, that men might passe ouer it both on foot and horsebacke.

In the meane while Henrie Duke of Normandie, after he had returned from the king of the Scots, sailed backe into Normandie, about the beginning of August, leaving England full of all those calamities, which civil warre is accustomed to bring forth, it, as burning of houses, killing, robbing, and spoiling of people, so that the land was in danger of utter destruction, by reason of that pestilent discorde.

This yeare the 23. of Februarie, Galfridus Monmetensis, otherwise called Galfridus Arduus, who turned the British historie into Latine, was consecrated bishop of S. Asaph: by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, William bishop of Exeter, and Walter bishop of Rochester assisting him.

Howeuer, this yeare (as some writers haue recorded) Gestepe earle of Anjou, husband to the emperesse Maude, departed this life, on the seventh day of September, leaving his sonne Henrie onelie heire and successor in the estates of the duchie of Normandie and countie of Anjou. The bodie of the said earle was buried at Mans, with a great funerall pompe: his three sonnes Henrie, Gestepe, and William being present.

But king Stephan assaulting the faire citie of Worcester with a great power of men of warre, took it, and consumed it with fire, but the castell he could not win. This citie belonged to earle Waleran de Mellent, at that season: for king Stephan to his owne hinderance had given it unto him. Now after the men of warre had diuided the spoile amongst them, they came backe, and passing through the lands of their enemies, got great booties, which they also took away with them, finding none to resist them in their iourne.

In the yeare following Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and legat to the see apostolike, held a generall synod or councill at London in the Lent season, where king Stephan himselfe with his sonne Eustachius, and other the peeres of the realme were present. This councill was full of appeales, contrarie to that had bene used in this land, till the time that Henrie bishop of Winchester unto his owne harme (whilste he was likewise the popes legat) had by his intrusion brought them in, and now at this councill he was himselfe thise appealed to the hearing of the popes owne consistorie. After this king Stephan in the same yeare brake into the citie of Worcester, and whereas he could not the last time win the castell, he now endeouored with all his force to take it. But when those within made valiant resistance, he raised two castles against it, and leaving in the same certeine of his nobles to continue the siege, he himselfe returned home. Thus (as we see) the kings propertie was to attempt manie things valiantlie, but he proceeded in them oftentimes verie slowly: howbeit, now by the policie of the earle of Leicester, those two castles which the king had raised to besiege the other castell, were shortly after destroyed: and so the besieged were deliuered from danger. This earle of Leicester was brother to the earle of Mellent. Thus the kings purposed intention and painefull trauell on that behalfe came to none effect.

In the meane while Henrie duke of Normandie married Eleanor duchesse of Guien or Aquitaine, lately diuorced from the French king, and so in right of hir he became duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poitou: for she was the onelie daughter to William duke of Guien, and earle of Poitou, and by hir father created his sole and lawfull heire.

The French king was nothing pleased with this marriage, in so much that he made sore warre vpon duke Henrie, joining himselfe in league with king Stephan, with his sonne Eustace, and with the lord Gestepe

Ger. Dor.
The earle of Anjou father to Henry Fitz emperesse departed this life.

Worcester assaulted.

Anno Reg. 15.
1151
Ger. Dorober.
A synod at London.

The earle of Leicester brother to the earle of Mellent.

Anno Reg. 17.
1152
The duke of Normandie Fitzempresse marieth the duchesse of Aquitaine.

The French king maketh warre against the duke of Normandie.

The Lord Henrie returneth into England
Anno Reg. 14.
1149

He is made knight.
R. Houed.

In Stephan with an armie cometh to Poike.

Math. Paris.
Great raine.

A sore frost.

Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, so that the said Henrie was constrained to defer his iournie into England, and applie his power to defend his countreies and subiects on that side of the sea. For where as he was readie at the mouth of the riuer of Barbe to passe ouer into England, not long after midsummer, the French king, with Eustace king Stephens sonne, Robert earle of Berch, Henrie erle of Champagne, and Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, hauing assembled a mightie armie, came and besieged the castell of Newmarch, and sent for the lord Geffrey with a strong power to win the castell of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertised hereof, departing from the place where he iournied, halsted forth to succour his people that were besieged, but the castell of Newmarch was deliuered to the French king, through treason of those that had it in keeping, before the duke could come to their rescue.

The castell of Newmarch deliuered to the French king.

Meniquefine, or Neuprin.

The castell of Elnon, Simon Dun.

The pope is against it.

The bishops are cheateined.

Ger. Dor.

The archbishop of Canturburie sith out of the realme.

Whereupon the said duke hauing knowledge by the date that he should come too late thither, he encamped first vpon the side of the riuer of Andell, and waited a great part of the countrie of Neuprin or Meniquefine, surnamed Le Poymant, which lieth betwixt the riuer of Epte and Andell. This countrie belonged sometime to Normandie, but Geffrey earle of Aniou the dukes father had resigned it to the French king, to the end he should not aid king Stephan. The duke also burned the castells of Bascheruile, Chitrey, Stirpiney, and the castell of Fort, that belonged to Hugh de Courney, with diuerse other. About the end of August he left his townes in Normandie sufficiently furnished with garisons of soldiers, and went into Aniou, where he besieged the castell de mount Hotelli, till he had taken it, and all those that were within it, amongst whome was the lord thereof named William. The French king on the other side entering into Normandie, burnt part of the borough of Rieule, and either then or shortly after that duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he took the towne and castell of Elnon.

Whilest these things were thus a doing in France, H. Stephan would haue caused the archbishop of Canturburie & diuerse other bishops, whom for that purpose he had assembled, to crowne, anoint, and confirme his sonne Eustace king ouer the realme of England. But the archbishops and bishops refused so to do, because the pope by his letters sent to the archbishop, had commanded to the contrary; namely, that he should in no wise crowne the kings son, because his father king Stephan had got the possession of the land against his oth received in behalfe of the emperesse. The father and sonne being not a little offended herewith, committed most of his bishops to ward, seeking by threats and menacings to bring them to his purpose. The bishops also were in no small perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king neuer seemed greatlie to fauor churchmen, because of their strength (as in former times by his rigor vsed against the bishops of Salisburie and Lincoln it plainelie appeared) and yet would not these men yeeld to his pleasure: whereupon although they were set at libertie, they were neuertheless deprived of their temporall possessions, which notwithstanding afterwards vpon the kings owne motion were restored vnto them.

Howbeit the archbishop of Canturburie persisting still in his opinion, was forsaken of diuerse of the bishops, who through feare durst not stand against their princes pleasure. But the archbishop, when he perceiued how the matter went, & that all the blame was like to light and rest on his shoulders, he got himselfe by a maruellous hap ouer the Thames, and with speed riding to Dover, passed the sea, to auoid both the fathers and sonnes reuerengefull displeasure.

Hereupon the king seized into his hands all the lands & possessions that belonged to the archbishop.

This yeare quene Maude wife to king Stephan departed this life at Hangey castell, that belonged to earle Alberike de War, about the third date of Maie, and was buried in the abbeye of Feuereham, which she with her husband king Stephan had latelie founded.

Math. Paris. Ger. Dor.

This yeare through great and immoderate raine that fell in the summer, the growing of come was so hindered, that a great death of people ensued.

This yeare also was the battell of Monado more fought in Ireland, where the flower and chiefest personages of Mounster and Leynister were slaine. Whereouer one John, a monke of Sagunt, was made the second bishop of the Ile of Man: the first bishop that was there instituted hight Almond a monke of Sauinie, who for his importunate misde-menour in some respects, had his eyes put out, and was displaced.

The battell of Monado more.

Math. Paris. The second & also the first bishops of Man.

Hen. Marle.

John Papirio a cardinal, being sent from the pope as legat into Ireland, ordeined foure archbishops there, one at Dublin, an other at Ardmach, the third at Castels, and the fourth at Connach. The see of Dublin he changed into an archbishops see, one Gregorie at that time possessing the same: to whom he gaue the first and chiefe pall, and appointed the church of the blessed Trinitie to be church metropolitane. As this cardinal passed through England, he receiued an oth of fealtie vnto king Stephan.

The bishop of Dublin made archbishop.

The same yeare also king Stephan by siege and force of assault did win the castell of Newberie not far from Winchester. This done he went to Wallingford, and besieging the castell, he builded at the entering of the bridge a fortresse to stop them within from issuing out, and likewise from receiuing any reliefe or succour by their friends abroad. The defendants perceiuing themselves so hardlie last at, sent to the duke of Normandie (in whose name they kept that castell) desiring him either to succour them, or else giue them licence to yeild vnto the castell to the king.

The castell of Newberie won.

Whereupon duke Henrie hauing dispatched his businelle on the further side of the sea, began to be kindled with a feruent desire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for recouerie of that kingdom, and so with three thousand footmen, & 7. score horsemen, with all speed possible sailed ouer into England, where he landed about the 12. date in Christmase. He was no sooner arrived, but a great number of such as took part with his mother came flocking in vnto him: whereupon being now furnished with a great and puissant armie, he marched forth to Walsburie, where in the castell was a great garison of soldiers placed by king Stephan. Duke Henrie planted his siege about this castell the thirtieth date of Januarie, and enforced himselfe to the uttermost of his power to win it.

Duke Henrie Fitzemprisse returneth into England.

Ger. Dor.

Now king Stephan hearing of his enemies arrival, with all hast possible got his armie on foot, and comming suddenlie towards the place where his enemies were pitched, he caused duke Henrie to raise his siege, and following after, offered him battell. But duke Henrie, knowing that his enemies were far more in number than he was at that present, and also conceiuing with himselfe that by prolonging of time his owne power would increase, abstained from fighting, and kept him within the closure of his campe. ¶ Thus haue some written, but other authors write, that Henrie kept himselfe indeed within his campe, and refused to giue battell, but yet removed not his siege, till the king departed from thence, after he saw he could not haue his purpose, and then did duke Henrie win the castell of Walsburie, or rather the maister tower or chiefe dungeon

He besiegeth the castell of Walsburie. Math. Paris. Polydor.

H. Stephan constraineth him to raise his siege.

Wil. Paris.

17. Dor. he earle of nou father Henry Fitz ipelle de recth this e.

107. cester assaulted.

Anno Reg. 15.
1151
Ger. Dorobert.
1. Synod at London.

The earle of Hereford brother to the earle of Hereford.
Anno Reg. 17.

1152
The duke of Normandie Fitzemprisse marrieth the duchesse of Aquitaine.

The French king maketh warre against the duke of Normandie.

Simon Dun.
Ger. Dor.

of that castell. For as (Simon of Durham writeth) he had won by assault the other parts and lims of the castell before king Stephan came to remoue him.

This towre that thus held out, was in the keeping of one capitaine Jordan, who escaping forth came to the king, informing him in what state he had left his men within the towre: whereupon the king (making all the power that he was able) set forward, and coming to Circiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purposing to raise the siege, or to fight with his enemies (if they would abide battell) marched forth towards Spalmeburie. But upon his approach to the dukes campe, the daie following his coming thither, there rose such a hideous tempest of wind and raine, beating full in the faces of king Stephens people, that God seemed to fight for the duke, who in respect of the number of people was thought too weake to deale with the strong and puissant armie of the king: howbeit the storme being on his backe, and beating extremelie in king Stephens mens faces, they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands, in somuch that he perceiued he could not passe the riuer that ran betwixt the armies: whereupon constrained in that sort through the violent rage of that cold and wet weather, he returned to London full euill appaied, in that he could not satisfie his expectation at that present.

The storme.

The towre that duke Henrie had hardlie besieged immediatlie herewith was surrendred vnto him, & then making prouision for vittels and other things, to the reliefe of them that kept the castell of Wallingford, he hastid thither, and finding no resistance by the way, easily accomplished his enterprise. There were diuerse castels therabouts in the countrie furnished with garisons of the kings souldiers, but they kept themselves close, and durst not come abroad to stop his passage. Shortly after he besieged the castell of Cranemers, and cast a trench about it, so as his people within Wallingford castell might haue free libertie to come forth at their pleasure: but as for those within the castell of Cranemers, they were so hardlie holden in, that there was no waite for them to start out.

The castell of Wallingford.

The castell of Cranemers.

The king aduertised hereof, got all his host together, and marched forward verie terrible toward duke Henries campe. But shewing no token of feare, he caused the trench therewith he had inclosed his campe forthwith to be cast downe, and leaving the siege, came into the fields with his armie set in order of battell, meaning to trie the matter by dint of sword, although he had not the like number of men as the king had: whose armie perceiuing their enemies to come in the face of them, were stricken with a sudden feare: neuerthelesse, he himselfe being of a good courage, commanded his people to march forward. But herewith certaine noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning sought to treat an agreement betwixt them, so that an intermission or celsing from war was granted, and by composition the castell which the king had built, and the duke besieged, was razed to the ground. The king and the duke also came to an enteruiew and communication together, a riuer running betwixt them. Some write that they fell to agreement, king Stephan undertaking to raze the castell of Cranemers himselfe, and so laing armour aside for that time, they parted asunder.

Matth. Paris.
Ger. Dor.
Eustace king Stephens sonne.

But Eustace k. Stephens son was sore offended herewith, and reproouing his father for concluding such an agreement, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his waie toward Cambridgeshire (which countrie he meant to ouerrun) he came to the abbie of Burie, and vpon S. Laurence daie caused all the coine in the countrie about, and namelie that

which belonged to the said abbie, to be spoiled and brought into a castell which he had in keeping not far from thence. But as he sat downe to meate the same daie vpon receiuing the first messell he fell mad, as writers haue reported) and miserable ended his life. The same weeke Simon earle of Northampton departed this world of a like disease, and so two of the chiefest aduersaries which duke Henrie had, were rid out of the waie. Eustace was buried at S. Eustach in Kent, and earle Simon at Northampton.

Eustace king Stephens son and Simon earle of Northampton depart this life both in one weeke.

About the same time also that noble and valiant earle of Chester called Ranulfe departed this life, a man of such stoutnesse of heart, that death could scarcely make him to yield, or their any token of feare: he was poisoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell. After him succeeded his sonne Hugh, a man likewise of passing strength and vertue, although earle Ranulfe fauoured the part of duke Henrie, yet in these later yeares he did but little for him: wherefore it was thought that the death of this earle was not so great a losse to the duke, as the deaths of Eustace, earle Simon, and other the kings friends deceasing about the same time seemed to further him: so that his part became daily stronger, and the kings weaker.

The earle of Chester deceased.

About the same time the castels of Reading and Bertrwell were deliuered to duke Henrie, and the lady Gundreda countesse of Warwike draue out the souldiers that held it for king Stephan, and deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. In this yeare duchesse Elenor, wife to Henrie Fitzempresse, was brought to bed of his first borne son, whom they named William, after the maner of the ancient dukes of Aquitaine.

Matth. Paris.
Rob. Mont.

Thus came things to passe in sundrie places with so good successe as duke Henrie could wish, whereupon meaning to follow the steps of prosperous fortune, he marched forth to Stamford, and taking the towne at his first comming laid siege to the castell. Now they that had it in keeping sent messengers to king Stephan, requiring rescue, but the same time he had laid siege to the castell of Ipswich, which Hugh Bigot kept against him: and because he wold not depart from that siege till he had the castell giuen vp into his hands (which came at last to passe) in the meane time the castell of Stamford was yielded vp to duke Henrie, who immediatlie thereupon departed from Stamford eastward, meaning to come to the succour of his friends besieged at Ipswich or Ipswich (as it is commonlie called) not understanding as yet that they had surrendred the hold: but hauing knowledge by the way what was happened, he returned and marched streight to Nottingham, and got the towne easilie; for they within the castell had set it on fire, therefore he besieged the castell standing vpon the point of a steepe craggie rocke, and was furnished with a strong garison of men, and all things necessarie for defence, so that it could not easilie be wonne.

Stamford was taken.
Simon Dun.
Ger. Dor.

Ipswich or Ipswich besieged.

N. Triuet.

Notingham.

When duke Henrie had assaied all the waies how to take it, and saw that he could not preuaile, he minded to lose no more time: but raising his siege from thence, he ranged abroad to get other places into his possession, and finallie came to his mother, and late at Wallingford. King Stephan in the meane time being strong in the field, sought time and place to haue Henrie at some aduantage, who in his young yeares (as yet not hauing tasted any misfortune) he thought wold rashlie attempt some vnauided enterprise. ¶ But whereas the realme of England had bene now manie yeares miserable turmoiled with ciuill warre (which the verie heathen haue so detested, that they haue exclaimed against it with a kind of irkesome; as:

Duke Henrie raiseth his siege from Nottingham.
Polydor.

The miserie of this land in time of the ciuill warre.

Euen

Hor. lib. car. 1.
ode. 35.

*Eheu cicatricum & sceleris pudet,
Fratriumque: quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? quid int actum nefasti
Linquimus? unde manus inuentus
Metu decorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? iam litui strepunt,
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitumque vultus)*

Idem. lib. car. 2.
ode. 1.

Wherein (besides millions of extremities) honest
mairones and mens wiues were violated, maides
and virgins rauished, churches spoiled, towines and
villages robbed, whole flocks and herds of sheepe
and beasts destroyed (wherein the substance of the
realme chrestie consisted) and men without number
slaine and murdered, it pleased the godnesse of al-
mightie God at length to deliuer the land of these
miseries, which were notified to all countries round
about that soe lamented the same.

Soe whereas king Stephan was the cause of all
the troubles, in hauing vsurped an other mans right
full inheritance, it pleased God to moue his hart at
length to desire peace which he had ever before abhor-
red. The cause that moued him chrestie to change
his former purpose, was for that his sonne Eustace
by speedie death was taken out of this world (as be-
fore you haue heard) which losse seemed great not on-
lie to the father, but also to all those lords and others
which had alwaies taken his part, because he was a
young man so well liked of all men, that he was iud-
ged to be borne to much honour. But his wife Con-
stance toke his death verie sorrowfullie, and the more
indeed, for that she had no issue by him, whereupon
shortlie after she was sent honourable home to hir
father king Lewes with hir dower, and other rich and
princele gifts.

King Stephan seeing himselfe thus deprived of
his onlie sonne, vnto whom he minded to leaue the
kingdome which he so earnestlie sought to confirme
and assure vnto him by warlike endeuor, and that a-
gain the french kings aid would not be so readie
as heretofore it had bene (whereupon he much fea-
red, now that the bonds of affinitie were abolished)
he began at length (though not immediatlie vpon
his sonnes deceasse) to withdraw his mind from
war, and bequeathed it wholie to peace. Which al-
teration being perceiued, those nobles that were
glad to see the state of their countrie quieted, did
their best to further it; & chrestie Theobald archbishop
of Canturburie trauelled earnestlie to bring the
princes to some agreement, now talking with the
king, now sending to the duke, and using all means
possible to set them at unitie. The bishop of Win-
chester also, who had caused all the trouble, vpon con-
sideration of the great calamities therewith the
land was most miserable afflicted, began to wish
an end thereof. Whereupon the lords spirituall and
temporall were called together at Winchester a-
bout the latter end of Nouember, that they with
their consents also might confirme whatsoever the
king and the duke should conclude vpon.

Thus was a publicke assemblee made in the citie of
Winchester, whither also duke Henrie came, who
being iustlie receiued of the king in the bishops pa-
lace, they were made friends, the king admitting the
duke for his sonne, and the duke the king for his fa-
ther, insomuch that the agreement, which (through the
carefull suite of the archbishop of Canturburie) had
bene laboured with such diligence to good effect, was
now confirmed: the chiefe articles whereof were these.

1 That king Stephan, during his naturall life,
should remaine king of England, and Henrie the
empresses sonne should enjoy the dukedome of Nor-
mandie, and be proclaimed heire apparant to suc-

ced in and haue the regiment of England, after
the deceasse of Stephan.

2 That such noble men, and other, which had held
either with the one partie or the other, during the time
of the ciuill warres, should be in no danger for the
same, but enjoy their lands, possessions and liuings,
according to their ancient rights and titles.

3 That the king should resume and take into his
hands againe, all such portions and parcels of inheri-
tance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen a-
way, or were otherwise vsurped by any manner of
person, and that all those possessions which by any in-
trusion had bene violentlie taken from the right
owners, since the daies of king Henrie, should be re-
stored to them that were rightlie possessed in the
same by the daies of the said king.

4 That all those castles, which contrarie to all rea-
son and good order had bene made and builded by
any manner of person in the daies of king Stephan,
should be ouerthrowne and cast downe, which were
found to be eleuen hundred and fiftene.

5 That the king should reforme all such disorders
as warre had brought in; to restore farmers to their
holdings, to repaire decayed buildings, to restore pa-
stures and leasues with cattell, his with sheepe, &c.

6 That by his meanes the cleargie might enjoy
their due quietnesse, and not be oppressed with any un-
just exactions.

7 That he should place shirifes where they had
bene accustomed to beare rule, with instructions gi-
uen them to deale by rightlie in causes, so as offen-
ders might not escape through bribes, or any other
respect of friendship; but that euerie man might re-
ceiue according to right and equitie.

8 That soldiaours should conuert their swords (as
Esaie saith) into culters & plough shares, their speares
into mattocks, and so returne from the campe to the
plough: and that such as were wont to keepe watch
in the night season, might now sleepe and take their
rest without any danger.

9 That the husbandman might be set free from
all trouble and vexation, by meanes whereof he might
follow his tilth, and plie his culture.

10 That merchant men and occupiers might en-
joy their trades and occupations to their aduance-
ment.

11 That one kind and manner of silver coine
should run through the land, &c.

12 There was also consideration had of a sonne
which king Stephan had, named William, who
though he were verie young, was yet appointed to
swear fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heire to
the crowne. The same William had the citie of
Norwich, and diuerse other lands assigned him for the
maintenance of his estate, and that by the consent
and agreement of duke Henrie his adopted brother.

These things being thus concluded at Winches-
ter, and the warre that had continued for the space of
17. yeares now ended and fullie pacified: the king
toke the duke with him to London, doing to him all
the honour he could deuise. The newes thereof be-
ing spread abroad, euerie good man rejoiced thereat.
Thus through the great mercie of God, peace was
restored vnto the decayed state of this realme of Eng-
land. Which things being thus accomplished with
great ioy and tokens of loue, king Stephan and his
new adopted sonne duke Henrie toke leave either of
other, appointing shortlie after to meet againe at
Drenford, there to perfect euerie article of their a-
greement, which was thus accorded a little before
Christmas.

¶ But by the way, for the better vnderstanding of
the said agreement, I haue thought good to set downe
the verie tenor of the charter made by king Stephan,

sentie by this
agreement en-
joy haile the
realme of
England.

Matth. Paris.
Castles to be
razed in num-
ber. 1115.

the king
hang
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h. Paris.
Mont.

The ladie
Constance
wife to Eu-
stace sent
home.

inford
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on Dun-
Dor.

switch of
which be-
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riuer,

R. Stephan
began to in-
cline his mind
to peace.
Matth. Paris.

Ger. Dor.

king's au.

he Henrie
eth his
e from
tingham.
ydon.

An assemblee
of lords at
Winchester.

A peace com-
cluded betwixt
the king and
the duke.

Some wri-
ters haue re-
corded that
duke Henrie
should pre-

he miserie
this land in
ne of the ci-
il warre.

as I haue copied it out, and translated it into English out of an autentike booke containing the old lawes of the Saxon and Danish kings, in the end whereof the same charter is exemplified, which booke is remaining with the right worshipfull William Fleetwood esquire, now recorder of London, and sargeant at law.

The charter of king Stephan, of the
pacification of the troubles betwixt him and
 Henrie duke of Normandie.

Stephan king of England, to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, iusticers, sherifes, barons and all his faithfull subiects of England sendeth greeting. Know ye that I king Stephan, haue ordeined Henrie duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my successour, and heire of the kingdome of England, and so haue I giuen and granted to him and his heires the kingdome of England. For the which honour, gift, and confirmation to him by me made, he hath done homage to me, and with a corporall oth hath assured me, that he shall be faithfull and loiall to me, and shall to his power preserve my life and honour: and I on the other side shall maine-
 teine and preserve him as my sonne and heire in all things to my power, and so far as by any waies or meanes I may.

William sonne
 to king Ste-
 phan.

Earle War-
 ren.

The castles of
 Bellencum-
 ber and Wor-
 timer.

And William my sonne hath done his lawfull homage, and assured his fealtie vnto the said duke of Normandie, and the duke hath granted to him to hold of him all those tenements and holdings which I held before I attained to the possession of the realme of England, wheresoever the same be in England, Normandie, or elsewhere, and whatsoeuer he received with the daughter of earle Warren, either in England or Normandie, & likewise whatsoeuer apperteineth to those honours. And the duke shall put my sonne William and his men that are of that honour in full possession and seizine of all the lands, boroughs and rents, which the duke there-
 of now hath in his demaine, and namelie of those that belong to the honour of the earle Warren, and namelie of the castles of Bellencumber and Wortimer, so that Reginald de Warren shall haue the keeping of the same castles of Bellencumber, and of Wortimer, if he will; and thereupon shall giue pledges to the duke: and if he will not haue the keeping of those castles, then other liege men of the said earle Warren, whome it shall please the duke to appoint, shall by sure pledges and good suertie keepe the said castles.

Moreover, the duke shall deliuer vnto him according to my will and pleasure the other castles, which belong vnto the earldome of Mortaigne by safe custodie and pledges, so soone as he conuenientlie may, so as all the pledges are to be restored vnto my sonne fre, so soone as the duke shall haue the realme of England in possession. The augmentation also which I haue gi-

The earldome
 of Mortaigne.

uen vnto my sonne William, he hath likewise granted the same to him; to wit, the castell and towne of Norwich, with seauen hundred pounds in lands, so as the rents of Norwich be accounted as parcell of the same seauen hundred pounds in lands, and all the countie of Norfolk; the profits and rents which belong to churches, bishops, abbats & earles excepted; and the third pennie whereof Hugh Bigot is earle, also excepted: sauing also and reseruing the kings roiall iurisdiction for administration of iustice. Also the more to strengthen my fauour and loue to himwards, the duke hath giuen and granted vnto my said sonne whatsoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Deuensey. And moreover the castell and towne of Deuensey, and the seruice of Faremouth, beside the castell and towne of Dover, and whatsoeuer apperteineth to the honour of Dover.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigot.

Richer de
 Egile.

The church of
 Feuerham.

The duke hath also confirmed the church of Feuerham with the appurtenances; and all other things giuen or restored by me vnto other churches, he shall confirme by the counsell and aduice of holie church and of me. The earles and barons that be-
 long to the duke, which were neuer my laiges, for the honour which I haue done to their maister, they haue now done homage and swozne fealtie to me, the covenants betwixt me & the said duke alwaies saued. The other which had before done homage to me, haue swozne fealtie to me as to their souereigne lord. And if the duke should breake and go from the premises, then are they altogether to cease from doing him any seruice, till he reforme his misdoings. And my sonne also is to constreine him thereto, according to the aduice of holie church, if the duke shall chance to go from the covenants afore mentioned. My earles and barons also haue done their laige and homage vnto the duke, sauing their faith to me so long as I live, and shall hold the kingdome with like condition, that if I do breake and go from the premittid covenants, that then they may cease from doing me any seruice, till the time I haue reformed that which I haue done amisse.

The citizens also of cities, and those persons that dwell in castles, which I haue in my demaine, by my commandement haue done homage, and made assurance to the duke, sauing the fealtie which they owe to me during my life time, and so long as I shall hold the kingdome. They which kepe the castle of Wallingford haue done their homage to me, and haue giuen to me pledges for the obseruing of their fealtie. And I haue made vnto the duke such assurance of the castles and strengths which I hold by the counsell and aduice of holie church, that when I shall depart this life, the duke thereby may not run into any losse or impeachment, wherby to be debarred from the kingdome. The tower of London, and the fortreffe of Windsor, by the counsell and aduice of holie church
 are

Wallingford
 castle.

The tower
 of London.
 The fortreffe
 of Windsor.

Richard de
Lucie.Mota de Dr-
ford.The bishop of
Winchester.

are deliuered vnto the lord Richard de Lucie, safelie to be kept, whiche Richard hath taken an oth, and hath deliuered his sonne in pledge to remaine in the hands and custodie of the archbishop of Canturburie, that after my decease he shall deliuer the same castels vnto the duke. Likewise by the counsell and aduise of holie church, Roger de Bussey kepeth the castell of Oxford, and Jozdaine de Bussey the castell of Lincolne, which Roger & Jozdaine haue swozne, and thereof haue deliuered pledges into the hands of the archbishop, that if I shall chance to leaue this life, they shall render the same castels to the duke without impeachment. The bishop of Winchester hath also giuen his faith in the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, that if I chance to depart this life, he shall render vnto the duke the castels of Winchester, and the fortreffe of Hampton.

And if any of them, vnto whom the custodie of these fortresses shall be committed, fortune to die, or otherwise to depart from his charge, an other shall be appointed to the keeping of the same fortreffe, before he shall depart forth thereof, by the counsell and aduise of holie church. And if any of those persons that haue any castels or fortresses belonging to me in their custodie shall be found disobedient and rebell, I and the duke shall constreine him to satisfie our will & pleasure, not leauing him in rest till he be so constreined. The archbishops and bishops of the realme of England, and the abbats also, haue by my commandement swozne fealtie vnto the duke; and the bishops and abbats that hereafter shall be made and aduanced here with in the realme of England shall likewise sweare fealtie to him. The archbishops also and bishops on either part, haue vnder taken, that if either of vs shall go from the foresaid couenants, they shall so long chaunce the partie offending with the ecclesiastical censures, till he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obserue the said couenants. The mother also of the duke, and his wife, and his brethren, & subiects whom he may procure, shall likewise assure the premisses.

In matters belonging to the state of the realme, I shall worke by the dukes aduise. And through all the realme of England, as well in that part which belongeth to the duke, as in that which belongeth to me, I shall see that roiall iustice be executed. These being witnesses, Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, Hen. of Winchester, Robert of Excester, Rob. of Bath, Joceline of Salisburie, Robert of Lincolne, Hilarie of Cicester, William of Norwich, Richard of London, Pigell of Cle, Gilbert of Hereford, John of Worcester, Walter of Chester, Walter of Rochester, Gessrey of S. Asaph, Bishops; Robert prior of Bermondsey, Otho knight of the temple, William earle of Cicester, Robert earle of Leicester, William earle

of Glocester, Renold of Cornewall, Baldwin de Toning, Roger de Hereford, Hugh Bigot, Patrike de Salisburie, William de Albemarle, Garle Alberike, Roger Clare, Richard erle of Pembroke, Richard de Lucie, William Martell, Richard de Humer, Reginald de Warren, Mahaser Bilet, John de Port, Richard de Camewille, Henrie de Eller. Peuen at Westminster.

Thus far the Charter: and now to proceed with the historie. Immediatlie after Christmasse, euen in the daies of the Epiphanie, the king and duke Henrie met againe at Drenford, where all the earls and barons of the land being assembled, swaie fealtie vnto duke Henrie, their allegiance due vnto king Stephan, as to their soueraigne lord and supreme gouernour so long as he liued, alwaies reserved. The forme of the peace was now also ingrossed and registred for a perpetuall witness of the thing, in this yeare 1154. after their account that began the yeare at Christmasse, as about the feast of S. Hilarie in Ianuarie commonlie called the twentieth daie. Thus was Henrie the sonne of the emperesse made the adopted sonne of king Stephan, and thereupon the said Henrie saluted him as king, and named him father. After conclusion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceased, in such wise, that the state of the realme of England did maruelouslie for a time flourish, concord being maintained on eche hand. ¶ There be which affirme, that an other cause bound king Stephan to agree to this attouement chiefelie, namelie for that the emperesse (as they saie) was rather king Stephens par amour than his enemy: and therefore when she saw the matter growne to this point, that they were ready to trie battell with their armies readie ranged on a plaine in the westerne parts called Egelaw heath. She came secretlie vnto king Stephan, & spake vnto him on this wise: What a mischancous and vn naturall thing goe ye about: Is it meet that the father should destroye the sonne: Is it lawfull for the sonne to kill the father: For the loue of God (man) refraine thy displeasure, and cast thy weapons out of thy hand, sith that (as thou thy selfe knowest full well) Henrie is thine owne sonne. With these and the like words she put him in mind, and couertlie told him, that he had to doe with hir a litle before she was married vnto earle Gessrey.

The king by such tokens as the emperesse gaue him, took hir words to be true, and thereupon all his malice was straightwaies quenched: so that calling forth the archbishop of Canturburie, he vntered to him the whole matter, and took therewith such direction, in sending to his aduersaries for auoiding battell at that present, that immediatlie the armies on both sides layd vp their ensignes, and euery man was commanded to keepe the peace, that a communication might be had about the conclusion of some pacification, which afterwards ensued in manner as before mentioned.

¶ But whether this or some other cause moued the king to this peace, it is to be thought that God was the worker of it. And surely a man may thinke it good reason, that the report of such secret companies keeping betwixt the king and the emperesse, was but a tale made among the common people vpon no ground of truth, but vpon some slanderous deuice of a malicious head. And admit that king Stephan had to doe with hir, yet is it like that both of them would doe for best to keepe it secret, that no such reproch might be imputed either to Henrie, who was taken to be legitimated, or to his mother, whose honour there

1154
Ger. Dor.
Anno Reg. 19.

Polydor.

Marth. Paris.
Egelaw
heath.The words of
the emperesse
to king Ste-
phan.The emperesse
confesseth hir
selfe to be
nought of
hir bodie.Slandres de-
uised by mali-
cious heads.

Orenford.
Ger.Dor.
The king and
duke met at
Dunstable.

Articles not
performed.

The king and
duke come to
Canturburie.

The enute of
the Flemings

Hesodan ib. cni
iii. op. & di.

Duke Henrie
passeth ouer
into Nor-
mandie.

Wil. Paru.
Philip de Co-
lenille.
The castell
of Dzar.

The puillance
of duke Henrie.

by should not a little be stained.

But now to the purpose. Shortly after that the king and duke Henrie had bene together at Orenford, where they ended all things touching the peace & concord betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunstable, where some cloud of displeasure seemed to darken the bright sunshine of the late begun loue and amitie betwixt those two mightie princes the king and the duke. For where it was accorded (among other articles) that all the castels which had bene built since the daies of the late king Henrie for euill intents and purposes, should be razed and thowne downe: contrarie therunto (notwithstanding manie of them were ouerthowne and destroyed to the accomplishment of that article) diuers through the kings permission were suffered to stand. And when the duke complained to the king thereof, he could not get at that time any redresse, which somewhat troubled him: but yet bicause he would not giue occasion of any new trouble, nor offend the king, to whom (as to his reputed father) he would seeme to paye all honour and due reuerence, he passed it over.

Within a while after, the king and he came to Canturburie, where they were solemnly receiued of the count of Chyres church with procession. After this, in the Lent season they went to Douer, where they talked with Theobald earle of Flanders, and with the countesse his wife who was aunt to duke Henrie. At their comming towards Canturburie (as it was hanted) the duke should haue bene murdered, through treason of the Flemings that enuied both the dukes person, and also that peace which he had concluded with the king. But see the hap. As this feat should haue bene wrought on Werhamdowne, William earle of Northfolke king Stephan his sonne, who was one of the chiefe conspirators, fell beside his horse, and brake his leg, so that euerie man by that sudden chance was in a maze, & came wondering about him. This no doubt came to passe by the prouidence of God, though such accidents are commonly imputed to casualtie or chance medlie. For it is the worke of God either to prevent, or to intercept, or to recompense the vnnaturall conspiracies of traitors and rebels with some notable plague: according to that of the poet;

Οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶαὶ τέυχει ἀνηρ ἄλλῳ καὶαὶ τέυχων,
Ἡ ὅ καὶαὶ βαλὴ τῶ βελέουσαι καὶαὶ σιν,
Nocui ipse sibi est alij qui querit abesse,
Consiuium malum danti fert maxima damna.

Duke Henrie herewith getting knowledge of the treason intended against him, or at the least suspecting somewhat, got him backe againe to Canturburie, and so auoided the danger. After this, taking his way to Rochester, and so to London, he got him a shipboard, and sailed by long seas into Normandie, where he arrived in safetie.

After his departure, king Stephan spent the summer season of this yeare, in going about the most part of the realme, helming all the courtessie he could deuise to the people in all places where he came; except where he found any rebellious persons, as in Northfolke, where Philip de Coleuille (in trust of his castell which he had strongly fortified at a certeine place called Dzar) helmed himselfe disobedient to the king, who assembling a power in the countie, besieged that castell, and shortly waunte it, without any great adu.

When duke Henrie was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandie, now that he had concluded a peace with king Stephan, his puillance was thought to be such, that he was able to mainteine warres with the mightiest prince that

then reigned. For in right of his wife, he had gotten possession of the duchie of Aquitaine, and the earldome of Poitou; and further by his mother, he enioied the duchie of Normandie, and looked to succede in the kingdome of England: and in right of his father he was earle of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. He also reuoked into his hands certeine parcels of his demeane Lands, which his father had giuen away, and passing from thence into Aquitaine, mightilie subdued certeine lords and barons there, that had rebelled against him.

About the same time a peace was concluded betwixt the French king, and this duke Henrie: the king restoring vnto the duke the townes of Peto, march and Vernon, which he had before taken from him, and the duke giuing to the king 20000. markes of silver, for the harness done by him, within the realme of France.

But now to returne vnto king Stephan. We shall vnderstand, that within a while after he had made his foresaid progresse almost about the whole realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a parlement as well to consult of matters touching the state of the commonwealth, as to furnish the see of Poike with a sufficient archbishop. Whereupon one Roger that was before archdeacon of Canturburie, was chosen to that dignitie, and consecrated the tenth day of October, by archbishop Theobald, as legat to the pope, and not as archbishop of Canturburie. Then also was Thomas Becket made archdeacon of Canturburie by the said Theobald. The new archbishop Roger first went to his see at Poike, where after he had receiued his inthronization, and set his businesse there in order, he toke his iourne towards Rome to fetch his pall in his owne person.

King Stephan also after the end of the parlement went to Douer, there to meet the earle of Flanders, who came thither to talke with him of certeine businesse. The earle was no sooner returned backe, but the king fell sicke, and was so greuoullie tormented with a paine in his bellie, and with an old disease also, wherewith (as should appeare) he had bene often troubled, namelie, the enurods, that finally he died in the abbey on the five and twentieth day of October, in the nine and fortieth yeare of his age, and after he had reigned eight and ten yeares, ten moneths, and oo daies, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1154. His bodie was interred in the abbey of Fenertham in Kent, which he had builded, where his wife also, and his sonne Eustace were buried before. Thus faire of the acts and deedes of Stephan; now a litle of other hisse remembrances, and first touching the prosopographie or description of his person.

He was comelie of stature, of a berie good complexion and disposition, of great strength, in qualities of mind berie excellent, expert in warre, gentle, curteous, and berie liberall. For though he continued all his time in a manner in the maintenance of wars, yet he lent but few tributs, or almost none at all. Indeed he put diuers bishops to greuous fines, and that not without the iust iudgement of Almighty God, that they might so be punished. duclie for their perurie committed in helping him, to the croone. Wices wherewith he should be noted I finde none, but that vpon an ambitious desire to reigne, he brake his oth which he made vnto the emperesse Maud.

In his daies, the abbeyes of Tiltey, Fontneis, Kienalle, Coggeshall in Essex, Pethborough and Weland, Permale in Warwicksheire, Saredon in Leiceshersheire, Kirkestad in Northfolke, with diuerse other in other parts of the realme, were founded, in so much that more abbies were erected in his daies, than had bene within the space of an hundred yeares before.

A peace concluded betwixt the French king and duke Henrie.
Marth. West.

Wil. Paru.
Roger Archdeacon of Canturburie made archbishop of Poike.

Thomas Becket archdeacon of Canturburie.

The earle of Flanders.

King Stephan departed this life.

Marth. Paris.
N. Triuet.
1154.

His stature.

Anno

I 1

N. T.
Mand

N. T.
The
Abbey

Poly.

Co.
chole

Ran.

The
keth
celloj

Wil. Paruus. before, as William Paruus writeth.

A great number of castels also were builded in his daies (as before ye haue heard) by the Nobles of the realme, either to defend the confines of their countries from inuasions of forrenners, and violence of homelings; or as fortifications to themselves when they ment or intended any inrode or breaking upon their neighbours.

Diuerse learned men namelie historiographers

liued in these daies, as William Malmesburie, Henrie Huntington, Simon Dunelmensis, Galfridus Arcturius, otherwise called Monumetensis, Caradoc Lancarnauensis, William Reuellenfis, among whom Thurstan archbishop of Dore is not to be forgotten, besides many more, who in diuerse sciences were verie expert and skilfull, as by treatises of their setting forth to the world hath sufficientlie appeared.

Thus far Stephan of Bullongne:



Henrie the second, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet.



Henrie the second of that name, a French man borne, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Anjou, begotten of Maude the emperesse, daughter to Henrie the first, began his reigne ouer England the five and twentieth of October, in the

Anno Reg. 1.

1154

yeare after the creation of the world 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our sauour 1154. about the beginning of the third yeare of the emperour Frederike the first, the second of pope Anastasius the fourth, the seventeenth yeare of Lewis the seventh king of France, and second of Malcolme then king of Scotland. Immediatlie after he was aduertised of the death of king Stephan, he came ouer into England, landing at Wicheham about the seventh day of December. After he had got his companies togither, which by tempest were scattered in his passage, he came first to Winchester, where he receiued homage and fealtie of the Nobles of the realme resorting vnto him. This done he set forth towards London, where he was crowned king by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie the twentieth date of December.

N. Triuet.
Math. Paris.

N. Triuet.
The archb.
shop of Rouen.

Polydor.

Councillers
chosen.

Ran. Hig.

Thom. Beck.
her lord chanc.
cello.

The archbishop of Notien, with three of his suffragans, the archbishop of Dore, and many other bishops of England: Theobaldus the earle of Flanders, with a great number of other earles, lords and barons were present there at his coronation. He was at that time about the age of three and twentie yeares, and so with the peoples love, he spake many comfortable words vnto them, to put them in hope (as the manner is) that they should find him a louing prince. He bled the lords also verie courteously. And first of all, after his attaining to the crowne, he chose to him counsellers of the grauest peronages, and best learned in the lawes of the realme, with whose prudent advice he persued those lawes, and amended them where he thought necessarie, commanding chieflie, that the lawes established by his grandfather Henrie the first should be obserued: and in many things he relied vpon the advice of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at whose suite he admitted Thomas Becket to be his chancelour, which Becket the said archbishop had made archdeacon of Canturburie the yeare before.

Whereouer, by the sentence and doome of his court

cellers, to the intent that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better mainteined, he commanded by waite of publishing a proclamation, that all strangers (which to get somewhat by the wars had flocked into the realme, during the time of the ciuill discord betwene him and king Stephan) should depart home without further delate: wherefore he appointed them a daie, before the which they should auoid vpon perill that might insue. It was a worlds wonder to see and marke how suddenlie these aliens were quite banished, as though they had bene phantasmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable to the subjects of the realme, as they that were accustomed to attempt one theirow turne vpon an others necke, and thought it lawfull for them so to do. Amongst them was a great number of Flenings, whom the king hated more than the residue.

By vertue also of this edict, William of Wyres, whom king Stephan (as ye haue heard) had made earle of Kent, was constrained with others to depart the realme, king Henrie seizing all his possessions into his owne hands. Diuerse castels were theirowe downe and made plaine with the ground at the kings commandement, which priuate men by king Stephens permission had builded, or else for that they stood not in such places as was thought meet and expedient; yet some he caused to be fortified: and furthermore, toke into his hands againe such lands and possessions as appertained to the crowne, and were alienated vnto any manner of person, of what degree so euer he was. This wounded the minds of many with an inward grudge, as well enough perceiuing that the king would loke so nere to his owne commodities, that nothing should be left for them that might any way be recovered and gotten to his use.

In this very queste Elianor being then in the citie of London, in the last of Februarie was deliuered of hir second sonne named Henrie. About the same time also, William Beurell of Nottingham a noble man and of great possessions was discredited by the king for forerrie and witchcraft, which he had practised to kill Ranulfe earle of Chester, as it was revealed openlie, and brought to light. In accomplishing of which hairous crime and detestable act, many others were of counsell, and found guiltie with him, which escaped not unpunished.

On the tenth of Aprill, king Henrie assembled the peers

Anno Reg. 2.

1155

Nic. Triuet.
Polydor.
Wil. Paruus.
Strangers
appointed to
depart the
realme.

Aliens auoid
the land.

William de
Wyres.

Castels ouer-
throwne.
Polydor.
Math. Paris.

Wil. Paruus.
Math. Paris.

N. Triuet.
Math. Paris.
Math. West.
William Be-
urell disre-
puted.

ce con-
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ch king
like
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1. West.

Paru.
er Arch-
1 of Can-
rie made
bishop of
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mas
ket arch-
on of
turburie.

earle of
nders.

g Ste-
n depar-
his life.

ch. Paris.
riuet.
154

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boies
in doo.
gg be hall
founded
n selfe, and
others in
measure.
erham
from.

I. Treuer.

Marth. Paris.
Nic. Treuer.
Hugh de
Spottimer.
The castell
of Cleberie.

Roger Fitz
Spiles.

Anno Reg. 1.
The king go-
eth into the
north.
The castell of
Scarborough
Wil. Paruus.
Nic. Treuer.
The death of
the kings son
William.
Geffrey the
kings brother
rebelles.

Wil. Paruus.

Pope Adrian
an English-
man bozne.
A dispensatio
for an oth.
Nic. Treuer.

pères & great lords of his realme together at Mal-
lingford, and caused them to sweare allegiance unto
his eldest sonne William: prouiding, that if he chan-
ced to die, then they should do the like unto his bro-
ther Henrie. Also whereas Hugh de Spottimer had
fensed his castels against king Henrie, he besieged
the same, and taking the castell of Cleberie, he de-
stroyed it. Whereupon, the foresaid Hugh shortly af-
ter was at peace with the king, and surrendered to
him the two castels of Wigmore and Bridgenorth, 10
which hitherto he had holden. Moreover, whereas
there was variance kindled betwixt the king, and
Roger Fitz Spiles of Gloucester (who was earle of
Hereford) for the lands of Gloucester, that variance
was also quenched: for after the same Roger was
dead, his brother Walter succeeding him in the earl-
dome of Hereford, was constrained to depart with
the citie of Gloucester, which the king held and recei-
ued in his owne hands.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie 20
went to Pothe, and in that countrie toke into his
hands diuers castels which had bene long in posses-
sion of priuate men; namely, the castell of Scarbo-
rough, which William earle of Albemarle held, and
now was constrained to resigne it by full force a-
gainst his will. This yeare William the kings el-
dest sonne departed this life, and was buried at Rea-
ding. The realme of England was brought on all
sides into verie good quiet; but yer long, wood came
to k. Henrie, that his brother Geffrey had begun a 30
rebellion on the other side of the sea. For their father
Geffrey (when he died) left three sonnes behind him,
Henrie, Geffrey, and William, ordeining by his tes-
tament, when Henrie should haue gotten possession
of England and Normandie, that then the countrie
of Anion should remaine unto Geffrey, and in the
meane time, he to haue these three towne, Chinon,
Lodun, and Mirabell, to mainteine his estate; and
when the time came that the whole heritage should
fall unto him, he might by possession of these three 40
haue a readier meane to come by all the rest. Fur-
thermore, fearing least his eldest sonne Henrie (who
as then was absent) would not consent to the perfor-
mance of this his will, he caused certeine bishops
and other of the Nobles to sweare, that they should
not suffer his bodie to be committed to burfall, till
his sonnes had sworne to fulfill his last will and tes-
tament in all other things, but especiallie in this be-
halfe, wherein he judged not amisse. For though Hen-
rie was loth to take his oth, yet because his fathers
bodie should not remaine vnburied, he was conten-
ted to sweare.

But after he had obtained the kingdome of Eng-
land, his covetous desire, increasing still with abun-
dant alreadie obtained, found meanes to procure
of pope Adrian the fourth (who was an Englishman
bozne) a dispensation for that oth; whereupon (hauing
got licence to depart from the office both of right,
law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinaunce, he
passed over into Normandie, and making war a-
gainst his brother, the said Geffrey, easily expelled
him out of those places, which were assigned him by
bequest in his fathers testament, and so toke the
earldome of Anion into his owne possession. Where-
beit, he gaue unto his said brother a pension of a
thousand pounds English, & two thousand pounds of
the monie of Anion, with the towne of Lodun, and
certeine other lands to liue upon; who neuertheless
thinking himselfe euill bled at the kings hands, re-
belled and died.

Here we haue to note the lacke of conscience
and religion, not onlie in the pretended successor
Peter in giuing a dispensation for an oth, but also in
his good ghostly sonne, who was molesse forward in

reuoiting from his oth, than the other was willing
to acquite him from the force thereof. But if these
men had bene profitting scholars in the vniuersitie of
the pagans, as they were arrand truant and ranke
dullards in the schole of christians, they might haue
learned by profane examplers, that as oths are not to
be rashlie taken, so they are not to be vnaduiscable
broken. Whereunto alludeth Aristotle in his Meta-
physikes, shewing the cause why poetrie hath seig-
ned that the gods in old time used to sweare by wa-
ter, as Jupiter is reported to haue done in this
manner;

per flumina iuro

Infera sub terra Stygia labentia luo.

To signifie vnto vs, that as water is a verie an-
cient and excellent element, and so necessarie that with-
out it the life of man cannot consist; euen so we
ought to esteeme of an oth, than the which we should
thinke nothing more religious, nothing more holie,
nothing more christian. Hereunto also tendeth the
fable of the transmutation of mariners into dolphins
for periuerte: importing thus much for our instructi-
on, that the breaking of an oth, in a case that may pre-
iudice, procureth greuous punishments from God
against them that so lewolic do offend. But such is
the impudencie of the pope, that he will not grant di-
spensations onlie for oths, but for incest, for treason,
and for any other sinne: which he may do (as he boa-
steth) by vertue of his absolute and vniuersall iuris-
diction: as we haue lately in most lamentable sort
sane exemplified. But to the course of our storie.

Shortly after, when king Henrie had dispatched
his businesse in Normandie, and made an end of
troubles there betwixt him and his brother Geffrey,
he returned into England, because he receiued ad-
uertisement, that Malcolme king of Scotland be-
gan to make war against his subiects that bordered
next vnto him, whereupon he hasted northwards:
and coming first into Cumberland, he toke the ci-
ty of Carlisle, seizing all that countrie into his
hands; and going after into Northumberland, he
toke the towne of Newcastle, with the castell of
Bamburgh, and toke into his possession all that coun-
trie which his mother the emperesse had sometimes
granted vnto king David, as before ye haue heard:
wherewith, because he would not seeme to offer too much
long, and be esteemed vniuersall of former bene-
fices receiued, he suffered king Malcolme to enjoy
the earldome of Huntingdon, which king Stephan
had giuen vnto his father earle Henrie, sonne to
king David, as before is partly touched.

William also the earle of Spottaigne, and Mar-
ren sonne of king Stephan, were compelled to sur-
render to king Henrie, the castell of Wemsey, the ci-
tie of Norwich, and other townes and castels which
he held, appertaining to the demeane of the crowne:
to whom the king in recompense restored those lands
which his father king Stephan held in the daies of
king Henrie the first.

About this time Theobald earle of Flanders
(going with his wife vnto Ierusalem) committed
his sonne Philip, with all his lands, to the custodie of
the king of England. Hugh also resigned his
castels into the kings hands.

But whilest king Henrie was about (as before
ye haue heard) to recouer and get backe the portions
of his kingdome made away and dismembred by his
predecessors, he was informed, that the Welchmen
raised a rebellion against him; to reuenge whose at-
tempts, he hasted south with all diligence. And at
his first approach to their countrie, his souldiers being
set vpon in the fraits, were verie fiercely put back
by the enemies, in such sort that a rumor ran how
king Henrie was slaine, which putten by the Welch-
men

Ouid. Met. lib.
1. fab. 6.

Ouid. Met. lib.
3. fab. 8. 9. 10.

1156

King Henrie
goeth against
the Scots.

He toke Car-
lisle and New-
castle and o-
thers.

The earldome
of Huntingdon.

William earle
of Spottaigne.
Marth. Paris.
Nic. Treuer.

Anno Reg. 1.
1157
Theobald
earle of Fland-
ers.

Rebellion of
Welshmen.

The king
sleweth them.

Ent
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Euface Fitz
John, & Ro-
bert de Curcy
saime.

Met. lib.
6.

Henric of
Essex.
Matth. West.
Wil. Parvus.
A combat be-
twixt Henric
de Essex, and
Robert de
Mountfort.
Matth. West.

Met. lib.
8, 9, 10.

I 5 6

Henric
against
Scots.

van Car-
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earldome
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am earle
portland.
th. Paris.
Trece.

10 Reg. 3.
157
codrke
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bellion of
11th.

he king sh
beth them.

men with no small hope; and bestowed the English-
men with great feare. In deed, diuers of the Eng-
lish nobilitie were slain, and (amongst others) Eu-
face Fitz John, and Robert de Curcy, men of great
honour and reputation.

Those which escaped in returning backe, not know-
ing that the king passed through the straits without
danger, declared to their fellows that followed and
were approaching to the said straits; that (so farre
as they knew) the king had all the rest of the land
lost. These newes so discomfited the companies, that
Henric of Essex, who bare the kings standard by
right of inheritance, threw downe the same, and fled
which dishonorable deed was afterward laid to his
charge by one Robert de Mountfort, with whom (by
order taken of the king) he fought a combat to trial
of the quarrell, and was overcome: but yet the king
qualifying the rigor of the judgement by mercie par-
doned his life, and appointed him to be a thorne
monke, and put into the abbey of Reading, taking
his lands and possessions into his hands as forfeited
holdeth this combat was not tried till about the 9.
yeare of this kings reigne.

Now the king, hearing that his armie was dis-
comfited, came to his men, and shewing himselfe to
them with open visage, greatlie renewed the whole
multitude, and then proceeding against the enemies,
his people were afterwards more warlike in looking
to themselves, in somuch that at length (when the
king prepared to invade the Welshmen both by water &
land) they fought to him for peace, and whole submit-
ted themselves vnto his grace and mercie.

About the same time, king Henric builded the cas-
tell of Rutland, the castell of Walsingwerke, and one
house also of Templers. In the moneth of Septem-
ber also this yeare, the kings third sonne was borne
at Drenford, & named Richard. This yeare was Tho-
mas Becket preferred to be the kings Chancelor.
The king holding his Christmas at Worcester in
great royaltie, sat in the church at service, with his
crowne on his head, as the kings bled in those daies
to do on solemne feasts: but as some as masse was
ended, he took his crowne from his head, and set it
downe vpon the altar in signe of humblenes, so that
he neuer after passed for the wearing of a crowne.
The same yeare also the king altered his coine, abro-
gating certaine peeces called basels.

In the moneth of August he went ouer into Nor-
mandie, and came to an enteruew with the French
king nere to the riuer of Cata, where they intreated
of a league, and of a marriage, which was after a-
greed vpon, betwixt Henric the sonne of king Hen-
ric; and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the French
king: at which time Thomas Becket (then being the
kings chancelor) was sent to Paris in great arai-
to fetch hir: who among other furnitures had nine
long charrets (as Matthew Paris writeth.) Now
when this ladie was deliuered to Thomas Becket
the lord chancelor, and brought from Paris, she was
appointed from thenceforth to remaine in the house
of Robert de Newburge, a Noble man of great ho-
nor, untill such time as the marriage should be solem-
nized.

After the two kings were departed in sunder, H.
Henric prepared an armie against Conan duke of
Britaine, who had seized the citie of Naunts into his
hands, after the decease of Gessrey the kings brother,
who was earle of Naunts. At length, the same Co-
nan perceiving himselfe not able to resist the king of
England, vpon the daie of the feast of saint Micha-
el the archangell came to king Henric, and surren-
dered the citie of Naunts into his hands, with all the
whole countrie thereunto belonging. Soone after
which resignation, and vpon the 24. of August, Gess-
rey the kings fourth sonne was borne of his wife
queene Elianor.

In December following, Theobald earle of Blois
was accorded with king Henric, to deliuer to him
two of his castels. Likewise Petroke earle of Berch
surrendered two castels vnto king Henric, which he
had usurped of the demeanes of Normandie in the
daies of king Stephan: one of which castels the king
gave him againe, receiuing homage of him for the
same.

Moreover king Henric and Raimond earle of
Barcelone met together at Blaine, where they con-
cluded a league by waie of allegiance, so that Ri-
chard the sonne of king Henric should take to wife
the daughter of the said Raimond in time conueni-
ent; and that the king of England should giue vnto
the said Richard the duchie of Aquitaine, & the coun-
tie of Poitou. This earle Raimond had married
the daughter and heire of the king of Aragon.

In the meane time, a secret grudge that had long
depended betwixt king Henric and king Lewes
of France did still continue, and though there was a
friendship agreed betwixt them (as ye haue heard)
to haue ertinguished the same, yet was it but a fei-
ned friendship: for vpon euery new occasion they
were ready to breake againe, as it came to passe
shortlie after.

William duke of Aquitaine, grandfather to queene
Elianor, married the daughter and heire of the earle
of Tholouze, and going vnto the warres of the holie
land, he engaged that earldome vnto Raimond the
earle of saint Giles, and died before he could returne.
His sonne William, father to queene Elianor, suc-
ceeded his earldome to remaine still vnderdeuied, ei-
ther for want of sufficiency, or through negligence
and carelesnesse: so that the earle of saint Giles he-
ping possession thereof vnto his dieng daie, left it to
his sonne Raimond, who inioyed it likewise. Now
when king Lewes (hauing married the foresaid E-
lianor) demanded restitution as in the right of his
wife, earle Raimond flatlie at the first denied to re-
store it, but after considering his lacke of power to
resist the kings puissance, he plied the k. with hum-
ble petitions, and so preuailed by faire words, that in
the end king Lewes granted him his sister Con-
stance in marriage (which Constance, as ye haue
heard, was married before vnto Euface the sonne
of king Stephan) with hir granted him libertie to
retein the earldome of Tholouze as it were by waie
of endowment: whereto the other accorded. How-
beit king Henric hauing married the foresaid queene
Elianor, after the diuorfe had betwixt hir and king
Lewes, made claime to the said countie of Tho-
louze in the right of his wife. Herevpon earle Rai-
mond, trusting now to the aid of his brother in law
king Lewes, denied to restore it; so that king Hen-
ric determined to recouer it by force, and entring by
and by into Gascoine with an armie, he drew to-
wards the countrie of Tholouze, & began to invade
the same with great force and courage.

Diuers great lords of those parties toynd with
king Henric in his war which he attempted against
the earle of saint Giles, as the earle of Barcelone,
and the lord William Trenchentille, a man of great
power in those quarters, hauing vnder his rule ma-
nie cities, castels and townes, notwithstanding that
he had of late lost many of them by violence of the
foresaid earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of
king Henric he recouered them all. Galcolme also
king of Scotland came vnto king Henric, whilst
he was forth in this iourne, to associate him in this
business.

The earle hearing of king Henrics coming
with an armie, was put in great feare, and therev-
pon

Gessrey the
kings fourth
sonne borne.

Petroke earle
of Berch.

Raimond erle
of Barcelone.
Richard the
kings sonne
offered to erle
Raimonds
daughter.

A fained
friendship.
William duke
of Aquitaine.

Earle of saint
Giles offered
his wife Tho-
louze.

Anno. Reg. 5.
1159
Matth. Paris.
Matth. Westm.

Wil. Parvus.

William
Trenchentille.

N. Triuer.

on wrote letters to his brother in law king Leves, requiring him with all speed possible to come unto his aid. King Leves upon receipt of the letters, understanding the present danger of the earle, made such hast in continuing his iourne both day and night, that he came to Tholouze, before king Henrie could arrive there. Which when king Henrie understood, and perceived how he was prevented, he changed his purpose of besieging the citie, and fell to spoiling of the countie thereabouts: at which time he reconquered certaine places that latelie before had revolted from his government, & amongst the rest the citie of Cahors, which he furnished with men, munitions and vittels, appointing his chancellor Thomas Becket to the custodie and keeping thereof: he bestowed other places also which he had gotten, placing capitaines and men of warre to looke into the defense of the same. Whilest the king was thus abroad on his iourne in the parties of Aquitaine, William earle of Bullongne and Mortaine, the sonne of king Stephan, and Haimon earle of Gloucester departed this life, which two earles went thither with him.

Finallie, when he had set things at a staie in those parties, he returned towards Normandie, and coming to the citie of Toures, he gave the order of knighthood unto Malcolm king of Scotland, and in the moneth of October he came backe into Normandie, and there augmenting his armie with new supplies, entered into the countie of Beaunoisin, burned manie villages in the same, and destroyed the strong castell of Cerberie, except one turret, which his souldiers could not take, by reason of the fire and smoke which staied and kept them from it. Moreover, Simon earle of Auranches deliuered unto king Henrie such fortresses as he held in France, as Rochfort, Pontfort, and such like, which was no small inconvenience to the French king, because the garisons placed in those fortresses impeached the passage betwixt Paris and Orleans. But shortly after, a truce was taken to last from the moneth of December, unto the feast of the holie Trinitie in the yeare next following.

In the moneth of Maie also ensuing, a peace was concluded upon the former articles and conditions: for further confirmation whereof, the marriage was solemnized betwixt Henrie the kings sonne being seven yeares of age, and the ladie Margaret daughter to the French king, being not past three yeares old: as writers do report. The marriage was celebrated at Peterborough on the second daie of November, by the autoritie of two legats of the apostolicke see, Henrie bishop of Pisa, and William bishop of Pavia, both prelates and cardinals.

About the same time came certaine Dutchmen of the sort called Waldouies ouer into this realme, to the number of thirtie or more, who held opinions in religion contrarie to the faith of the Romane church, for (as one author affirmeth) they which first spied the opinions which these men held, came from Gascoigne, and prevailed so greatlie in setting forth their doctrine, that they mightie increased through the large regions of Spaine, France, Italie, and Germanie: simple men (God wote) they were for the most part, as is written of them, and of no quicke capacitie. Notwithstanding those which at this time came ouer into England, were indifferentlie well learned, and their principall or ringleader was named Gerard. Now also was a counsell assembled at Oxford, whereat these dogmatiks were examined upon certaine points of their profession. The forsaide Gerard undertaking to answer for them all, protested that they were good christians, and had the doctrine of the apostles in all reverence. Moreover, being examined what they thought of the substance of the godhead

and the merits of Christ, they answered rightlie, and to the point, but being further examined upon other articles of the religion then received, they departed from the church, and were in the life of the same sacraments, derogating such graces as the church by his authoritie had then attributed thereto. To conclude, they would in no wise renounce their opinions, in so much that they were condemned, burned in the forehead with an hot iron, and in the cold season of winter for the quicke frost in the gibbet sent by wind, and so whipped out of the towne, with proclamation made that no man should be so hardie as to receive them into any house, or hide them with meat, drink, or any other thing of meane: whereupon it fell out in such that they were starved to death through cold and hunger: notwithstanding in this their addition they seemed to rejoice, in that they suffered for Gods cause, as they made account.

The same yeare, Mattheu sonne to the earle of Flanders married the ladie Marie the abbess of Hamfrie, daughter to king Stephan, and with her had the countie of Bullongne. About this marriage grew the first falling out betwixt the king and his chancellor Thomas Becket (as some have written) but none more than the said Mattheu, was offended with the said chancellor, because he was so fore against the said contract.

King Henrie, shortly after the marriage, was consummated betwixt his sonne & the French kings daughter, got into his hands the castell of Cisors, with two other castels, situate upon the river of Cata in the confines of Normandie and France. For it was accorded betwixt the two kings, that when the marriage should be finished, king Henrie should have those three castels, because they appertained to Normandie; in the meane time, the same castels were deliuered into the hands of Robert de Vohron, Toffes de Saint Omer, and Robert Hastings, three knights templers, who upon the consummation of the marriages before said, and according to the trust committed to them, surrendered the possession of the said castels into the hands of king Henrie.

But the French king was not a little moued, for that king Henrie had seized upon them without his licence, in so much that he raised a power of armed men, and sent them into Normandie, where they had one cruell conflict about the rest with the Normans, till the night parted them in sunder, by meane whereof the Frenchmen withdrew to Chaumont, and the Romans to Cisors. The next daie, as the Frenchmen came forth againe, purposing to haue won Cisors, they were beaten backe by the Normans, who issued out of the towne to skirmish with them. Thus was the warre renewed betwixt these two princes; and by setting on of Theobald earle of Blois, the matter grew to that point, that the English and French powers comming forthwith into the field, and marching one against an other, they approached so nere together, that battell was presentlie looked for, first in Aenlgesline, and after in the territorie of Dunc; but yet in the end such order was taken betwixt them, that their armies brake up.

The three Templers also ran in displeasure of the French king, for the deliuerie of the castels before they knew his mind, so that he banished them the realme of France for evermore: but king Henrie received them, and gave them honorable entertainment. Some write that there were but two castels, Cisors and Beall, which were thus put into their hands, and by them deliuered as before is mentioned.

About this time Theobald archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had gouerned that

Their examination & protestation.

The Waldouies condemned.

They are forbidden meat and drink. They are forbidden to teach.

N. Triquet.

The first falling out betwixt the king & Thomas Becket. Anno Reg. 7. Matth. Paris. March. West. 1161

Rog. Houed.

Gaguinus. The French & Normans fight.

Nic. Triquet.

Three knights templers. Rog. Houed.

Matth. Paris. The death of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

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The q brough of a dau An ent Anno R I I N. Triquet

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A comm Court.

These things troubled the king, who therefore ha-
ving

The king
meant to
punish the
prelates
for
disobeying
the king.

ning allowable for doctour such orders as should be the
the spiritual from their wicked doings, thought
that if he might get them confirmed in parliament
by consent of the bishops and clergy, then the same
should take place and be received for lawes. Where
fore he earnestly requested at this parliament, that
it might be enacted against all such of the spiritual
as should be taken and continued for any heinous
offence, they should lose the privilege of the church,
and be delivered unto the civil magistrate, who
should see them suffer execution for their offences in
like manner as he might any of the kings subjects
being lay men. For otherwise the king although
that they would holdie promise to do much more
righteously, if after ecclesiastical discipline, no secu-
lar execution should follow. And likewise it was that
they would passe but little for their disgracing and
loss of their order, who in contempt of their calling
would not abstaine from committing most unchristi-
anous abominations and heinous enormities.

These orders
were.

The king of
France both
the bishops.

Unto these reasons thus proposed by the king (to
hauit his purpose take effect) the archbishop and his
suffragans, with the rest of the bishops, answered
verie pithily, labouring to prove that it was more a-
gainst the liberties of the church, than that they
might with reason well allow. Whereupon the king
being moved exceedingly against them, demanded
whether they would observe his roiall lawes and cu-
stomes, which the archbishops and bishops in the time
of his grandfather did hold and observe: not: Where-
unto they made answer, that they would observe
them, *saluo ordine suo*, their order in all things saved.
But the king being highly offended with such excep-
tions, urged the matter so, that he would have them
to take their oath absolutely, & without all exceptions,
but they would none of that. At length he departed
from London in verie great displeasure with the bi-
shops, having first taken from the archbishop Tho-
mas all the offices and dignities which he enjoyed
since his first being created chancellor.

Allowed.

R. Houed.
1164
Gen. Dor.
A council at
Clarendon.

Gen. Dor.

Holmest, after this, manie of the bishops seeing
that into this broile would grow, began to thinke
from the archbishop, and inclined to the king. But
the archbishop stood firme in his opinion, and would
not bend at all, till at length not onelie his suffra-
gans the bishops, but also the bishop of Lisieux (who
came over to do some good in the matter) and the ab-
bat of Clemenina (who was sent from the pope) per-
suaded him to agree to the kings will, in so much
that being overcome at last with the earnest suit of
his friends, he came first to Woodstocke, and there
promised the king to observe his lawes, *Bona fide*,
Faithfullie, and without all collusion or deceit.

Shortly after, in the feast of S. Ylarie, a council
was holden at Clarendon, whereto the archbishop,
and in manner all the lords spiritual and temporall
of the land made their repaire. Here the archbishop
would have willingly started from his promise, if
first the bishops, and after the earles of Leicester and
Cornwall, Robert and Keignald (which Keignald
was uncle to the king) and lastlie two knights tem-
plers, had not moved him to yield to the kings will.
But among the rest these two knights, namely Ri-
chard de Hastings, and Holsens de Boloigne were
verie earnest with him, & at length prevailed, though
not for conscience of dutie, wherewith he should have
bene touched; yet with feare of danger, which by re-
fusing to satisfie the kings will he should have
brought not onelie upon himselfe, but also upon the
the other bishops there present.

These knights seemed to lament his case, as if ab-
readie they had sene naked swords shaken about
his eares. And indeed, certaine of the kings seruants
that attended upon his person after the manner of a

gard, went to and fro, rushing by and about the
chambers, thinking their bright battell ares ready
appointed, and looking as if they would forthwith run
upon the bishops. Whereupon the archbishop being
touched with remorse, and desiring to arise against
his determinat purpose, consented to obey the kings
pleasure, and so promised in the word of a priest, swe-
ring furthermore, that he would observe the kings
lawes and customes, without expecting these words,
saluo ordine suo, some order saved, which he had used
before. The like oath did all the bishops take. But the
archbishop refused at that time to seale to the let-
ter that contained the articles of the oath, which he
should have observed, requiring as it were a time to
consider of them, say in so weightie a matter no-
thing ought to be done without god and deliberate
advice, wherefore he took with him a copie thereof,
and so did the archbishop of Yorke an other, and the
third remained with the king.

Shortly after, the archbishop considering further
of this oath which he had taken, repented himselfe
graciously thereof, in so much that he abstained from
fasting of masse, till he had by confession and fruits
of penance (as saith Marth. Paris) obtained absolu-
tion of the pope. For addressing and sending out mes-
sengers with all speed unto the pope, with a certifi-
cat of the whole matter as it late, he requested to be
absolved of the bond which he had unadvisedly entered
into. This suit was some granted, in so much that
the pope directed his especiall letters unto him, con-
ferring the same absolution in verie ample and
large manner, as Marth. Paris doth report it. And
thus began a new broile.

The archbishop in the meane time, perceiving that
the liberties of the church were now not onelie en-
bezelled, but in manner extinguished, and being loth to
make any further attempt against his former dea-
lings, would now (without the kings knowledge)
have departed the realme, whereupon comming to
Roume, he took shipping, to have passed over into
France and so to have gone to the popes court. But
by a contrarie wind he was brought backe into
England, and thereby fell further into the kings dis-
pleasure than before, in so much that, whereas an ac-
tion was commenced against him of late for a ma-
nor, which the archbishops of Cantuarburie had of
long time held: now the matter was so used, that the
archbishop lost the manor, and was moreover con-
demned to paie the arrerages, and thus his troubles
increased even through his owne malapertnesse and
bainefticknesse; whereas all these tumults might
have bene composed and laid asleepe, if he had bene
wise, peaceable, patient, and obedient. For,

*Vir bonus & sapiens querit super omnia pacem,
pulsque minora pati metuens gravia, cunctique
Ne parvo ex ignis scelerata incendia surgant.*

In the end, the archbishop was cited to appeare be-
fore the king at Northampton, where the king used
him somewhat roughly, placing his horses at his
fenne, and laid disobedience to his charge, for that he
did not personallie appeare at a certaine place before
his highnesse, upon summons given unto him for
the same purpose. Whereunto though the archbishop
alleged that he had sent thither a sufficient deputie
to make answer for him; yet could he not be so ex-
cused, but was found gilty, and his goods confiscat
to the kings pleasure.

Now when the archbishop heard that sentence was
in such wise pronounced against him: What manner
of judgement (saith he) is this: Though I hold my
peace, yet the age that shall hereafter follow, will not
hide it in silence; for liethens the world began, it hath
not bene heard, that any archbishop of Cantuarburie
hath bene iudged in any of the kings of Englands
courts

Marth. Paris.
The arch-
bishop's
repentance
in this.

He repented
him in that he
had received
an oath.
Marth. Paris.

The arch-
bishop's
repentance
in that he
had out of the
realme.

M. Paris.
1164.

The arch-
bishop cited to
appeare at
Northamp-
ton.

R. Houed.

Sentence
given against
the arch-
bishop.

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" courts for any maner of cause; partlie in regard of
 " the dignitie and authoritie of his office, and partlie
 " bicause he is spirituallie the father of the king and
 " all his people. This is therefore a new forme and or-
 " der of iudgement, that the archbishop should be iud-
 " ged by his suffragans, or the father by his sons.

The next daie the king required of him the repa-
 ment of five hundred marks, which he had lent him
 when he was chancelor. Now although he affirmed
 that he received the same by waite of gift, and not by
 waite of lone; yet bicause he confessed the receipt, he
 was condemned in that debt, forsomuch as he could
 not pague the title of the gift.

On the morrow after, the archbishop with his se-
 low bishops being set in counsell, by commande-
 ment of the king (& the doores fast locked that they
 should not get out) this was proponed against the
 archbishop, that whereas he held certeine bishops sees
 as then vacant, with abbeyes, and other reuenues of
 his soueraigne lord the king in his hands, and had
 made none account to him for the same of long
 time; the king required now to be answered at his
 hands, and that with all speed, for he would haue no
 delate. The summe amounted to thirtie thousand
 markes.

When the archbishop had heard the variable sen-
 tences of the bishops in this case, he answered after
 this maner: I would (said he) speake with two earles
 which are about the king, and named them. Who be-
 ing called, and the doores set open, he said vnto them;
 We haue not here at this present to shew whereby
 the thing may be more manifest: therefore we aske
 respite for answer till to morrow. The counsell there-
 fore brake vp, and the multitude of people, which came
 with the archbishop thither, being afraid of the kings
 displeasure, fell from him. Wherefore he caused his
 seruants to fetch a great number of poore and impo-
 tent people to his lodging, saying that by the seruice
 of such men of warre, a more speedie victorie in short
 space might be gotten, than by them which in time of
 temptation shamesullie dreyne backe. Hereupon his
 house was filled full, and the tables set with such as
 his seruants had brought in, out of the lanes and
 streets abroad.

Upon the tuedaie, the bishops all amazed and full
 of care, came vnto him; and bicause of the displea-
 sure which the king had conceived against him, coun-
 selled him to submit himselfe to the kings will, or else
 in fine, they told him plainelie, that he would be iud-
 ged a perjured person; bicause he had swozne vnto
 the king as to his earthlie soueraigne, touching all
 temporall hono: in life, lim, and member; and name-
 lie to obserue all his roiall lawes and customes, which
 of late he had established.

Wherevnto he answered: My brethren, ye see how
 the world roseth against me, and the enemie riseth vp,
 but I more lament that the sonnes of my mother
 fight against me. If I should hold my peace, yet
 would the world come to declare how ye leaue me
 alone in the battell, and haue iudged against me
 now these two daies past, I being your father,
 though neuer so much a sinner. But I command you
 by vertue of your obedience, and vpon perill of your
 order, that you be not present in any place of iudge-
 ment, where my person may fortune to be adiudged:
 in testimonie whereof I appeale to our mother the
 church of Rome. Furthermore, if it chance that tem-
 porall men late their hands vpon me, I charge you
 likewise by vertue of your obedience, that ye ex-
 ercise the censures of the church in the behalfe of your
 father the archbishop as it becommeth you. This one
 thing know ye well, that the world roseth, the flesh
 trembleth and is weake, but I (by Gods grace) will
 not shrink, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto

to me.

After this he entred into the church, and celebrated
 the masse of saint Stephen (otherwise than he was
 accustomed to do) with his pall: which being ended,
 he put on his sacrificing vestures, with a cope vpon
 them all, and so went to the court. Furthermore, bi-
 cause he was afraid, he received the sacrament se-
 cretly with him, and bearing the crosse in his right
 hand, and the reine of his byrdell in his left, he came in
 that order to the court, where he alighted, and entred
 the place, still bearing the crosse himselfe, till he came
 to the kings chamber doore, the other bishops follow-
 ing him with great feare and trembling. Now being
 come thither, the bishop of Hereford would gladlie
 haue taken the crosse, and haue borne it before him,
 but he would not suffer him, saying: It is most rea-
 son that I should beare it my selfe, vnder the defense
 whereof I may remaine in safetie: and beholding
 this ensigne, I need not doubt vnder what prince I
 serue.

At length, when the king had exhibited great com-
 plaints vnto them all generallie against him, they
 cried that he was a traitor, sith he had received so
 manie benefitts at the kings hands, and now refused
 to do him all earthlie hono: as he had swozne to do.
 To be short, when the bishops came to sit vpon the
 matter in counsell, they appealed to the see of Rome
 against the archbishop, accusing him of perjurie: and
 in the word of truth bound themselves by promise, to
 do what they might to depose him, if the king would
 pardon them of that iudgement which now hanged
 ouer the archbishops head. Then comming to the
 archbishop they said: Thou wast sometime our arch-
 bishop, and we were bound to obeie thee: but sith
 thou hast swozne fealtie to the king, that is, life,
 member, and earthlie honour, & to obserue his lawes
 and customes, and now goest about to destitute the
 same, we say that thou art guiltie of perjurie, and we
 will not from henceforth obey a perjured archbishop.
 Therefore we cite thee by appellation to appeare be-
 fore the pope, there to answer thine accusors. Then
 they appointed him a day, in which they ment to pro-
 secute their appeale. I heare you well (said the arch-
 bishop.)

The princes and pères of the realme did also
 iudge him a perjured person and a traitour. Among
 whome (manie then being present) the earle of Lei-
 cester accompanied with Reginald earle of Corne-
 wall, came vnto him and said; The king comman-
 ded thee to come and render an accompt of that which
 is objected against thee, or else heare thy iudgement.
 Iudgement: said the archbishop, [and therewith ris-
 ing vp said,] I praye some earle, first heare thou: It is
 not vnknowne to thee how faithfull I haue bene to
 the king, in consideration whereof he advanced me
 to the archbishops see against my will (as God can
 be my iudge: for I knew mine owne infirmitee, and
 I was contented to take it vpon me rather for his
 pleasure, than for Gods cause, and therefore doth God
 both withholde himselfe and the king from me. In
 the time of mine election he made me free, and dis-
 charged me of all courtlie bondage. Wherefore as
 touching those things from which I am free and de-
 liuered, I am not bound to answer, neither will I.
 So much as the soule is more worth than the bodie,
 so much the more art thou bound to obeie God and
 me, rather than any earthlie creature. Neither will
 law nor reason permit, that the sonnes should iudge
 or condemne the father: and therefore I refuse to
 stand to the iudgement either of the king, or of any
 other, and appeale to the pope, by whome (under God)
 I ought to be iudged, referring all that I haue vnto
 Gods protection and his, and vnder the defense of his
 authoritie I depart out of this place. Having thus
 spoken,

he goeth to
 the court.

he is reputed
 a traitour.

The bishops
 dilates their
 archbishop.

The bishops
 persuade the
 archbishop to
 submit him-
 selfe to the
 kings
 pleasure.

The archbis-
 hop answer to his
 brethren.

He appealeth
 to the church
 of Rome.

arch-
 bishop
 becometh
 a traitor

penteth
 that he
 received
). Paris,

archbis-
 hop
 becometh
 a traitor

Palinsio

archbis-
 hop
 cited to
 reare at
 Northamp-
 ton.

sentence gi-
 ven against
 archbis-
 hop.

Ger. Dor.
The stout
courage of
the archbis-
hop.

spoken, went incontinent to take horse.

Now as he passed on his waie, the kings seruants and others of the court did cast out manie reprochfull words against him, calling him traitor and false forsworne cattife. At which words turning himselfe, and looking backe with a sterne countenance he said: That if it were not for his order of priesthood, and that it were lawfull for him, he would sucricke cleare himselfe of perurie and treason, in defending and mainteining his cause against them with wea-
10 pon in hand.

When he was come to the vtter gate, he found the same fast locked, whereat they began all to be amazed: but one of his seruants espieing there a bunch of keyes tied to a clubs end were hanging on a pin, he took them down, & tried which was the right key, by prose thereof he found it at the last, opened the gate, and let the archbishop out, the porters standing still as men amazed, and speaking not one word against it.

Now when he was got out, a great number of poore, weak and impotent people met him, saying: Blessed be God, which hath deliuered his seruant from the face of his enimie. Thus with a great rout of companie, and with the clergie, he was honorablie conuierd to the abbey of S. Andrews: and looking behind and before him, as he passed thitherward, he said vnto those that went with him: How glorious a procession doth bring me from the face of the enimie: Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we may make merie together in the Lord. Having thus spoken the people had entrance, so that
20 all the hall, parlours, and chambers being furnished with tables and stools, they were conuenientlie placed, and serued with vittels to the full.

Rog. Hened.
The archbis-
hop fled awaie in
the night.

The verie same night before the cockcrow he issued forth by a little posterne gate, and taking with him onelie two monkes of the Cisteriour order, the one named Robert Canine, and the other S. Capman, with one of his olone seruants called Roger de Woc, he fled awaie disguised in a white besture and a monks coule, and changing his name, caused himselfe to be called Dereman, & iourneied still all the night, and by daie laie close in one friends house or other: till at last he got to Sandwich, and there taking ship, he sailed ouer into Flanders, and so went to France, where at the cite of Sens he found pope Alexander, into whose bosome he emptied whole cart lodges of complaints and grieuances.

Gilbert Fol-
lioth bishop of
London was
sent to the
French king.

The king vpon knowledge that the archbishop was fled the realme, sent Gilbert Follioth bishop of London, and William earle of Arundell in speedie ambassage to the king of France, to signifie vnto him the whole matter and circumstance of the falling out betwixt him and the archbishop, requiring him not to receiue the archbishop into his realme, but this request was little regarded of the French king, as appeared: for the archbishops cause was fauoured of manie, and the blame imputed to king Henrie, so that the archbishop found great grace with the French king, and no small fauour at the hands of the pope.

Edmunds to
John Pike.
March. Paris.
Ger. Dor.

Now when king Henrie heard that he was accused by the archbishop vnto the pope, he appointed Roger archbishop of York, the foresaid Gilbert bishop of London, Hilarius bishop of Chichester, Roger bishop of Worcester, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, with diuerse bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & other learned men of good account, to the number of 100. to passe in ambassage vnto the pope, that they might excuse his doings, and burden the archbishop with the note of rebellion, whereof he had good proofe.

Roger archbis-
hop of York

Being admitted to declare their message in the consistorie before the pope, they opened the whole cir-

cumstance of the matter, from the beginning to the end, declaring that betwixt Thomas the archbishop of Cantuarie and the king there was a controuersie moued, and by both their consents a daie appointed for the hearing and determining thereof, as iustice should require. At the which daie (by the kings commandement) all the chiefe lords of the realme both spirituall and tempozall were assembled, to the end that the more generall the meeting should be, the more manifest might the discouerie of the fraud and malice of the archbishop appeare.

With others,
are sent to
the pope.

At the daie appointed (saie they) there came before the catholike prince his presence, the Nobles of his realme: and amongst other, the archbishop the dis-
30 quieter both of the kingdome & church, who (as one not well assured of the qualitie of his owne deservings) blessed himselfe with the signe of the crosse at his coming into the court, as though he should haue come before some tyrant or schismaticall person. Notwithstanding all which contemptuous and ambitious behauiour, the kings maiestie was no-
40 thing offended, but committed the iudgement of his cause to the faithfull order of the bishops, meaning so to deliuer himselfe of all suspicion of wrong dealing. Then it rested in the bishops hands to make an end of the controuersie, and to set a small vnion and agreement betwixt them. But the archbishop would none of that, alleging how it should be a derogation to the see apostolike and his metropolitane dignitie, to stand before the king in iudgement, or a-
50 nie other tempozall magistrate. And albeit (saie they) some diminution or eclipse might haue chanced to the dignitie of the church by that iudgement, yet it had bene his part to haue dissembled the matter for the time, to the end that peace might haue bene restored to the church. He further objected (ascribing to himselfe the name of father, which seemed to saue somewhat of arrogancie) that the children ought not to come together to iudge the fathers cause, but if
60 had bene far more necessarie that the humblenesse of the sons should mitigate the pride and temper the ambition of the father.

To conclude, the kings ambassadors made earnest suit, that two legats might be sent from the pope, to haue the hearing & discussing of all the matter betwixt the king and the archbishop without any other appealing. But the kings tale could not be heard in that court, the archbishop hauing already persuaded the pope to the contrarie. For coming to the pope, he vttered his complaint as followeth:

The kings
tale could
not be heard,

The archbis-
hop Becket,
Marr. Paris.

Most holie father, I doe here come for succour to your audience, lamenting that the state of the church, and the liberties thereof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealing of kings and princes. Wherefore when I thought to resist the disease approaching, I was suddenly called before the king, to render ac-
70 counts as a laie man about certaine wards, for whom (while I was the kings chancellor) I had notwithstanding giuen accounts; and also, when I was made bishop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the archbishops see, I was released and discharged of all reckonings and bonds by the kings eldest sonne, and by the chiefe iusticer of the realme: so that now, where I looked to haue found aid, I was destitute thereof, to my great hinderance and vexation. Con-
80 sider furthermore (I praise you) how my lords and brethren the bishops are readie at the pleasure of the noble men of the court to giue sentence against me, so that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almost oppressed: and therefore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, which doth not forsake your children in their extreme necessitie, before whom I here stand, readie to declare and testifie that I am not to be iudged there,
85 me?

The
answ
archb

The
refug
gall.

Ger.

I
Marr
Man

“ nor yet at all by them. For what other thing should
 “ that be, but to plucke awaie the right of the church?
 “ What else then to submit spirituall things to tempo-
 “ rall? This example therefore once springing up, might
 “ giue an occasion to manie enormities to follow. The
 “ bishops doe say, Those things that are Cefars, ought
 “ to be referred to Cefar. But admit that in manie
 “ things the king is to be obeyed, is he therefore to be
 “ obeyed in things wherein he is no king? For those
 “ belong not to Cefar, but to a tyrant. Wherein if for
 “ my sake they would not, yet ought the bishops for
 “ their owne sakes to haue resisted him. For what
 “ should be the cause of such deable and vnnaturall ha-
 “ tred, that to destroye me, they should destroye them-
 “ selues? Therefore whilst for temporall things they
 “ neglect spirituall, they faile in both. Weigh then
 “ most holie father, my fleeing awaie, and my persecu-
 “ tion, and how for your sake I haue bene prouoked
 “ with iniuries, by your rigour, constraineth them to
 “ amendement, through whole motion this hath cha-
 “ ced; let them not be bozne out by the king, who is ra-
 “ ther the obstinate minister, than the kinder out of
 “ this practise.

The popes
answer to the
archbishop.

The pope hauing heard his words, toke delibera-
 tion in the matter, with the aduice of his cardinals,
 and thereupon answered the archbishop in effect as
 followeth: That the lower power may not iudge the
 higher, and cheselle him whome he is bound to obey,
 all the lawes both of God and man doe witness, and
 the ordinances of the ancient fathers doe manifestlie
 declare: Whereupon we (to whome it appertaineth to
 reforme disorders) doe clearelie reverse and make
 void the iudgement pronounced against you by the
 barons and bishops, whereby as well against the or-
 der of law, as against the customes of the church,
 your goods were adiudged forfeit, whereas the same
 gods were not yours, but the churches of Cantur-
 burie, ouer which you haue the onelie cure and charge.
 But if those that haue violentlie entred vpon the pos-
 sessions and goods of your church, and haue thereby
 wronged either you or yours, will not vpon admoni-
 tion giuen to them, make restitution with sufficient
 amends, then may you (if you shall thinke conueni-
 ent) exercise ecclesiasticall iustice vpon them, and we
 shall allow of that which you shall reasonable do in
 that behalfe. Howbeit as touching the king himselfe
 we will not giue you any speciall commandement,
 neither yet doe we take from you any right belong-
 ing to your bishoplike office, which you receiued at
 your consecration. But the king onlie we will spare,
 and exempt from your excommunications and cen-
 sures. After these and manie by-matters were ouer-
 passed, the archbishop resigned his pall vnto the pope,
 but the pope gaue it him againe, and appointed him
 to remaine at Pountney an abbey of monks Cle-
 reau in the diocesse of Aurerre, till the variance
 were brought to some good end betwixt the king and
 him. This was done in the yeare of our Lord
 1164.

The archbish,
resigneth his
pall.

Ger. Dor.

1165
March. West.
March. Paris.

The king hauing knowledge by his ambassadors
 what answer the pope had made, became greuouslie
 offended in his mind, and thereupon confiscated all
 the goods that belonged to the archbishop and his
 complices, and seized their reuenues into his hands,
 appointing one Randall de Boc to haue the custodie
 of all that belonged to the see, which Boc was no-
 thing frendlie to the archbishop, being his knowne
 enemie of old, but fauoured the monkes, and would
 not suffer that they should take wrong or displeasure
 at any hand.

In the yeare 1165. quene Elianor was deliue-
 red of a daughter which was named Joane. Also on
 the 26. day of Januarie, there chanced a marvellous
 earthquake in Northfolke, in the Ile of Elie, and in

Suffolke, so that men as they stood on the ground
 were ouerthrowne therewith, and buildings so sha-
 ken, that the belles in steeple knolled: the like had
 also chanced in the Aduent season then last before
 passed.

The Welshmen this yeare spoiled a great part of
 those countries that bordered vpon them: wher-
 with the king being sore mqued, leuied an armie
 with all speed as well of Englishmen as Strangers,
 and (without regard of difficulties and dangers) did
 go against the rebels, and finding them withdrawne
 into their fastning holes (I meane the woods and
 strait passages) he compassed the same about in verie
 forceable maner. The Welshmen perceiving them-
 selues now to be brought into such iopardie, as that
 they could not well deuise how to escape the same,
 consulted what was best to be done. After consulta-
 tion, casting aside their weapons, they came forth
 to the king, asking intercie; which somewhat hardlie
 they obtiained. Few of them were executed in com-
 parison of the numbers that offended: but yet the
 capteines and chiefe authors of this rebellion were
 so punished, that it was thought they would neuer
 haue presumed so rashlie to offend him in like sort a-
 gaine. For (as some writers affirme) he did iustice on
 the sonnes of Alice or Kees, kins on the sonnes and
 daughters of other noble men that were his compli-
 ces verie rigorously: causing the eyes of the young
 striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their
 noses to be cut off or lit: and the eares of the young
 gentlewomen to be stuffed.

But yet I find in other authors, that in this tour-
 nie king Henrie did not greatlie prouaile against
 his enemies, but rather lost manie of his men of
 warre, both horsemen and footmen: for by his seuer-
 proceeding against them, he rather made them more
 eager to take reuenge, than quieted them in any
 sort. They toke the castell of Cardigan, and in be-
 sieging of Wigges, the king was in no small danger
 of his life: for one of the enemies shooting direclie
 at him, had perced him through the bodie, if Hubert
 de Saint Clere constable of Colchester, perceiving
 the arrow coming, had not thrust himselfe betwixt
 the king and the same arrow, and so preferring his
 maister, receiued the stripe himselfe, whereof he died
 presentlie after, beseeching the king to be good lord to
 one onelie daughter which he had, whome the king
 bestowed in marriage vpon William de Langualee,
 together with his fathers inheritance, which William
 begat of hir a sonne that bare both his name and
 surname. A president of gratitude & thankfulness
 is here committed to memorie. And surely the king
 could do no lesse, than some way requite the ventu-
 rous courage and hartie zeale of the gentleman, who
 with the losse of his owne life preserved the king, if
 not from death, yet from some dangerous wound
 that might haue put him to extreame anguish and
 paine. This may incite men to be mindfull of bene-
 fits receiued, a vertue no lesse rare than the contra-
 rie is common, and as one saith,

inueniuntur
*Quidam sed rari, acceptorum qui meritorum
 Assiduè memores, &c.*

But to conclude with this iournee which king
 Henrie made at this time against the Welshmen,
 although by reason of the cumbersome difficulties of
 the places, he could not enter within the countrie so
 farre as he wished, yet he so impounded and constre-
 ned them to keepe within the woods and mountains,
 that they durst not come abroad, in so much that at the
 length they were glad to sue for peace.

William king of Scots, successor of Malcolm
 (who departed this life in the yeare last past) after
 he had receiued the crowne of Scotland, came about
 this

The welsh-
men make war
on the Eng-
lish marchers.

Wil. Paruus.
Polydor.
The king in-
uadeth Wales.

Rog. Houed.
The seuer-
punishment
bles by king
Henry against
the welshmen.

Ger. Dor.
Ran. Cogge.
Cardigan ca-
stell wonne by
the welshmen.
Hubert de S.
Clere constable
of Colche-
ster.

William de
Langualee.

W. Paruus.

William king
of Scots doth
his homage to
king Henrie.

this present time into England, and finding king Henrie at London, did his homage to him as his predecessor Malcolme had done before. He made suit also to haue Northumberland restored unto him, which the king of Englands mother the empyrre had in times past giuen unto king David. But king Henrie gaue diuerse reasons to excuse himselfe whie he might not deliuer that countrie to him at that present, namelie, without consent of a parlement: whereupon king William perceiuing how the matter went, gaue ouer his suit for that present, meaning (when occasion serued) to attempt the getting thereof by force, sith that by prayer and suit he sawe well enough he should not obtaine it.

Whereouer, the Scottish king being required by king Henrie to go ouer with him into Normandie, granted so to do; inso much that king Henrie, hauing set all things in order within his realme of England, in the Lent following passed ouer into Normandie. But before he took his iourneie, he set forth a decree consisting of these points in effect as followeth.

1 That no man should bring any letters of commandement from pope Alexander, or Thomas archbishop of Canturburie into England, containing an interdiction of the realme: upon perill to be apprehended and punished as a traitour to the king, and an enemie to the realme.

2 That no religious person or priest should be permitted to passe the seas, or to come into the realme of England, except he had letters of safe conduct from the iusticers for passage ouer, and of the king for his returne from thence.

3 That no man should appeale to the said pope or archbishop, nor by their appointment hold any place: and if any person were found doing the contrarie hereunto, he should be taken and committed to prison.

4 That if any manner of person, either spirituall or tempozall, were obedient to the sentence of the interdiction, the same person should be banished the realme without delaie, and all his linage with him, so as they should not conueie with them any of their goods, the which together with their possessions should be seized into the kings hands.

5 That all spirituall persons, which had any benefices within England, should haue warning giuen to returne into England within foure moneths after the same summons pronounced, and that if they failed hereof, then should the king seize vpon their goods and possessions.

6 That the bishops of London and Norwich, should be (and by vertue hereof were) summoned to appeare before the kings iusticers, to make answer for that they had interdicted the lands of erle Hugh, and excommunicated him.

7 That the Peter pence should be gathered and kept.

In the octaues of Easter king Henrie came to an enteruiew with the French king at Cisors, where they had conference together of sundrie matters.

This yeare the queene was deliuered of a sonne named John, who afterward was king of this realme.

Whereouer, king Henrie calling a councell of his bishops and barons in Normandie, caused and ordeined a collection (by their aduise) to be made through all his countreies and dominions, of two pence in the pound of euerie mans lands and goods, ieluels and apparell onelie excepted: to be paid this yeare 1166. and for the space of foure yeares next ensuing, one penie of euerie pound to be paid yearelie: and those that were not worth twentie shillings in goods or lands (being householders notwithstanding) or bare

any office, should paie a penie to this contribution, which was onelie granted for the releafe of the Christians in the east parts, and those that warred against the miscreants there. The payment thereof was appointed to be made in the feast daie of saint Hermingus, or within fiftene daies after. It was also ordeined, that all such as departed this life, within the terme that this collection was in force (their debts being paid) should giue the tenth part of the residue of all their goods unto this so necessarie a contribution.

King Henrie remaining now in Normandie, and understanding that diuerse lords and barons of Haine, and the marches of Britaine, would not in his absence shew themselves obedient unto his iustice queene Eleanor, but were about to practise a rebellion, raised an armie, and went against them, easilie subduing them whom he found obstinate: and besieging the castell of Foulgiers, took and utterly destroyed it.

Some after the archbishop of Canturburie came from Mountney to Wizeley, and there (on Ascension daie) when the church was most full of people, got him into the pulpit, and with booke, bell, and candle solemnlie accursed all the obseruers, defenders, and maintainers, with the promoters of such customs, as within the realme of England they terme the custome of their elders: amongst others that were accursed, was Richard de Lucie, Richard the archdeacon of Poitiers, Jocelin de Bailleuille, Alane de Breuille, and manie other. But they being absent, & neither called nor conuincd (as they alleged notwithstanding they were thus excommunicated) sent their messengers unto the archbishop, and appealed from him, and so feared not to enter into their churches.

He had before this also written certeine letters vnto his suffragans, denouncing some of these and other persons by expresse name accursed, not onelie for mainteining the matter against him, touching the ancient custome of the realme: but also for the schisme raised in Almaine by Reignald archbishop of Colein, for the which he accursed one John of Drford. Whereouer, he accursed Ranulfe de Broc, Hugh de S. Cleere, & Thomas Fitz Bernard, for violentlie seizing vpon and deteining the goods and possessions belonging to his archbishoprike, without his consent or agreement thereunto.

The king on the other part banished out of England, and all parts of his other dominions, all those persons that were knowen to be of kin vnto the archbishop, both yong and old: and furthermore sent aduertisement to the abbat of Mountney and to his monks, with whom the archbishop by the popes appointment remained, that if they kept him still in their house, he would not faile to banish all the monks of their order out of England. Now the archbishop, after he had remained there scarce two yeares, departed from thence of his owne accord, and came to the king of France, who courteously receiued him, and sent him to the abbey of saint Columbes nere to the citie of Sens, where he remained a certeine season, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Shortlie after this, two legats named William of Pavia, and John of Bayles both cardinals, came from the pope to Pontmiriall, whom the archbishop suspected rather to fauour the kings cause than his: yet he was contented that they should haue the iudgement thereof committed vnto them: so that first (according to the rules of the church) restitution might be made both to him and his, of such goods as had bene taken from them. For being spoiled, as he was, he would not stand to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled thereto by any reason (as he said.)

The castell of Foulgiers.
Matth. Paris.
Wizeley.
The archbishop Becket accursed thole in England that maintained the customs of their elders.

R. Houe.

Matth. Paris.
Legats from the pope.

Comes Hagensis.

N. Triuet.
Merium.

Conan duke of Britaine
hereafter.
Matth. Paris.

A marriage concluded betwixt Geoffrey the kings son and the Duchesse of Britaine.
Wil. Paruus.

Anno Reg. 11

1167

N. Triuet.
King Henrie invaded the erle of Herefordes lands.

Ger. Dor.
The earle of Bolongne prepareth 600. ships to invade England.

The deceasse of the empyrre Edward.
Matth. West.

The se of Lincoln boi 17. yeares.

Anno Reg. 1.
The king was from the emperor.

N. Triuet.
Matth. Paris.
Ger. Dor.
Anebit against the archbishop Becket.

Appeales forbidden.

The kings of England and France enteruiew.
Chro. Sigeb.
Matth. Paris.
King John bozie.

Ger. Dor.

A contribution.

How then the two legats saw that they could not bring any thing to passe, they departed without any thing concluded.

Comes Sa-
gentis.

N Triuet.
Meritum.

Conan duke
of Britaine
deceaseth.
March. Paris.

A marriage
concluded be-
twixt Gessrey
the kings son
and the Du-
chess of Brit-
taine.
Wil. Parvus.

About this time William Tatuan earle of Sa-
gum (by the consent of his sons and nephues) deliue-
red into the hands of king Henrie the castels of Ale-
rium, and Roch Aberie, with all the appurtenances
to the castels belonging.

About this season also Conan the duke of Britaine
departed this life, leauing behind him no issue, but
one onelie daughter begot of his wife the dutchesse
Constance, the daughter of the king of Scotland,
which succeeded him in the estate. Whereupon king
Henrie made earnest suit to procure a marriage be-
twixt hir and his sonne Gessrey, which at length he
brought to passe, to the great comfort and contenta-
tion of his mind, in that his sonne had by such good
fortune attained to the dukedome of Britaine.

At that season in Britaine were certeine foble
men of such strength and potwer, that they disdaind
to acknowledge themselves subiect to any superior,
in somuch that throug ambitious desire of rule and
preheminance, they warred continually one against
an other, to the great destruction and bitter bnding
of their miserable countrie, so that the land some-
time fruitfull by nature, was as it were a wilderness.
Whereupon, those that were the weaker, perceluing
themselves too much oppressed by the stronger, sub-
mitted themselves vnto king Henrie, and required
his aid and succour. King Henrie reioising to haue
so good an occasion and opportunitie to reduce them
to reason, with all speed aided these supplicants and
subdued the resistants, notwithstanding their great
puissance, & the strength of the places which they kept.

Anno Reg. 13.

1167

N. Triuet.
King Henrie
inuaeth the
erie of Aluer-
gues lands.

In the meane while Henrie came ouer to his fa-
ther, and found him at Poitiers, from whence (short-
lie after Easter) he removed, and with an armie en-
tered into the lands of the earle of Aluergues, which
he wasted and spoiled, because the said earle had re-
nounced his allegiance to king Henrie, and made
his resort to the French king, seeking to sow discor-
d betwixt the foresaid two kings: which was kindled
the more by a challenge pretended about the sending
of the monie ouer into the holie land, which was ga-
thered within the countie of Tours: for the French
king claimed to send it, by reason that the church
there appertained to his dominion: and the king of
England would haue sent it, because it was gather-
ed within the countrie that belonged to his go-
uernement.

Ger. Dor.
The earle of
Boulougne
prepareth
600 ships to
inuaue Eng-
land.

The deceasse
of the emperesse
Maund.
March. West.

The fe of
Lincolne hold
17. yeares.

Anno. Reg. 14.
Embassage
from the em-
perour.

This yeare a great preparation of ships was made
by the earle of Boulougne, to haue inuaied Eng-
land, but by the warlike prouision of Richard Lucie,
lord gouernour of the realme, the sea-coasts were so
prouided of sufficient defense, that the earles at-
tempts came to nothing. The cause why he made this
brag, was for that the king withheld from him cer-
teine revenues which he claimed to haue here in
England, and therefore he ment to recover them by
force. The emperesse Maund mother to the king of
England (a woman in Routnelle of Roumby and
warlike attempts more famous than committie a-
ny of that sex) deceaseth this yere the 17. of Septemr.

Also Robert bishop of Lincolne departed this life,
after whose deceasse the see of Lincolne was had out
by the space of seuentene yeares, the king in all that
meane time receiuing the profits. The cleare of Co-
lein came ambassadour from the emperour vnto the
king of England, requiring it to haue one of his
daughters given in marriage vnto the emperours
sonne, and another of them vnto Henrie duke of
Saronie: which request the king did willingly grant,
and thereupon was the same sent for to be deliuered
vnto the emperour, and to bring hir with the lord Ri-

chard and his daughter the ladie Maund with hir:
which ladie was married vnto the duke of Saronie,
in the beginning of the yeare next ensuing: and had
issue by him three sons, Henrie, Otho, and William,
of which the middlemost came to be emperour.

The variance still depending betwixt the king
and the archbishop of Canturburie: there was also
about the same time a great debate betwixt the em-
perour Frederike the first and pope Alexander the
third: whereupon king Henrie wrote to the emperour,
and signified vnto him, that he would aid him if need
should require against the pope, who maintained
such a runnagate traitor as the archbishop Becket
was. Moreover at the same time the king caused all
his subiects within the realme of England, from the
child of twelue yeares old vnto the aged person, to
forswear all obedience that might be pretended as
due to the same pope Alexander. The king for the
space of two yeares together, remaining still in Por-
mandie, and in other places beyond the seas, subdued
diuerse rebels, as the earle of Angoulesme, Aime-
rike de Lucignie, and his sonnes Robert and Hugh.

Also he came to an enterbiew with the king of
France betwixt Pacie and Maunt, where they com-
muned of such iniuries as were thought to be at-
tempted on either part. For the Poitouins had
made their resort to the French king, and were con-
federate with him against their supreme lord king
Henrie, and had deliuered pledges for assurance
thereof, which pledges the French king would not re-
store. But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt
them, to endure till the feast of S. John Baptist.

About the feast of Easter Patrike the earle of
Salisbury was slaine by treason of the Poitouins,
and was buried at Saint Hilaries: after whose his
sonne William succeeded in the earldome.

The Britons practised rebellions dalle: but king
Henrie entring their countrie, wan diuerse strong
townes and castels, and brought them at length vnder
his subiection. Moreover in this summer season
the two kings met againe at Fert Bernard to treat
of peace, but they departed without concluding any
agreement at all. For there were many of the Poite-
touns and Britons, which toke part with the king of
France, and hauing deliuered vnto him hostages,
had a promise made them, that the French king
should not conclude an agreement with the king of
England without their consent. Whereupon they made
warres either vpon other, till finally (about the feast
of the Epiphanie) a peace was accorded betwixt
them: and then Henrie the king of Englande sonne
made his homage vnto the French king for the
countie of Anion: and the French king granted
him the office of the Seneschalcie of France, which
ancientlie belonged vnto the earles of Anion. Also
Gessrey duke of Britaine did homage to his elder
brother the afforesaid Henrie, by commandement of
his father for the dukie of Britaine. And after wards
the ladie Gessrey went into Britaine, and at Ache-
nes receiued the homage and fealties of the lordes and
barons of that countrie.

King Henrie in the meane while subdued certeine
rebels in Gascoigne, and returning into Poimandie,
broke a goodlie towne and fortrasse nere to Vale de
Marian, beleghed it with his army.

About the same time one Mattheu de Buon, who
had married the daughter of one William Colet,
resided in his countie which he toke into the holie
land, deliuered certain castels into the hands of king
Henrie, because he was in desperte to kepe them a-
gainst the earle of Chartres, who through the
French kings aid, sought to dispossesse him of the
same castels: whereupon the war was renewed be-
twixt the king of England and the said earle of Char-
tres.

1168

March. West.

Debate be-
twixt the pope
and the em-
perour.

K. Henrie of-
fereth to aid
the emperour.

An enterbiew
betwixt the
king of Eng-
land and king
of France.

The kings
met againe
to commen-
ce peace.

A truce.
Patrike earle
of Salisbury
slaine.

Anno. Reg. 15.

1169

Ger. Dor.
N. Triuet.

Gessrey duke
of Britaine.

Haruy de
Buon.

tres. powerlesse king Henrie making no great accompt of those wars, went into Britaine with his sonne Gesteire, where going about the countie to visit the cities and townes, he reformed many disorders, laing as it were a maner of a new foundation of things there, fortifying the castles, cities and townes, and commencing in courteous manner with the lords and pères of the countie, sought to win their good wills: and so in such exercises he spent a great part of the time.

Anno Reg. 16.
1170

He kept his Christmalle at Sautes, whither all the great lords and barons of Britaine resorted to him. The solemnitie of which feast being past, he entered into the lands of earle Cudo, and wasted the same, till the said earle submitted himself. At length, after the king had taken order for the good government of Normandie, and his other countries on that side the sea, he returned into England in the first weeke of March, but not without great danger, by reason of a tempest that took him on the seas, beginning about midnight, and not ceasing till 9. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came on land at Portsmouth, not with many of his ships, the rest being tossed and driven to seekes succour in sundrie creeks and bays of the land, and one of them which was the chiefe and newell, was lost in the middle of the fouds, together with 400. persons, men & women: among whome was Henrie de Aguell with two of his sons, Gilbert Sullenmy, and Kate Beaumont the kings physician & household servant.

Polydor,
David was
made knight
by H. Henrie
as Houeden
hath.

After this the king held his Easter at Winsor, whither William the Scottish king came with his brother David, to welcome him home, and to congratulate his happy successe in his businesse on the further side the seas. They were honorable entertained, and at their departure princelie rewarded. The king thus returned into England, punished the shrikes of the land very grievously for their extortion, byberie, and rapine. After this, studying how to assure the estate of the realme unto his sons, upon good consideration remembryng that no living creature was more subiect to the uncertaintie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingrafted such a fervent desire in the ambitious nature of man to governe, that so oft as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they have no regard either of right or wrong, God or the diuell, till they be in possession of their desired prey: he thought it not the worst point of wisdom to foresee that which might happen. For if he should chance to depart this life, and leave his sons young, and not able to mainteine wars through lacke of knowledge, it might fortune them through the ambition of some to be defrauded, and disappointed of their lawfull inheritance. Therefore to prevent the chances of fortune, he determined himself he was alive to crowne his eldest sonne Henrie, being now of the age of 17. yeares, and so he invited him in the kingdome by his owne ad in his life time: which deed turned him to much trouble, as after shall appeare.

A prudent
considera-
tion of the
king.

His nature
ambitious.

R. Houed.

Henrie the son
crowned the
18. of Julie
first March.
Paris.

W. Parvus.

Being upon this point resolved, he called together a parliament of the lords both spiritual and temporal at London, and there (on St. Bartholomewes day) proclaimed his said sonne Henrie: telling him in the kingdome, whom after this on the fourth following, being the fourteenth day of June 1170. Roger archbishop of Poike, did crowne according to the manner, being commanded so to do by the king. This offer, as it were, into the archbishop of Canturburie, but because he was banished the realme, the king appointed the archbishop of Poike to do it, which he ought not to have done without licence of the archbishop of Canturburie within the precinct of his province (as was alleged by arch-

bishop Becket) who complained thereof unto pope Alexander, and so incensed the pope, that he being highly moved by his letters, forbade not onely the archbishop of Poike, but also Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisbury (who were present at the coronation) the use of the sacraments, which made king Henrie far more displeased with the archbishop Thomas than he was before.

The archb.
of Poike is
bidden the
use of the
sacra-
ments.

He ma
reclam
Rog. H

Upon the day of coronation, king Henrie the father served his sonne at the table as sower, bringing up the bores head with trumpets before it, according to the maner. Whereupon (according to the old adage,

Matt. Par.
Polydor.

The king be
came sower
to his sonne.

(Immutant mores homines cum dantur honores)
the young man conceiving a pride in his heart, beheld the standers by with a more stately countenance than he had been wont. The archbishop of Poike, who sat by him, marking his behaviour, turned unto him, & said: Be glad my good sonne, there is not an other prince in the world that hath such a sower at his table. To this the new king answered, as it were disdainfully, thus: Why dost thou marnell at that? My father in doing it, thinketh it not more than becommeth him, he being borne of princelie blood onlie on the mothers side, serveth me that am a king borne having both a king to my father, and a queene to my mother. Thus the young man of an evill and perverse nature, was puffed up in pride by his fathers unseemelie doings.

Honours
change ma-
ners.

Young men
set
up in digni-
tatie forget
themselves.

Polydo
King I
the son
misofdi

But the king his father hearing his talke, was verie sorrowfull in his mind, and said to the archbishop sotle in his eare: It repenteth me, it repenteth me my lord, that I have thus advanced the boy. For he gessed hereby that a one he would prove afterward, that he loved himselfe so disobedient and forward already. But although he was displeased with himselfe in that he had done indiscretely, yet now when that which was done could not be undone, he caused all the nobles and lords of the realme, together with the king of Scots and his brother David, to do homage unto his said sonne thus made filio to him in the kingdome: but he would not release them of their oth of allegiance, wherein they stood bound to obey him the father, so long as he lived.

Anno 1
1171

Wherewith some wrote that he renounced his estate, first before all the lords of the land, and after caused his sonne to be crowned: but in such uncerteine points set forth by partiall writers, that is to be received as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and sequels of things after done and put in practice. For true it is, that king Henrie the father (so long as his sonne lived) did style himselfe sometime as fellow with his sonne in government, and sometime as absolute king: and after his sons decease, he continued in the entier government, so long as he lived. But to proceed.

The French king hearing that his sonne in law was thus crowned, and not his daughter the wife of Henrie: the sonne, was highly offended therewith, and threatened to make war against king Henrie the father, except his daughter Margaret might receive the crowne also as quene immediately.

The French
king offend.

It became why the was not crowned, was by reason of his young yeares, and so that he had not as yet accompanied with his husband. But as Henrie the father understanding the French kings threats, sailed over into Normandie, where at length they parted for ever on both sides, by the earnest diligence of Thomas earle of Blou, both the kings came to an entente at: Wexham, where at length they were accorded upon promise made by king Henrie, that he would cause his sonne to be crowned againe, and with him his wife the said Margaret the French kings daughter as quene.

The French
state of
church:
Becket
daies.

An entente
of the king
R. Houed.

The French king contented therewith, departed homewards,

The pr
state of
church:
Becket
daies.

archb. of
to for-
a the bis
sacra-
.

Paris,
lor.
king be-
seruitor
sonne.

urs
is ma-

men let
dignite
forget
times.

He made his
testament.
Reg. Houed.

Polydor.
king Henrie
the sonne his
misorder.

Anno Reg. 16
1170

homewards, and king Henrie returning came to Aueron, where he fell into so great a sickness, that anon it was noised ouer all the countrie. Insomuch that he was in such despaire of life, that he made his testament: wherein he assigned his sonne Richard the dutchie of Aquitaine, and all those lands which came by queene Elianor the mother of the same Richard. And to his sonne Gesteff he bequeathed Britaine (with the daughter of earle Conan) which he had purchased to his vse of the French king. And to his sonne king Henrie he gaue the dutchie of Normandie, and all those lands which came by his father Gesteff earle of Anjou. And to his youngest sonne John he bequeathed the earldome of Mortaine. And finally appointed where he would haue his bodie to be buried.

In the meane time Henrie the sonne remaining at home in England, fell from all good order of measure keeping, and gaue himselfe to all excessive riot, spending and waisting his reuenues inordinatelie. Of which behauiour his father being aduertised, returned into England, where he taried not long, but passed ouer againe into Normandie, hauing his said sonne in his companie, meaning thereby to remoue him from the companie of those that were verie like to corrupt his nature, and frame the same to all lewdnesse: for he knew that

—commencia turpia sanctos
Corrumpunt mores: multi hoc periere veneno,
Labimur in vitium & facile ad peiora mouemur.

In this meane while Thomas the archbishop of Cantuarburie remained in exile almost six yeares, and could not be restored, till partlie by swelling threats of the pope, and partlie at the earnest suit of Lewes the French king, Theobald earle of Blois, and others, king Henrie began somewhat to shew himselfe conformable towards an agreement.

Ex Quadrilogio.
The king
and the arch.
Becket met
together in
presence of the
French king.

Whereupon the two kings met diuerse times, and the archbishop Thomas comming with the French king, at one time humbled himselfe so to the king of England, that kneeling downe at his feet, he said: My soueraigne liege lord, I commit the whole cause of the controuersie betwixt your grace and me, vnto your maiesties order, Gods honour onelie referred.

The king offended with that ambiguous excepti-
on, said to the king of France: Whatsoener displea-
seth this man, is taken (as he interpreteth it) contra-
rie to Gods honour, and so by that thift will he chal-
lenge to himselfe all that belongeth vnto me. But be-
cause you shall not thinke that I go about to resist
Gods honour, or him, in any reasonable order, loke
what the greatest and most holie of all his ancestors
haue done vnto the meanest of mine ancestors,
let him do the same vnto me, and I am contented
therewith.

All the companie present cried, that the king hum-
bled himselfe enough. My lord archbishop (said the
French king) will you be greater than saints, and
better than saint Peter? Whereof stand you in doubt?
Behold, your peace is at hand. The archbishop made
answer in commendation of the present state of ho-
lie church, as thus: My holie predecessors in their
time, although they cut not all things away that ex-
tolled it selfe against God, yet did they cut off diuers:
but if they had plucked vp all by the hard roots, which
might offend, who should not haue raised the fire of
temptation against vs? We are in much better case
(thanks be to God) and as we haue laboured in their
lot and number, so are we partakers of their labour
and reward. What if any of them had bene defective
or excessive in any point, are we bound to follow the
example of their defection or excellence? We blame Pe-
ter for his denying of Christ, but we praise him in re-

promouing of Heros violence with danger of his life.
The church hath risen and increased out of manie
dangerous oppressions, our fathers haue suffered ma-
nie things, because they would not forsake the name
of Christ; and ought I to suppress his honour, to be
reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbid, God
forbid.

When the Noble men present heard this answer of
a subject against his soueraigne, they all held against
him, imputing the fault to the archbishops arro-
gancie, that the peace was not made betwene the
king and him, insomuch that there was an erle which
openlie said: With he resisteth the will of both the
realmes, he is not worthy to be succoured by either
of them from henceforth: and therefore being cast
out of England, let not France receiue him.

The counsell then being broken vp, the kings de-
parted without bidding the archbishop farewell, and
such as were mediators for peace, in departing
from this meeting, spake manie reprochfull words to
him, alledging that he had bene euer stout and wise
in his owne conceit, and a follower of his owne will
and opinion: adding that it was a great hindrance
to the church, that he was ordeined archbishop, and
that by him the church was already in part deffroi-
ed, and would shortly be altogether brought to vt-
ter ruine.

But the archbishop setting a watch before his
mouth, kept silence (as though he had not heard) and
followed the French king with his people. Manie
said by the waie as they iourneied, Behold the arch-
bishop ponder, which in talke the last night would
not for the pleasure of the king denie God, nor keepe
his honor in silence.

After this, when the archbishop was come to Sens,
and aduised with himselfe whether it should be best
for him to go, at length he said, God is able in the last
point of miserie and distresse, to helpe those that be
his. Herewith came a messenger from the French
king to bring him to the court, for the French king
(as one that had bene better instructed in the mat-
ter) repented himselfe that he had iudged euill of his
answers at the last meeting, and hereupon receiued
him againe into his fauour, and rested not to trauell
so much in his cause, that at length another meeting
was assigned at a certaine place nere the confines
of Normandie, whither king Henrie came, and there
found king Lewes, the archbishop of Rouen, and di-
uerse other bishops together, with the foresaid arch-
bishop, who after they had reasoned of the matter
thoroughlie as they saw cause, king Henrie receiued
the archbishop into his fauour againe, and promised
to redresse all that had bene done amisse, and pardon
all those that had followed him out of the realme.
Whereupon the king and the archbishop being recon-
ciled, the archbishop the same day came before the
king, and talked with him.

Now among other things he required of the king that
it might be lawfull for him (without offending of
his maiestie) to punish (according to the censures of
the church) the iniurie done vnto him by the arch-
bishop of Poike, and other bishops in the coronation
of his sonne. The king granted this, and shewed him-
selfe so courteous at that time, that (as it is said) he
held his stirrup whiles he mounted on horsebacke.
Notwithstanding which obsequiousness of the king,
it is to be presumed that all inward repining would
not be so abolished, as that no fragments remained;
but that the archbishop for his part, for the main-
tenance of his great title, & the for the supplantation
of his soueraintie, when opportunity served, sought
to get advantage one of another, & against their hearts
with a new reuenge of an old grudge: for
Immortale odium & nunquam sanabile vulnus. Iamen far. 15.

The archb.
Becket blas-
med of arro-
gancie.

Archb. Becket
swill in
his owne opi-
nion.

The French
king receiveth
the archbishop
Becket a-
gain into fa-
uour.

The archb.
is reconciled
to the king.

The French
king offended.

The French
king offended.

The French
king offended.

The French
king offended.

The French
king offended.

The French
king offended.

The king
would not
kisse the par
with the arch-
bish. p.

Mar. Paris.

But whereas twise within a few daies after, the king and the said archbishop met at masse, the king refused to kisse the par with him. This was marked as a signe of a fained reconciliation, though in deed he afterwards interteined him verie courteously, and at his departure ouer into England, toke leaue of him in frendlie manner, and directed letters vnder his seale to his sonne the new king in forme as followeth.

A letter of the king touching the pacification betweene him and Thomas Becket.



Now ye that Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie hath made his peace with me at my will and pleasure; and therefore I command you, that both he and his may re-

The honor of
Saltwood.

maine in peace; and that he and al those which for his cause departed out of the realme, may haue all their goods restored, and in such quiet estate be now possessed of them as at any time within three moneths before their departure from thence. And further, cause to come before vs of the best and most ancient knights of the honor of Saltwood, that vpon their oths they may find what fee the archbishop ought to haue within that honor, & that which shall appeare to appertene vnto him, as in fee, let him inioy the same. And thus farewell.

The French
kings aduice
to the arch-
bish. Becket.

The archbishop (before he toke his iourne into England) went to visit the French king, and to giue him thanks for his great paines and trauell suffred in his cause, who aduised him in no wise as yet to commit himselfe to present danger amongst his new reconciled enemies, but rather to staie till their malice were somewhat asswaged. For he perceiued by king Henries words & countenance such a deepe rooted displeasure in his hart, that he agreed to receiue him into fauour rather by compulsion and against his will than otherwise.

March. Paris.
The archb-
shop Becket
returneth into
England.

But when the archbishop would needs depart & go ouer into England, the French k. suffered him so to do, doing him all the honor he could at his leaue taking. When the archbishop departing out of France, came into England, and landed at Sandwich about the first of December, in the seuenth yeare after his first departure out of the realme. Shortlie after his arrivall, Roger the archbishop of Yorke, Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisbury, with diuerse other, came vnto him as to the popes legat, and required that it might please him to restore them to the ministracion of their offices againe: whose request he granted, but yet vpon condition, that they should undertake to stand to his iudgement and order in all things, which (by the counsell of the archbishop of Yorke) they vicerlie refused.

¶ Here authors agree not (as Polydor fruthe saith) for some write that archbishop Thomas (immediatlie vpon his returne into England) denounced the archbishop of Yorke with the bishops of Salisbury and London accursed, whereas before they were deprived of the vse and administracion of the sacraments. Some others write, that now at his coming ouer into England from his exile, he deprived them onlie of the ministracion of the sacraments, together with the bishops of Exeter, Chesser, Rochester, S. Asaph, & Landaff, which had personallie bene present at the coronation of king Henrie the sonne, to the derogation of the dignitie of their priuat the archbishop

of Canturburie (as before you haue heard.) It shold seme yet by Ger. Dorothee: that the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham were suspended, and the bishops of London, Salisbury, and diuerse other excommunicated.

But how soeuer he vsed them, the archbishop of Yorke, the two bishops London and Salisbury, being offended with his doings, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there complained to king Henrie of iniuries done to them by archbishop Thomas, grievously accusing him that he went about to take awaye their libertie of priesthod, to destroye, corrupt, and finallye to abolish both the lawes of God and man, together with the ancient decrees and statutes of their elders; in somuch that he toke vpon him to exlude bishops at his pleasure from the companie of christian men, and so being excludet, to banish them for ever: to derogat things morallie preiudiciall to the kings roiall prerogatiue; and finallye to take awaye from all men the equitie of lawes and ciuill orders.

The king giuing eare to their complaint, was so displeased in his mind against archbishop Thomas, that in open audience of his lords, knights, and gentlemen, he said these or the like words: In what miserable state am I, that can not be in rest within mine owne realme, by reason of one onelie priest: Neither is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of such troubles.

There were some that stood about the king, which gessed by these words, that his mind was to signifie how he would haue some man to dispatch the archbishop out of the waie. The kings displeasure against the archbishop was knowne well inough, which caused men to haue him in no reuerence at all, so that (as it was said) it chanced on a time, that he came to Strowd in Kent, where the inhabitants meaning to do somewhat to his infamie, being thus out of the kings fauour, and despised of the world, cut off his horses taile.

There were some also of the kings seruants, that thought after an other maner of sort to reuenge the displeasure done to the kings maiestie, as sir Hugh Sporeuile, sir William Tracie, sir Richard Bzistaine, and sir Reignold Fitz Arse, knights, who taking aduice together, and agreeing in one mind and will, toke shipping, & sailed ouer into England, landing at a place called Dogs haven, nere Dover.

Now the first night they lodged in the castell of Saltwood, which Mandulfe de Broc had in keeping. The next morning (being the 29. of December, and first daie of Christmasse, which as that yeare came about fell vpon a tuesday) having gotten together certeine souldiers in the countrie thereabouts, came to Canturburie, and first entering into the court of the abbey of S. Augustine, they talked with Clarenbald the elect abbat of that place: and after conference had with him, they proceeded in their businesse as followeth.

The first knight sir Reignold Fitz Arse came to him about the eleuenth houre of the daie, as the archbishop sat in his chamber, and sitting downe at his feet vpon the ground without any manner of greeting or salutation, at length began with him thus: Being sent of our souereigne lord the king from beyond the seas, we do here present vnto you his Graces commandements, to wit, that you should go to his sonne the king, to do vnto him that which apperteneith vnto you to do vnto your souereigne lord, and to do your fealtie vnto him in taking an oth, and further to amend that wherein you haue offended his maiestie. Wherevnto the archbishop answered: For what cause ought I to continue my fealtie vnto him by oth? wherein am I guiltie in offending

The archbish.
of Yorke and
other go ouer
to the king to
complane of
the archbishop
Becket.
Ger. Dor.

The occasion
of the kings
words that
cost bish. Be-
ket his life.

The knights
that due the
archbishop
Becket.

Reignold
Fitz Arse.
What is be-
twene 4. and
5. in the cus-
toming.

An.

An oth re-
cord of him
his baron

The king
command
monks to
the archb-
shop kept safe.

John de
Salisbury th
archb. 25
kings chan-
celor.

The arch-
bishops reso-
tion.

The king
put on the
armor.

The mon-
ks with force
bring the
bishop into
the church

The king
enter the
church.
As thoug
archbisho-
p can be no
traitor.

It is not requir-
ed of him for
his baronie.

ding the kings spaciouse? Sir Keigbold said: For
your baronie, fealtie is demanded of you with an
oth, and an other oth is required of those clerkes,
which you haue brought with you, if they meane to
continue within the land. The archbishop answered:
For my baronie I am ready to do to the king what
soeuer law or reason shall allow: but let him for
certeine hold, that he shall not get any oth either of
me or of my clerkes. We knew that (said the knight)
that you would not do any of these things which we
proponed unto you. Whoeuer the king commandeth
you to absolue those bishops that are excommunicat-
ed by you without his licence. Whereunto he said:
The bishops are excommunicated not by me, but by
the pope, who hath thereto authoritie from the Lord. If
in deed he hath reuenged the iniurie done to my
church, I confesse that I am not displeased therewith.
Then said the knight: Sith that such things in des-
pite of the king displease you, it is to be thought that
you would take from him his crowne, and be called
and taken for king your selfe, but you shall misse of
your purpose surelie therein. The archbishop answer-
ed: I do not aspire to the name of a king, rather
would I knit three crownes vnto his crowne if it lay
in my power.

The knights
command the
monks to let
the archbishop
kept safe.

At length after these and such words, the knights
turning them to the monks, said: In the behalfe of
our soueraigne lord the king, we command you, that
in any wise ye kepe this man safe, and present him
to the king when it shall please his grace to send for
him. The archbishop said: Doe ye thinke that I will
run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the
outrage and malice of wicked men. Cruelle (said
they) you shall not runne away, and herewith went
out with noise and theatings. Then maister John
of Salisburie his chancelor said vnto him: My lord,
this is a wonderfull matter that you will take no
mans counsell: had it not bene meet to haue giuen
them a more meke and gentle answer? But the arch-
bishop said: Surelie I haue already taken all the
counsell that I will take, I know what I ought to
do. Then said Salisburie, I pray God it may be good.

John de Sa-
lisburie the
archb. Sec-
rets chan-
celor.

The archbi-
shops resolu-
tion.

The knights
put on their
armour.

Now the knights departing out of the place, and go-
ing about to put on their armour, certeine came to
the archbishop, & said: My lord, they arme themselves.
What forcest it? said he, let them arme themselves.

The monks
with force
bring the arch-
bishop into
the church.

Now when they were armed, and manie other a-
bout them, they entred into the archbishops palace.
Those that were about the archbishop cried vpon him
to flee, but he sat still and would not once remoue,
till the monks brought him euen by force & against
his will into the church. The comming of the armed
men being knowen, some of the monks continued
singing of euensong, and some sought places where
to hide themselves, other came to the archbishop, who
was loth to haue entred into the church, and when he
was within, he would not yet suffer them to make
fast the doores, so that there was a great stir among
them, but cheslie when they perceiued that the armed
men went about to seeke for the archbishop, by meane
thereof their euensong was left unfinished.

The knights
enter the
church.
As though
archbishops
can be no
traitor.

At length the knights with their seruants hauing
sought the palace, came rushing into the church by the
cloister doore with their swords drawne, some of them
asking for the traitor, and some of them for the archbi-
shop, who came and met them, saying: Here am I,
no traitor, but the archbishop. The foremost of the
knights said vnto him: Flee, thou art but dead. To
whome the archbishop said, I will not flee. The knight
stept to him taking him by the sleue, and with his
sword cast his cap besides his head, and said, Come
hither, for thou art a prisoner. I will not (said the arch-
bishop) do with me here what thou wilt: and plucked
his sleue with a mightie strength out of the knights

hand. Wherewith the knight stepped backe (two or
three paces). Then the archbishop turning to one of
the knights, said to him, What meaneth this, Keig-
bold? I haue done vnto thee manie great pleasures,
and comest thou now vnto me into the church ar-
med? Vnto whome the knight presentlie answered
and said: Thou shalt know anon what is ment, thou
art but dead: it is not possible for thee any longer
to liue. Vnto whom the archbishop answered: I am
ready to die for my God, and for the defense of his
iustice and the libertie of the church, gladly doe I im-
brace death, so that the church may purchase peace
and libertie by the shedding of my blood. And here-
with taking on other of the knights by the haberge-
on, he slong him from him with such violence, that
he had almost throwne him downe to the ground.
This was Sir Will. Tracie, as he after confessed.

The courage
of the archb.

Then the archbishop inclined his head after the
maner of one that would praise, pronouncing these
his last words: To God, to saint Marie, and to the
saints that are patrones of this church, and to saint
Denise, I commend my selfe and the churches cause.
Herewith Sir Keigbold Fitz Arle striking a full
blow at his head, chanced to light vpon the arme of
a clerke named Edward of Cambridge, who cast by
his arme to saue the archbishop: but when he was
not able to beare the weight of the blow, he plucked
his arme backe, and so the stroke staid vpon the arch-
bishops head, in such wise that the blood ran downe
by his face. Then they stroke at him one after an o-
ther, and though he fell to the ground at the second
blow, yet they left him not till they had cut and pass-
ed out his braines, and dashed them about vpon the
church pavement. All this being done, they rifled his
house, spoiled his goods, and toke them to their owne
vses, supposing it lawfull for them being the kings
seruants so to do.

Edward of
Cambridge.

The archbishi-
p is slaine.

But doubting how the matter would be taken,
after they had wrought their feat, they got them into
the bishoprike of Duresme, there to remaine till they
might heare how the king would take this their un-
lawfull enterpryse: though (as they alledged) they had
iustlie defended his cause, and reuenged his quarrell
as faithfull seruants ought to do. Notobest, it chan-
ced otherwise than they looked it should haue done:
for king Henrie gaue them so litle thanks for their
presumptuous act, sounding to the euill example of
other in breach of his lawes, that they despairing of
terlie of pardon, fled one into one place, and another
into another, so that within foure yeares they all di-
ed an euill death (as it hath bene reported.) Some
write, that they went to Rome by the kings com-
mandement, and there presented themselves before
the pope, to receiue such penance for their wicked act
as he should enioine them. Herevpon the pope ap-
pointed them to go vnto Jerusalem, there to do their
penance, where they remained certeine yeares, ap-
plying themselves verie diligentlie to performe the
satisfaction of their offense, according to the maner
prescribed to them by the pope, and so at length died.

The martha-
rtyrs come to
an euill end.
Marth. Paris.
W. Paruus.

This was the end of Thomas Becket archbishop
of Canturburie, which was after he had entred into
that see eight yeares and six moneths, in the yeare
after the birth of our Lord 1171. On Christmas day
before his death, which fell that yeare on the fridaie,
he preached a sermon to the people, and when he had
made an end thereof, he accursed Wigell de Sacke-
telle, the violent incumbent of the church of Berghes,
and Robert de Bzoc, both which had (vpon spite)
curtailed the hofte of the said archbishop: and as
the same day whilst he was at the altar, according
to his custome, altogether in teares and lamentati-
on; so at dinner he shewed himselfe verie pleasant &
merrie, insonmuch that when those that were at the

Anno Reg. 17.

1171

After their
account that
begin the yeare
on Christmas
day.
Robert de
Bzoc.

table seemed somewhat doubtfull to eat of the flesh that was set before them, because it was Friday; Why doe ye abhorre (saith he) to eat flesh? This day flesh hath a great privilege, for this same day the word was made flesh, and came into light, and appeared unto vs. These his wordes greatlie contented all the company.

Thus you haue heard the tragicall discourse of ambitious Becket, a man of incane parentage, and yet through the princes fauour verie fortunate, if he had not abused the beneuolence of so gracious a soueraigne by his insolencie and presumption. Wherein we haue to note, how vnseemlie a thing it was for him, being called to so sacred a function, to lead so secular and prophane a life, as if he had professed open hostility to the vocation which he pretended to honour and reuerence. We are also taught, that promotions atchued by ambition are not permanent, and are so farre from procuring fame and renowne to the obtainers, that they turne them in the end to shame, infamie and reproch, after losse of life and effusion of blood. The issue of all which tragedie is to be imputed to the prouidence and counsell of almightie God, as one witteth verie agreable to this purpose, saing;

Hes. in lib. cui sit, op. & dies.

*Nam facile extollit facile elatūq; refrenat,
Et clarum obscurans, obscuri nomen adauget.
Enigrit & miserum facile extinguitque superbum
Iuppiter altifrenus, cui celsum regia caelum.*

King Henrie
soure for the
archb. Becket's death.

Polydor.

But to let this matter passe. King Henrie doubtlesse was right pensive for his death, because he wist well enough that it would be iudged, that he himselfe was partie to the thing; and euen so came it to passe, for immediatlie vpon notice giuen into France of the archbishops death, king Lewes, and Theobald the earle of Blois, as they that loued him most deuelie were most sorrowfull for it, and iudging straightwaie that king Henrie was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto pope Alexander, giuing him to understand both of the slaughter, and how king Henrie had caused it to be put in execution, requiring most instantlie, that such an iniurie done to the Christian religion, might speedilie be punished. The pope was much offended, and determined to haue the matter thoroughlie considered and ordered, so as might stand with his dignitie, and accordinglie as the hainous state of the case required. King Henrie whilst these things were a doing, lay certain daies at Argenton, so much displeased in his mind, that he would suffer no man once to speake to him about any manner of businesse.

King Henrie
sendeth am-
bassadors
to the pope.

Matth. Paris.

At length, he sent his ambassadors to Rome, partly to purge himselfe of the archbishops death, partly to excuse his fault, for that in his furie he had vttered wordes against the archbishop, which had giuen occasion to naughtie men to contriue his death, & partly to require the pope to send his legats into England, to make inquirie both for the death of the archbishop, and also of the state of the clergie. The kings ambassadors found the pope at Auoli, and there were heard to declare their message: but little credit was giuen to their wordes, in so much that the pope plainelie told them, that he understood the matter to be much otherwise than they had declared. Yet according to the kings request, he sent two of his cardinals into England, which vpon due examination, might understand the truth of the matter thoroughlie as appertained.

There he that write, that the king sent ambassadors twice vnto the pope, for the first that went, could not come to his presence, nor be suffered to declare their message: those that were sent the second time, were receiued of some of the cardinals, but yet onelie with wordes without any other way of frend-

lie interteinement. At length, when the feast of Easter daye nere, on the which either absolution or communication was to be denounced against euerie man, there were certaine of the cardinals which gaue intelligence to the English ambassadours, that the pope by aduice of the colledge, meant on the Thursday before Easter daie to declare the sentence of interdiction against the king of England, and against all his dominions, and to confirme that which had bene already pronounced against Richard the archbishop of Yorke, and the other bishops his complices.

The ambassadours being brought to a streit issue herewith, by helpe of some of the cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the popes head, how the English ambassadours had commission to undertake, that the king of England should obeye in all things that order sooner it pleased the pope and his court to award him. Wherevpon they toke their oath, that it should so be, and by that meanes they auoided the interdiction. The messengers of the archbishop of Yorke & the other bishops used the like shift, but yet the same daie the pope did excommunicate the knights that had murdered the archbishop Thomas, and all those that had procured, aided, succoured, or abetted them therein. Some write, that those ambassadours which the king sent to the court of Rome, could not be suffered to come to the popes presence, till according to the fashion, they had giuen 500. marks in reward, and so at length were admitted to his presence.

Howsoever that matter passed, the king stood in great feare lest his land should be interdicted, in so much that he commanded the wardens of the ports both on this side the sea and beyond, to take good heed, least any coming with letters of interdiction should passe into England; but if any such came, that the bringer should be arrested and committed to prison. Also he commanded, that no clearks were suffered to come ouer into England, except he first toke an oath that he came about no businesse that might turne to the preiudice of the king or his realme. This commandement he set forth, at what time he transported ouer into England himselfe, where he landed this yeare at Portsmouth the third daie of August. About which time it came into the kings mind, to make a conquest of Ireland vpon this occasion.

It chanced, whereas diuerse rulers or (as we may call them) petie kings reigned the same selson in that Island (which was diuided into seuerall estates or kingdomes) that continuall strife and dissention remained amongst them, so that oftentimes they made soe war after the manner of their countrie one against an other, (for

*Nulla fides regni socijs, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit.*

Luc. lib. 11.

Wherevpon it fortuned, that one of those kings or rulers, about the 14. yeare of this kings reigne, was soe afflicted and oppressed by his neighbours, wherevpon taking aduice what he might best doe for remedie in that case, at length he sent his son into England to retaine souldiours and men of warre, and to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & such commodities as he assured them of.

Now it came to passe, that by the assistance of such Englishmen as then came ouer, the foresaid Irish king began to recover his losses, and in the end waied so strong, that he subdued all his enemies. When he had thus obtained the victorie, he did not onelie not send backe his aiders, but so liberallie retained them still with him, that they had no hast to returne home, but settled themselves in that countrie, where they liued a pleasant and verie licentious life. For this cause also the stoutest lords and rulers of the

Erle Str.
how.
N. Triuer.

N. Triuer.
Wil. Paru

Ger. Dor.

The ambassa-
dours were
glad to see
a shift by
haberie.

Strangb
contermar

Dublin to
Additions
John Pike

Strangb
marrieth
Dermut
his daugh

Strangb
confined.

Matth. Paris.
W. Paruus.
See more
hercof in
Ireland.

De fashet
procure ti
kings lan

The king
pardoneth
him.
N. Triuer.

and Irish nation began sore to stomach the matter against him that had thus brought the English nation into their countrie, in so much that the English men perceiuing their malice, and therewithall hauing some feare of themselves, because of their small number, they sent ouer into England for such as wanted liuing, and were willing to seeke for it in other countries, of which sort, great numbers went ouer thither within a short space, whereby the multitude of the English greatlie increased: but for as much as they had no ruler to gouerne them, they procured Richard Strangbow earle of Strugulle, *alias* Chepftow in Wales to come ouer thither, and to receiue the soueraigne gouernement, with such honorable provision for maintenance of his estate, as should seeme requisite.

Erle Strangbow.
N. Triuet.

N. Triuet.
Wil. Paruus.

¶ Some write, that this earle Richard (being also earle Marthall of England) for a rebellion moued against king Henrie, had before this time forfeited all his lands; but others affirme that through riot and more sumptuous port than his abilitie might beare, he had made a waste and consumed the most part of his liuing, and was run so far in debt, that he knew not how to satisfie his creditors, and therefore was he the readier to incline to their request, which made labour vnto him to come ouer into Ireland to haue the gouernance of such English people, as had already planted themselves there to inhabit & remaine. Whereupon he prepared a nauie, and assembled together a great number of such as lacked liuing, and hostile determined to passe ouer into Ireland. But even as he was ready to set forward, there came vnto him messengers from king Henrie, commanding him to stay, and not to take that iourne in hand. Howbeit the earle hauing nothing in England wherof to make any great accompt, notwithstanding the kings commandement, toke the sea, and passed ouer into that countrie, where he greatlie delisted such Englishmen as bailie had looked for his repaire and comming thither.

Strangbow
countermanded

Dublin town.
Additions to
John Pike.

Strangbow
marrieth
Dermotus
his daughter.

Strangbow
confined.

He seeketh to
procure the
kings fauour.

The king
pardoneth
him.
N. Triuet.

Hostile after, joining those which he brought ouer with him, with the other that were there before his comming, he thought to worke some feat, whereby he might make his name famous, & cause the Irish men to haue him in feare. Whereupon he first assailed the citie of Dublin, and by force won it. He likewise won Waterford, & diuerse other townes nere vnto the sea side. Also to haue some friendship amongst those barbarous people, he married the daughter of the confederate king, and so grew into verie great estimation in that countrie and region.

Howbeit, with these and the like doings of the earle, king Henrie toke such displeasure (but chafte for disobeying his commandement) that he confined him the realme, seized his lands as forfeited, and by proclamation restrained all his subjects from passing into Ireland with any kind of merchandize, provision of vittells, or other commodities whatsoeuer. By reason whereof, earle Strangbow, partlie by constraint, and partlie in hope to returne into fauour with king Henrie, and for other respects as may be coniectured, aduertised him of the whole state of the countrie of Ireland, promising him, that if it would please his grace to come ouer thither, he would so worke that he should be admitted soueraigne lord of all the land. Whereupon king Henrie pardoned him of all former trespasses, and restored vnto him all his lands and inheritances within England and Roymandie: and further, confirmed to him such liuing abroad in Ireland out of the walled townes, as he held already in right of his wife: and furthermore ordeined, that he should be high steward of Ireland vnder him.

King Henrie then returning out of Roymandie

into England about the first day of August (as is aforesaid) caused a nauie of 400. ships to be made ready, and to assemble at Hilford haue in Denbroughshire, with all such provision and furniture as was thought necessarie for such a iourne. Wherewith also he leuied a great armie both of horsemen and footmen, and came forward with the same vnto Denbrough, and so when all his provision and ships were ready, he entered the sea at Hilford haue aforesaid the sixteenth daie of October, and landed in Ireland, at a place called Crowth, not past seauen miles from Waterford the day next following, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being St. Luke the euangelists day, he with all his armie marched forth to Waterford, where he found William Fitz Aldeline his sewer, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whome he had sent thither before him for such purposes as he thought most conuenient. He remained at Waterford sixtene daies, during which time, there came in vnto him the king of Corke, the king of Limerike, the king of Ossorie, the king of Meath, Keignald de Waterford, and diuerse other great princes of Ireland. At his first arriual, the aforesaid earle Richard surrendered into his hands all those townes and places which he had subdued in that countrie.

Rog. Houed.

Hilford
haue.
King Henrie
landeth in
Ireland.
Crowth.

The surren-
der made by
erle Strang-
bow.

Wherewithall the whole land began to tremble, so that the rulers of townes and countries sent vnto him messengers, offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hostages: for whilist euerie of those rulers which had the gouernment of Ireland in their hands, feared their owne estate, and mistrusted their owne powers, they all in maner submitted themselves, so that this victorie chanced to king Henrie, without the drawing forth of his sword, and in such wise, that he could not haue wished for better or more speedie successe therein. For whereas the whole land was diuided into sundrie dominions, and ruled by sundrie gouernours, not drawing all one waie, but through factions and contrarie studies one enuieng an others wealth (for

Sundrie ru-
lers in a land
what weakne-
nes it causeth.

*Non bene cum socijs regna venisque manent,
Socijsq. comes discordia regnis*

Ouid. li. 3. de art.
Stat. 3. Th.

nothing more hindered the fierce and vniquiet nation from making resistance, than in that they could not agree to take counsell together for defending of their liberties, and entier state of the commonwealth. Whereupon, whilist euerie of them apart by himselfe was in doubt to attempt the hazard of war against so mightie a king, they were all ouercome, as were the Britons likewise in the time of Cesar and the Saxons. King Henrie therefore gladlie receiued their humble submission, and they doing homage vnto him, sware to be his liege and faithfull subjects. Onelie Roderike gouernour of Connagh refused to submit himselfe.

This Roderike pretended to be the chiefe king of Ireland, and therefore kept continuall war with the other rulers, which was partlie the cause wherefore they submitted themselves so sone vnto king Henrie. The said Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth toward the west, being full of great and thicke woods, and defended with verie high & great mountaines, closed also with waters and marishes, so that it should be verie hard, and speciallie in the winter season, to bring an armie vnto it: which was the onelie cause whie king Henrie attempted nothing against Roderike at that time, but toke in hand to plant garisons of souldiers in places conuenient to keepe the land in quiet, which he had done already, and to giue order for the gouernement of the whole estate of the countrie to his behoofe and commoditie. Whereupon going to Dublin, which is the chiefe citie of all Ireland, he assembled all the ru-

Roderike R.
of Connagh.

Matth. Paris.
Polydor.
The nature
of the countrie
of Connagh.

W. li. lers

lers and lordes as well spirituall as tempozall togither in counsell, consulting with them for the assurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for evermore.

The allegati-
on of the Ir-
ishmen.

The Irish men alleged for themselves, that his desire therein could not be compassed, unless the popes authoritie were therein first obtained: for they affirmed, that immediatlie upon receiving the christian faith, they did submit themselves, & all that they had, unto the see of Rome, so that they could not acknowledge any for their soueraine lord, but onelie the pope. Which opinion some of them (although vainelie, haue holden unto these our daies. King Henrie then understanding this matter, dispatched ambassadours to Rome, requiring of pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie grant him licence to ioine the countrie of Ireland unto the realme of England, who went thither with all expedition according to their charge.

And certeinlie, these ambassadours whom the king sent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, returned with better speed in their message, than did the other whom he had sent to him out of Normandie, to excuse him of the death of the archbishop Thomas. For the pope upon good aduice taken in this matter considering that he had now no profit growing to him by that Ile, and that the Irish people being wild and rude, were far off from all good order of christianitie in diuerse points) thought it would be a meane to bring some gaine to his cofers, and the people more easilie from their naughtie customes, if they were once made subiect unto some christian prince of puissance able to tame them, and constrain them by force to be more meake and tractable. In consideration wherof, he was content to grant unto the king all that herein he required.

A counsell at
Castill.

R. Houed.

The archdea-
con of Landaf.

Whereupon, king Henrie considering in what respect the pope was so readie to accomplish his request, called a counsell of the bishops to assemble at Castill, where manie things were decreed and ordeined for the reforming of diuerse customes used before amongst the Irish men, and merelie repugnant to the lawes of the christian religion. There were also appointed as solicitors in these matters, and to sit as assistants with the Irish bishops, one of the kings chaplaines named Nicholas, and one Maie the archdeacon of Landaf.

1 Amongst other things there concluded, it was ordeined, that children should be brought to the church, there to receiue baptisme in faire water, with thre dippings into the same, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, and that by the priests hands, except in case where danger of death was feared, which then might be done by any other person, and in any other place.

2 Also it was ordeined, that tithes should be paid to churches, and that such laie men as would kepe wives, should kepe them according to the lawes of holie church, and not otherwise.

3 The Peter pence also that Adrian reserued in his bulls, sent to the king touching the same matter in the beginning of his reigne (with diuerse other things) were in like maner appointed to be paid, so that nothing was omitted that might pleasure the pope, or recouer his gracious fauour already lost in the matters of Thomas Becket, whereof you haue already heard. Thus you heare what successe our ambassadours had in this voyage. ¶ Now will I tell you (per I proceed any further) what strange things did happen in England whilst the king was thus occupied in Ireland, and within the compasse of that yeare, and first of all, in the night before Christmas day last passed, there chanced such a tempest of lightning and thunder, that the like had not bin heard of,

Anno Reg. 18.
Marth. Paris.
Math. West.
A fore tempest

which tempest was not onelie generallie throughout all England, but also in other forreine parts nere adjoining, namelie in Ireland, where it continued all that night, and Christmas daie following, so to great terror of the people, that they looked for present death.

The same night at Andener in Hamshire, a priest being in his prayers before the altar, was stricken with the tempest, so that he died per it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Also, a tempozall man that was there the same time, was burned with the lightning, and whereas his brother being present, ran to him to haue succoured him, he likewise was caught with the fire, and in like maner consumed. In Ireland also, euill diet in eating of flesh flesh and drinking of water, contrarie to the custome of the Englishmen, brought the flux and other diseases in the kings armie, so that manie died thereof, for

Gravissimum est imperium consuetudinis.

Pub. Min.

20 Wherefore, about the beginning of Lent, the king removed from Dublin, & went unto the citie of Wexford, where he remained till toward Easter, and then prepared to returne into England: but before he toke the sea, he gaue and by his charter confirmed to Hugh Lacie, all the lands of Meath, with the appurtenances, to hold of him & his heires in fee by knights service, as to find him an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may terme them) for evermore. He gaue also unto the same Hugh, the keeping of the citie of Dublin, and made him cheefe iusticer of Ireland. Unto Robert Fitz Bernard he committed the cities of Waterford, and Wexford, that he should keepe the same to his use, and build in them castels, for a more sure defense against the enemies.

The kings
gift unto
Hugh Lacie.

Thus when the king had planted garisons of soldiers in those & other places also where was thought needfull, and further had giuen order for the politike gouernement of the whole countrie, so far as he had conquered; he first sent ouer his household servants, which toke the water on Easter daie, and landed at Willeford, but he himselfe and other of the nobles staid there all that daie, by reason of the high solemnitie of that feast: holdbeit the date next after they toke the sea together, and landed nere to St. Davids in south Wales, from whence (without delaye) he hastened south to Doner, and hauing his sennet the young king with him, he sailed ouer into Normandie in the crosse weeke to meet the popes legats, whom he understood to be already come thither. At his meeting with them there, he gaue them verie good countenance, and right honorable entertainment, omitting nothing that might do them pleasure.

The king re-
turneth into
England.

Ger. Dor.
The popes
legats.

50 Here when the matter came to be discussed touching the death of archbishop Thomas, because it could not be certeinlie tried out in whom the fault rested, much reasoning to and fro passed, about objections and excuses laid (as in doubtfull cases it often happeneth) so that welnere the space of foure moneths was spent in debating of that matter. In which meane time, the king to auoid all contention and strife betwixt him and king Lewis, sent his son Henrie together with his wife ouer into England, there to receiue the crowne, and with them came Rotrod the archbishop of Rouen, Giles bishop of Eueux, Roger bishop of Worcester, and diuerse others.

Ger. Dor.
R. Houed.

Hereupon the young king being arrived in England, called an assemblee of the lords spirituall and tempozall at Winchester, where both he and his said wife Margaret daughter to the French king, was crowned with all solemnitie, by the hands of the said Rotrod archbishop of Rouen upon the twentieth one of August.

Rog. Houed.

In the meane time (saith one writer) his father king

A strange
appariti

king Henrie might haue foresene and found means to haue auoided the discord, which euen now began to spring by betwixt him and his children, causing a sore and ciuill warre, if he had not bene a man that vtterlie did detest all superstitious admonitions. For being told (I wot not by whome) that if he did not repent, and take more regard to minister iustice, which is a vertue that containeth in it selfe all other vertues; it would come to passe, that within short time he should fall into great and manifold calamities.

A strange apparition.

In his returne also out of Ireland (saith an other) vpon the sundefaie next after the feast of Easter, commonlie called Notwundaie, as he should take his horse at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and wanne colour, barefooted, and in a white kirtell, who boldlie in the Dutch language spake vnto him, and admonished him of amendment of life, and to haue regard that the sabbath daie (commonlie called the sundefaie) might be more duellie kept and obserued, so that no markets nor bookele woorkes be holden, used, or done vpon that day within the bounds of his dominions, except that which apperteineth to dressing of meates. And if thou dost (saith he) after this commandement, I assure thee that all things which thou dost enterprise of god intent and purpose, shall sozt to god effect and verie luckie end.

But the king was not greatlie pleased with these words, and in French said to the knight that held his bridle, Aske of this churle, whether he hath dreamed all this that he telleth or not. When the knight had expounded it in English, the man answered, Whether I haue dreamed it in my sleepe or not, take thou heed to my words, marke what day this is: for if thou amend not thy life, and do as I haue aduertised thee, before a twelue moneth come to an end, thou shalt heare such tidings as will make thee sorrowfull all the daies of thy life after. The man hauing thus spoken, vanished at once suddenlie, and the king took his words but in sport: howbeit he wondered that he was so suddenlie gone, as he did likewise at his sudden appearing. Many other warnings the king had (saith mine author) but he set little thereby.

The second warning he receiued of an Irishman, that told him of tokens verie priuie. The third time a knight of Lindsey called Philip de Chesterby, passing the sea, came to the king into Normandie, and there declared vnto him seauen articles, which he should amend, which if he did, then he should reigne seauen yeares in great honour, and subdue Gods enemies. If he did not amend and redresse those points, then should he come to death with dishonour in the fourth yeare.

1 The first article or point was, that he should seeke to mainteine holie church.

2 The second, that he should cause rightfull lawes to be executed.

3 The third, that he should condemne no man without lawfull processe.

4 The fourth, that he should restore the lands, goods and heritages to those rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrong or vnlawfull meanes.

5 The fifth, that he should cause euery man to haue right, without bribing and giuing of meed.

6 The sixt, that he should paie his debts as well due to any of his subiects, for any striffe taken by of them to his use, as to his seruants and souldiers, who because they could not haue their wages true, he paid them, sell to robbing and spoiling of true labouring men.

7 The seauenth and last article was, that he should cause the Jewes to be auoided out of the land, by whom the people were sore imposterished with such

unmercifull vsurie as they exercised.

The king (notwithstanding these and other like warnings) took no regard to the amendment of his sinfull life, whereupon (as is thought) the troubles which ensued did light vpon him by Gods iust appointment.

¶ Whosoever this may seeme a fable, but no written veritie, & therefore esteemed as the chaffe of summer flowers; yet as in the tales of Aescop many good morales are compised, so the scope whereof this apparition tendeth being necessarie, maketh the argument it selfe of the more authoritie. The end therefore being (as you see) to reuoke the king from worse to better, from the swines-stie of vice to the statelie throne of vertue, from the kennell of sinne to the riuers of sanctitie, proueth that euen verie fictions of poets (though of light credit) haue their drift manie times to honest purpose, and therefore bying with them a competent weight of profit to the readers. So the scope of this tale being the same that David pointeth at in the second psalme, when he saith,

(At vos in populos quibus est permissa potestas,

Et in ab alta sede plebi dicitis,

Errorum tenebras depellite, discite verum, &c.)

Ex, G. Buch.
paraph. in psal. 2.

maketh the narration it selfe (though other wise seeming more fabulous) to be somewhat authentical. But to returne to the course of our storie, and now to saie somewhat of this Henrie the seconds sonne the yong king, by whom the troubles were moued (note you this) that after he had receiued the crowne together with his said wife, they both passed the seas incontinentlie backe againe into Normandie, where on the seauen and twentieth of September, at a generall assemblee holden within the city of Auranches in the church of the apostle S. Andrew, king Henrie the father, before the cardinals the popes legats, and a great number of bishops and other people, made his purgation, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie reliques of the saints, and vpon the sacred euangelists, that he neither willed, nor commanded the archbishop Thomas to be murdered, and that when he heard of it, he was soze for it. But because he could not apprehend them that slue the archbishop, and for that he feared in his conscience least they had executed that vnlawfull act vpon a presumptuous boldnesse, because they had persecuted him to be offended with the archbishop, he swore to make satisfaction (for giuing such occasion) in this maner.

R. Houed.
Ger. Dor.

King Henrie
purgeth himselfe of the
archbishop
Becket's
death.

1 In priuie, that he would not depart from pope Alexander, nor from his catholike successors, so long as they should repute him for a catholike king.

2 Item, that he would neither impeach appeales, nor suffer them to be impeached, but that they might freely be made within the realme vnto the pope, in causes ecclesiasticall; yet so, that if the king haue the parties suspected, they shall find him suerties that they shall not procure harme or hinderance whatsoeuer to him or to his realme.

3 Item, that within three yeares after the natiuitie of our lord next ensuing, he should take vpon him the crosse, and personallie passe to the holie land, except pope Alexander or his successors take other order with him.

4 Provided, that if vpon any vrgent necessitie he chanced to go into Spaine to warre against the Saracens there, then so long space of time as he spent in that iourne, he might deferre his going in to the east parts.

5 Item, he bound himselfe in the meane time by his oth, to emploie so much monie as the templers should thinke sufficient for the finding of two hundred knights or men of armes, for one yeares terme in the defense of the holie land.

6 Item, he remitted his wrath conceived against those

Obste subscription
seeming a
king!

those which were in erile for the archbishop Thomas his cause, so that they might returne againe into the realme.

7 Item, to restore all the lands and possessions which had bene taken awaie from the see of Canturburie, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of the archbishop Thomas out of England.

8 Item, he swore to take awaie and abolish all those customes, which in his time had bene brought in against the church, as prejudiciall thereto.

All these articles faithfullie, and without maleingene to performe and fulfill in euerie degre, he receiued a solemne oth, and caused his sonne the yong king being there present, to receiue the same for performance of all those articles, such as touched his owne person onelie excepted. And to the intent the same should remaine in the popes consistorie as matter of record, he put his scale vnto the writing wherein the same articles were ingrossed, together with the scales of the aboue mentioned cardinals.

Shortlie after king Henrie the father suffered the yong king his son to go into France, together with his wife, to visit his father king Lewes, according as their deputies required, which iourne verelie bred the cause of the dissention that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewes most louinglie receiued them (as reason was) and caused diuers kinds of triumphant plaies and pastimes to be shewed for the honour and delectation of his sonne in law and daughter.

Peruerthelesse, whilst this yong prince sojourned in France, king Lewes not hartlie fauouring the king of England, and therewithall perceiuing the rash and headstrong disposition of the yong king did first of all inuegle him to consider of his estate, and to remember that he was now a king equall vnto his father, and therefore aduised him so shortlie as he could, to get the entire government out of his fathers hands: wherevnto he furthermore promised all the aid that laie in him to performe.

The yong king being readie inough not onelie to worke vniquietnesse, but also to follow his father in lawes counsell (as he that was apt of nature to aspire to the sole gouvernement, and loth to haue any partener in authoritie) according to that of the tragedie-writer,

Nec regna socium ferre nec tecta sciunt
and namelie such one as might controll him) was the more encouraged thereto by a number of prodigall currie fauours, who by flatterie set him aloft, declaring vnto him that he was bozne to rule, and not to obeye, and therefore it became not his highnesse to reigne by the appointment of an other, but rather to haue the gouvernement free in his owne hands, that he might not be counted prince by permission. Whereupon the youthfull courage of the yong king being tickled, began to war of a contrarie mind to his father: who suspecting indeed that which chanced; to wit (least his sonnes yong yeares not able yet to discern good and wholesome counsell from euill, might easilie be infected with some sinister practise) thought it not good to suffer him to be long absent from him, and therefore sent for him: who taking leaue of his father in law king Lewes in courteous maner, returned and came to his father king Henrie into Normandie, who when the feast of Christmas drew nere, repaired towards Anion, where in the towne of Chinon, he solemnized that feast, hauing left his sonne the yong king and his wife all that while in Normandie: but sending for him after the feast was ended, they went both into Aubergne, where being at mount Ferrat, Hubert earle of Poizienne came vnto them, bringing with him his eldest daughter A-

lice, whom king Henrie the father bought of him for the summe of five thousand markes, that he might bestow hir in mariage vpon his yongest sonne John with the heritage of the countie of Poizienne, if his father died without other issue, or at the leastwise the said Hubert chanced to haue any sonne lawfullie begotten, that then he should leaue vnto them and to their heires the countie of Ruffellon, the countie of Belle, as he then had and held the same, Pierre castle with the appurtenances, the ballie of Boualtesse, also Chambrie with the appurtenances, Alz, Aspermont, Rochet, mont Pagot, and Chambres, with Burg, all which lieng on this side the mountaines with their appurtenances, the said Hubert granted to them immediatlie for euer. And beyond the mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with the appurtenances, the colledge of Gauciozeth with the appurtenances, and all the fees which the earles of Canaues held of him, together with the fealties and seruices. And also, the fees, fealties, and seruices which belonged to him in the countie of Amund, and in the ballie called Vale Dosta; and in like maner, the towne of Castellone.

All the forenamed places the said earle gaue and granted to the said John, sonne to the king of England for euermore, with his daughter, so free, whole and quietlie (in men and cities, castels, fortresses, or other places of defense, in medowes, leafewes, milnes, woods, plaines, waters, ballies and mountaines, in customes and all other things) as euer he or his father had held or enioied the same. And furthermore, the said earle would, that immediatlie (when it pleased the king of England) his people should doe homage and fealtie to the king of Englands sonne, reseruing the fealtie due to him so long as he liued. Whereouer, the said earle Hubert granted to the said John and his wife all the right that he had in the countie of Granople, and whatsoeuer might be got and euicied in the same countie. It was also couenanted, if the elder daughter died, that then the said John should marrie the yonger daughter, and enioy all the like portions and parts of inheritance as he should haue enioied with the first.

Finallie, that these couenants, grants and agreements should be performed on the part and behalfe of the said earle Hubert, both he, the said earle, and the erle of Geneva, and in maner all the great lordes and barons of those countreies receiued an oth, and vnderooke to come and offer themselves as hostages to remaine with the king of England, in case the said earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the foresaid articles, till he framed himselfe to satisfie the kings pleasure in such behalfe.

Furthermore, Peter the reuerend archbishop of Arensalia, and Arduine the bishop of Geneva, and also William the bishop of Poizienne, with the abbat of S. Michell promised vpon their oth to be readie at the appointment of the king of England, to put vnder the censures of the church the said earle and his lands, refusing to performe the foresaid couenants, and so to keepe him and the same lands bound, till he had satisfiied the king of England therein.

William earle of Spandeuill, and William earle of Arundell swore on the part of king Henrie, that he should performe the articles, couenants and agreements on his part, as first to make payment immediatlie vnto the said Hubert of one thousand markes, and as soon as he should receiue his daughter, he should pay him an other thousand markes at the least, and the residue then remaining of the said sum of five thousand markes, should be paid when the mariage was consummate.

It was provided also, that the said earle Hubert might marrie his yonger daughter where he would, with

A marriage contracted,

Comitatus bellensis,

The earle S. Giles

Nic. Triuet

Tribute of Cholonze

The countie of Granople.

Ger. Dor.

Math. Wel N. Triuet,

The earles of Spandeuill and Arundell.

Math. Pari.

A counsell holden at Westminster,

The French king seeketh to sow sedition betwixt the father and the sonne.

Sen. in Agam.

Rog. Houed. Anno Reg. 19. 1173

Hubert earle of Poizienne.

without any great diminishing of the earledome after the first marriage consummate with the lord John, the king of Englands sonne. And that if either the said lord John, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the consummation of the marriage, then should the monie which the earle had receiued, be repaid to the king, or bestowed as the king should appoint.

The earle of
S. Giles.

Nic. Triuct.

Tribute for
Tholouze.

Ger. Dor.

Shortlie after that the parties were agreed vpon the couenants afore cited, the marques of Pontfer rat & one Geste de Blozac with his sonne Piles and other noble men came to the king as ambassado:rs from the earle of Poitoune, and receiued an oth, that they should see and procure the said earle to performe the couenants and agreements concluded betwixt the king and him. When these things were thus ordered, as seemed good to both parties, for the establishment of the foresaid marriage, the king the father, and the king the sonne removed to Limoges, whither the earle of S. Giles came, and was there accorded with king Henrie and his sonne Richard duke of Guen, concerning the controuersie that had bene moued for the countie of Tholouze, doing his homage as well vnto the father as to the sonne for the same countie, and further couenanted to serue them with an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie daies at all times, vpon lawfull summons. And if the king or his sonne duke Richard would haue his seruice longer time after the fourtie daies were expired, they should paie wages both to him and his men in reasonable maner. Moreover, the said earle condescended & agreed to giue yearelie for Tholouze an hundred marks, or else 10. horsles with 10. marks a peece. Now also, whilest the king sojourned at Limoges, the earle of Poitoune came thither to him, and required to vnderstand what parcels of land he would assigne vnto his sonne John. Wherevpon the king resolved to allot vnto him the chappell of Chilton, Lodun and Spirabell, whereby he offended his eldest sonne the yong king (as after may appeare) who was glad to haue occasion (whome the poets satire to be bald behind and hairie before, as this monastich insinuateth,

Fronte capillata est post est occasio calua)

offered to broch his conceiued purpose of rebellion which of late he had imagined, and now began to put in practise, vsing the opportunitie of the time and the state or qualitie of the quarell then taken for his best advantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had kept secret in his hart.

Math. West.
N. Triuct.

Math. Paris.

This peece the monks of Canturburie (by the kings assent) chose for their archbishop one Richard, who before was prior of Doner, this man was the 39. in number that had ruled the church of Canturburie, being of an euill life, as he well shewed, in that he waisted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger the abbat of Bechelloun was first chosen, but he refused that dignitie rather for slothfulness and idleness (as some take it) than for modestie or wisdom: so hard a thing it is to please the people, which measure all things to be honest or dishonest, as they be or flow in profit and gaine.

Council
holden at
Westmin-
ster.

The said Richard, after that he was elected, did homage vnto king Henrie, and sware fealtie vnto him (*Saluo semper ordine suo*). His order alwaies saued) without making mention of the customes of the kingdome. This was done at Westminster in the chappell of S. Katharine, the kings iusticer giuing his assent thereto, where a councill was held the same time, and a letter of the popes read there before the bishops and barons of the realme, containing amongst other things this that followeth.

A breese extract or clause of a letter

which the pope sent to the clergie of
England, &c. for the making of a
new holie daie.



Edmonish you all, & by the authoritie which we reteine, doo streightlie charge you, that you celebrat the daie of the suffering of the blessed man Thomas the glorious martyr, sometime archbishop of Canturburie, euerie yere in most solemn for, & that with deuout praier ye endeavour your selues to purchase forgiveness of sins; that he which for Christes sake suffered banishment in this life, and martyrdom in death by constancie of vertue, through continuall supplication of faithfull people, may make intercession for you vnto God.

The tenor of these letters were scarceie read, but euerie man with a loud voice began to recite this psalme or hymne, *Te Deum laudamus*. Furthermore because his suffragans had not exhibited due reuerence to him their father, either in time of his banishment, or at his returne from the same, but rather persecuted him; that they might openlie confesse their error and wickednesse to all men, they made this collect: Be fauourable good Lord to our supplication and praier, that we which acknowledge our selues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the intercession of Thomas thy blessed martyr and bishop, Amen.

I collect devised
in honor of
the archbishop
Becket.

This praier was vsed by the couent of S. Albons on the daie of his martyrdom. Thus

Ecce superstitionis

Est facilisque via & cunctis iam cognita sacris.

Notwithstanding all which honour of the pope then exhibited to his saint, as his canonization, with other solemnities procured for the maintenance of his memorie in all ages succeeding; what remembrance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be the shynes that were erected in this church and that chappell for perpetuities of his name and fame? Are they not all defaced? are they not all ruinated? are they not all conuerted to powder and dust? And although the pope ment by causing such ikons to be erected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall saint to all posterities, and thought as he that said of his poems,

*Exegi monumentum are perennius,
Regallique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Posit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series & fugatempus.*

Yet is he growne not into renowne, but infamie and shame in England, as our chronicles declare, which haue published that Romish rakehels ambitious and traitorous heart to all successions. Paie, whereas in times past he was reckoned in the popes rubricke for a saint and a martyr, now it is come to passe (by the meanes belike of other saints whose merits haue surpassed Becket) that he is growne in obliuion euen at Rome, and his name raced out of the popes calendar (as a learned man preached in a solemne audience at a high festiuall time) by whom he was so magnified. In which kind of discontinuing his fauour to his sworne children, he sheweth himselfe verie ingratfull, and not worthy of the dutifullnesse therewith (like buzzards as they be) they ouercharge their hellish holie I would saie father.

M. Maghan
at Spittle the
turdie in
Easter weeke
1585.

This peece the sister of the said archbishop Richard was made abbess of Werking. But now touching the new elected archbishop Richard, we find, that committing to Canturburie on the saturday after his election, in hope to be there consecrated, he was

Ger. Dor.
The archbishops
consecration
discussed
by the
yong king.

without any great diminishing of the earledome after the first marriage consummate with the lord John, the king of Englands sonne. And that if either the said lord John, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the consummation of the marriage; then should the monie which the earle had received, be repaid to the king, or bestowed as the king should appoint.

The earle of
S. Giles.

Nic. Triuct.

Tribute for
Tholouze.

Ger. Dor.

March, West.
N. Triuct.

March, Paris.

A counsell
holden at
Westminster.

Shortly after that the parties were agreed upon the covenants afore cited, the marques of Montfer-
rat & one Gessrey de Blozac with his sonne Miles
and other Noble men came to the king as ambassa-
dors from the earle of Poitenne, and received an
oth, that they should see and procure the said earle to
performe the covenants and agreements concluded
betwixt the king and him. When these things were
thus ordered, as seemed good to both parties, for the es-
tablishment of the foresaid marriage, the king the
father, and the king the sonne removed to Limoges,
whither the earle of S. Giles came, and was there
accorded with king Henrie and his sonne Richard
duke of Guien, concerning the controuersie that
had bene moved for the countie of Tholouze, doing
his homage as well unto the father as to the sonne
for the same countie, and further covenanted to
serue them with an hundred knights or men of
armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie
daies at all times, upon lawfull summons. And
if the king or his sonne duke Richard would haue his
seruice longer time after the fourtie daies were ex-
pired, they should paie wages both to him and his
men in reasonable maner. Moreover, the said earle
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an hundred marks, or else 10. horses with 10. marks
a peece. Now also, whilest the king sojourned at Li-
moges, the earle of Poitenne came thither to him,
and required to understand what parcels of land he
would assigne unto his sonne John. Whereupon the
king resolved to allot unto him the chappell of Chi-
non, Lodun and Spirabell, whereby he offended his
eldest sonne the pong king (as after may appeare)
who was glad to haue occasion (whome the poets
saime to be bald behind and hairie before, as this
monastich insinuateth,

Fronte capillata est post est occasio calua)

offered to broch his conceived purpose of rebellion
which of late he had imagined, and now began to put
in practise, vntill the opportunitie of the time and the
state or qualitie of the quarell then taken for his best
advantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience
or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had
kept secret in his hart.

This peece the monks of Canturburie (by the kings
assent) chose for their archbishop one Richard, who
before was prior of Dover, this man was the 39. in
number that had ruled the church of Canturburie,
being of an euill life, as he well shewed, in that he
waisted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger
the abbat of Bechelloun was first chosen, but he re-
fused that dignitie rather for slothfulness and idleness
(as some take it) than for modestie or wisdome: so
hard a thing it is to please the people, which measure
all things to be honest or dishonest, as they be or flow
in profit and gaine.

The said Richard, after that he was elected, did ho-
mage unto king Henrie, and sware fealtie unto him
(*Saluo semper ordine suo*). His order alwaies saued) with-
out making mention of the customes of the kings
dome. This was done at Westminster in the chap-
pel of S. Katharine, the kings iusticer giuing his as-
sent thereunto, where a counsell was held the same
time, and a letter of the popes read there before the
bishops and barons of the realme, containing as
amongst other things this that followeth.

A breefe extract or clause of a letter

which the pope sent to the clergie of
England, &c. for the making of a
new holie daie.



Edmonish you all, & by the autho-
ritie which we reteine, doo streight-
lie charge you, that you celebrat the
daie of the suffering of the blessed
man Thomas the glorious martyr, sometime
archbishop of Canturburie, euerie yere in most
solemne sort, & that with deuout praies ye en-
deuour your selues to purchase forgiveness of
sins; that he which for Christes sake suffered
banishment in this life, and martyrdome in
death by constancie of vertue, through conti-
nuall supplication of faithful people, may make
intercession for you vnto God.

The tenor of these letters were scarceie read, but
euerie man with a lowd voice began to recite this
psalme or hymne, *Te Deum laudamus*. Furthermore
bicause his suffragans had not exhibited due reue-
rence to him their father, either in time of his ba-
nishment, or at his returne from the same, but ra-
ther persecuted him; that they might openlie con-
fesse their error and wickednesse to all men, they
made this collect: Be fauourable good Lord to our
supplication and praier, that we which acknowledge
our selues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by
the intercession of Thomas thy blessed martyr and
bishop, Amen.

This praier was vsed by the couent of S. Albons
on the daie of his martyrdome. Thus

cacca superstitionis

Est facilisque via & cunctis iam cognita sacris.

Notwithstanding all which honour of the pope
then exhibited to his saint, as his canonization, with
other solemnities procured for the maintenance of
his memorie in all ages succeeding; what remem-
brance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be
the shrines that were erected in this church and that
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they not all defaced? are they not all ruined? are
they not all conuerted to powder and dust? And al-
though the pope ment by causing such ikons to be e-
rected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall saint to all
posterities, and thought as he that said of his poems,

Exegi monumentum are perennius,

Regalique sinu pyramidum altius,

Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens

Possit diruere aut innumerabilis

Annorum series & fuga temporum,

Yet is he growne not into renowne, but infamie
and shame in England, as our chronicles declare,
which haue published that Romish rakers ambi-
tious and traitorous heart to all successions. Naie,
whereas in times past he was reckoned in the popes
rubricke for a saint and a martyr, now it is come to
passe (by the meanes belike of other saints whose me-
rits haue surpassed Becket) that he is growne in ob-
liuion euen at Rome, and his name raced out of the
popes calendar (as a learned man preached in a so-
lemne audience at a high festiuall time) by whom he
was so magnified. In which kind of discontinuing
his fauour to his sowne children, he sheweth him-
selfe verie ingratifull, and not worthy of the duti-
fulness wherewith (like buzzards as they be) they
ouercharge their bellish holie I would faie father.

This yeare the sister of the said archbishop Ri-
chard was made abbess of Berking. But now tou-
ching the new elected archbishop Richard, we find
that comming to Canturburie on the saturday af-
ter his election, in hope to be there consecrated, he
was

A collect deuot-
ed in honor of
the archbishop
Becket.

M. Maghan
at Shpittie the
tuesday in
Easter weeke
1585.

Ger. Dor.
The archbis-
shops consec-
ration distur-
bed by the
pong king.

was disappointed by letters that came from king Henrie the sonne, in forme as followeth.

A letter of yong king Henrie touching the disappointment of archbishop Richards consecration.

Henrie by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie, and earle of Aniou, sonne of king Henrie; to our deere and faithfull freend Odo, prior of the church of Canturburie, and to all the conuent there, sendeth greeting. By the assured report of some we vnderstand, that in your church and in other churches also, my father goeth about to institute certein persons not verie meet for such calling: and bicause (without our consent) it ought not so to be doone, who by reason of our kinglie annointing haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and charge of the whole realme: herupon we haue in the presence of many persons appealed to the see of Rome, and haue signified our appeale in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerend fathers and freends Albert and Theodorike, cardinals and legats of the apostolike see, by our writing and messenger, who like wise and discreet personages haue assented therevnto. We haue likewise signified the same our appeale to our faithfull freends the bishops of London, Excester, and Worcester, and as we haue appealed, so likewise we doo appeale vnder your testimonie.

After the perusal of this letter, and the due consideration of the substance and summe of the same, (albeit no such afterclaps were suspected before) the bishops were altogether diuised to their wits, some of them desiring to go forward with the consecration, and some supposing it better to yield vnto the appeale. The elect archbishop therefore first sent messengers to Rome with letters, not written onelie by himselfe, but also by all the bishops and conuent of Canturburie. After this he followed himselfe in person, and comming to the popes court, found there diuers aduerfaries to his cause. For some were there that toke part with the king the father, and some with the king the sonne, and so his businesse could haue no speedie dispatch. In the meane time the rancor which king Henrie the sonne had conceived against his father was so ripened, that it could not but burst out, and threw it selfe to the breach of all dutifull obedience which nature requirith of a sonne towards his father.

You haue heard how king Henrie promised the earle of Poxtienne, when the marriage was concluded betwixt his son John and the said earles daughter, to giue vnto the said John certein towne in Poxtienne, for the better mainteining of his estate and his wifes. This gift of the fathers caused his eldest sonne the yong king Henrie, the sonner to poyze out his poison which he had sucked before at his being with his father in late king Lewes. For conceiuing an offense, that his father should giue away any portion of his inheritance, he would not condescend to any such gifts, but alledged that sithens he was king of England, and that all belonged to him, his father could not now haue any title to giue awaie that which did in no wise apperteyne vnto him.

There was another cause that troubled his mind also, and moued him to grudge at his father, which was; for that the proportion of his allowance for

maintenance of his household and port was verie slender, and yet more slenderly paid. Also his father remoued from him certein of his seruants, as Alouise de S. Hilarie, and other whome he suspected to giue him euill counsell. Wherefore those that were procurers of him to attempt the seizing of the gouernement into his hands, vpon this occasion slept not, but put into his head such matter, that at length he openlie demanded to haue the whole rule committed to him: which when he saw would not be obtained of his father by quiet meanes, he fled secretlie away vnto his father in late king Lewes, requiring aid of him to recouer his right, which king Henrie the elder vniuallie detested from him.

The French king comforted him, and had him be of good cheare, for he ment to do for him all that in him late. Herewith he proclaimed him duke of Poxtienne, and receiued homage of him for the same. King Henrie the father vnderstanding that his sonne was thus fled to the French king, sent ambassadors forthwith to the same king, requiring him to giue his son some good & wholesome counsell, that he might repent, and not follow such wilfulnesse of mind in swaruing from his fathers friendship, but rather with speed to returne home againe; & to promise in his name, that if any thing were otherwise than well, he would be contented the same should be reformed by his order and correction. But so farre was king Lewes from meaning to set a quietnesse betwixt the father and the sonne, that he would not heare the ambassadors declare their message, bicause they named the father, king, to the derogation of the sonnes right, to whome he said he offered himselfe wrong in usurping the gouernement, which he had already giuen ouer and resigned. Insomuch that when the ambassadors had declared some part of their message, he asked them what he was that willed such things of him: and when they answered that the king of England had sent them with that message, that is a false lie (saith he) for behold here is the king of England, who hath giuen you no commission to declare any message from him vnto me at all.

¶ Here we see philautie or selfe-loue, which rageth in men so preposterouslie, that euen naturall dutie and affection quite forgotten, they undertake what mischefe soeuer commeth next to hand, without exception of place or person; and all for the maintenance of statelie titles, of lossie files, of honorable names, and such like vanities more light than thistle-downe that flieth in the aire. A vice that hath bene noted to reigne in all ages, among all piers and people of all nations, both at home and abroad, as one verie well noteth and giueth his verdict therevpon, saing,

*proh dy, nunc nomina tantum
Magnifica, & claros titulos sibi quilibet optat,
Arrogat, affectat, sequitur, rapit; ut merito iam
Et se asinus pardum vocet & formica leonem.
Quid tituli illustres praclaras nomina profunt?
Qua cito mors rapit, & lethaeas mergit in undas.*

M. Pal. in virg.
O sag.

King Henrie the father perceiuing hereby that warres would follow, prepared the best he could for his owne defense: but he was in great doubt on either side, not knowing whome he might trust. And to increase this mischefe, his wife quene Elianor studied to mainteine the strife betwixt his sonnes. The yong king then getting an armie together entered into Guian.

King Henrie was not hasty to go against him, but sought rather with gentlenesse and all courteous meanes to reconcile him: in somuch that whereas diuerse graue personages being of the yong kings counsell, and doubting to runne into the displeasure of his father, revolted from the sonne to the father, and brought with them the sonnes seale, which he used

Richard Barr chamcelor to the yong king, as to his chaplain, Sir Walter Bileward with others, Rog. Houed.

King Henrie the sonne fled to the French king.

W. Parvus.

Hesod. in li. iii. op. &c.

¶ Twentie sand & bers were teined by Henrie the first as R. Houed

Wil. Parr N. Triuer Polydor.

N. Triuer Polydor.

Wil. Parvus.

in sealing of letters. Wherewith, the father receiued them not, but sent them backe againe to his sonne, commanding them to continue faithfull in seruing him as he should appoint them, and herewith he sent ambassadours vnto his sonne to entreate with him of peace and concord.

Now whilst the father went about to assuage the sonnes displeasure, the mother quene Elianor did what she could to picke him forward in his disobedient attempts. For she being enraged against his husband because he kept sundrie concubines, and therefore delisted the lesse in his companie, cared not what mischief she procured against him. Whereupon she made his complaint so greivoulie vnto his sons Richard and Gessrey, that they iorned with their brother against their father, & came to him into Coten, to aid him to the uttermost of their powers.

This may well seeme to be brought vpon the king as a plague of his incontinent, vnchaste and libidinous life; who hauing *Chara coniugij pignora*, a notable motiue to kinde and continue honest loue in wedlocke, did notwithstanding most inordinatlie abandon his bodie to beaustie and vnlawfull companie keeping with strange fleshy. Note heere how God strereth by the wife of his owne bosome, & the sonnes descending of his owne loines to be thornes in his eyes and gobes in his sides for profaning so diuine and holie an ordinance; which the verie pagans did so honour and reuerence, that they did not onlie giue precepts touching the due obseruation thereof, but denounced vndoubted vengeance for the violation of the same, as appeareth in this old testimonie,

Hesiod. in lib. cuius
tit. op. & di.

*Patrat & ingreditur quicquid, cubilia fratris
Prorem maculans, & sancta cubilia stupro,
Hunc pater ipse deum Saturnius odit, & ipsi
Hunc male di vexant, &c.*

But we will remit this to the readers consideration, and note the issue of this mischief now broched. The yong king reioicing that he had his brethren thus on his side, readie to take his part, became more stout than before, and for answer vnto the messengers that came to him from his father, he declared that if his father would deliuer by the whole gouernment into his hands, he would be content to breake vp his armie. As for such souldiers as would willingly take his part in this quarell, he caused them to sweare that they should faithfullie serue him against his aduerfaries: and those that had rather serue on the other side, he licenced them freely to depart and go to his father.

Twentie thousand
Babanders were re-
tained by king
Henrie the father
as faith
R. Houed.

King Henrie the father receiuing such a rebellious answer from his sonne, much lamented the matter, and so much the more, for that he saw there was no remedie, but to haue the controuersie decided by the sword. Therefore least he should be taken vnprovidid, he kept his armie in a readinesse about him, hauing retained certeine bands of Babanders called the Rotots.

Wil. Parvus.
N. Triuer.
Polydor.

The lords that toke part with his sonne, being aduertised by espials of the doings of the father, and hearing that he was readie (if he were constrained) to defend himselfe by battell, and yet willing to receiue his sons into his fauour againe, if they would be reformed, they toke great care how to cause his sons to persist in their enterprize, till the father were compelled by force to resigne the gouernment vnto them. But none more than the French king coueted to mainteine the discord, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therefore sent vnto king Henrie the sonne, willing him to come to Paris, where he caused a counsell to be called, & there made a league betwixt the said Henrie and himselfe, with William king of Scotland, Hugh earle of Chester, William Patrike the elder, the three sons of Robert earle of

Wellent, whose castels king Henrie the elder had in possession, Roger Mounbray, Hugh Bigot, and diuerse other complices of the conspiracie, *Flabella seditionum*, that toke part with Henrie the sonne.

Here after they had consulted of the maner how to mainteine warre, because they would assure the yong king that they ment not to forsake him, first king Lewes, and after all the residue toke an oth to aid him with men and monie, till his father should either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agree with him at his will and pleasure. On the other part, he swore neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their consent and good will. He also promised vpon his oth to giue, & by his charter vnder his scale he confirmed vnto Philip earle of Flanders (for his homage) a thousand pounds of yearelie reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the castels of Douer and Rochester. And to Matthew earle of Bullongne (for his homage) he likewise promised and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lindsey, and the earldome of Morton, with the honour of Wey. Also to Theobald earle of Blois (for his homage) he gaue and granted five hundred marks of yearelie reuenue in Anion with the castell of Ambois, and all that which he claimed as his right within the countie of Touraine, and surrendered to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demanded to haue in Chateau Reignold. To the King of Scots (for his assistance) he gaue and granted all Northumberland as far as the riuer of Tyne. And to his brother Dauid (to haue his seruice) he granted the counties of Huntington and Cambridge. To Hugh Bigot (for his seruice) he gaue the castell of Porwiche. All these gifts and grants (with diuerse other to other persons) promised & granted, he confirmed with his new scale, which the king of France had caused him to make. These things being thus ordered at Paris, euery man resorted to his charge, that he might prouide for the warre with all speed conuenient.

The French
king taketh
an oth to aid
king Henrie
the sonne.
Rog. Houed.
Ger. Dor.

Philip earle of
Flanders.
Matthew earle
of Bullongne.

Chateau Reignold.

Earle Dauid.

Hugh Bigot.

Polydor.

King Henrie the father aduertised of this new league of the conspirators against him, was in great perplexitie of mind, for that he saw himselfe in danger, not onelie of outward enemies, but also of his owne subiects at home. Yet because the winter season was already at hand, taking awaie all conuenient occasions of attempting any great exploit by war for that time, he was in hope to compass some agreement with his sons per the spring of the yeare should returne, and therefore he made not so great prouision for his defense, as had bene necessarie in so dangerous a case. But the Frenchmen, who were bent to set forward this war with all diligence, were readie in the field immediatlie vpon the coming of the spring with king Henrie the sonne, and euen at one instant made their inuasions vpon the lands of king Henrie the father in three seuerall parties; namely, in Normandie, Guien, and Britaine, which (against the will of his sonne Gessrey duke thereof) king Henrie the father did hold and reueine in his owne hands. The Frenchmen thus inuading the said countries, did much hurt with robbing and spoiling, and also toke diuerse castels and townes.

The confederates
inuaide &
dominions of
king Henrie
the father.

Forpouer, about the same time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, first into Cumberland, and besieged Carlisle: but hearing that an armie was prepared against him in the south parties of the realme, and readie to set forward, he raised his siege, and entred into Northumberland, (which prouince king Henrie the sonne had given him in the last assemblee holden at Paris) endenouring to bring it into his possession. But the more earnestlie he went about to inforce the people to his will, the more wilde did they withstand his purpose, hating him

The king of
Scots inuaide
Cumber-
land.

N. Triuer.
Polydor.

Wil. Parvus.

him so much, that in no condition they were willing to come under his rule, whereby the Scots were put backe and repelled, and that to their great losse. The kings power also comming into the countrie followed them, and passing over the water of Tweed, which divided them (as it doth at this daie) the two realmes, made the like spoile in the land of the enemies, as they had made in the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland.

Alernueil besieged.

R. Houed.
Hugh Beauchampe.

But in Normandie, whilst others in other places, made their hand in fetching preies and booties out of the enemies countrie, king Lewes besieged Alernueil, which towne being strong of it selfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge thereof valiantly defended, so that the French king was a moneth before it, yet he could win anie part thereof. This towne of Alernueil was in those daies divided into three portions, beside the castell, euerie of them a part from other with mightie wals and deepe ditches full of water. One of these parts was called the great Burrow without the wals, where the French king had pitcht his field & planted his engins. About a moneth after whose coming thither, vittels began to faile them within, so that at length they required a truce onlie for three daies, & if no succour came within those three daies, they promised to yeld that part of the towne called the great Burrow, & the peremptorie daie was the bigill or eue of S. Laurence. Hereupon were hostages deliuered by the burghesses unto the French king. Now it was agreed that if they yielded the towne at the daie appointed for want of succour, king Henrie the son, and Robert the French kings brother, with the earls of Trois & Blois, Henrie and Theobald, and William archbish. of Sens, undertooke upon their othes that the hostages should then be restored free & without any hurt or damage.

The French king requir-eth to talke.

King Henrie being certified from them within of the composition thus made, was driuen to a verie hard shift: for he doubted nothing lesse than that any such thing should haue chanced. Yet considering with himselfe, that the saving of the towne stood in his speedie comming to the rescue, he hastied thither without any staie, and came to the place the daie before the third and last daie of the truce. King Lewes perceiving him to be come, doubting least he should lose the preie which he looked for, sent unto the king, and required that he might common with him on the next daie, touching some means of agreement to be had betwixt him and his sons. This did he of policie, to feed him with hope of some end to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his sons, till he had gotten possession of the towne.

Now as he forecass that matter, even so it came to passe, for whilst a great pece of the next daie was spent in feined talke about an agreement, king Lewes appointed a great part of his host to close the towne about, and to declare unto them within, that king Henrie was put to flight; which talke they within Alernueil beleuing, yielded the towne & themselves to the Frenchmen. Some after, king Lewes mistrusting least he should not be able to keepe it, set it on fire, and so burnt it, contrarie to the composition betwixt him and them agreed and concluded upon. He kept also the souldiers that had yielded it into his hands, together with the hostages as prisoners, and doubting to cope with his enimie, went awaie in the night with as still noise as was possible. Which euill dealing had not inuaded his hart, but that euill meaning had possessed it before, euen at the composition making: but he neuer learned that,

Reg. Houed.

The ninth of August being thurdaie saith R. Houed. king Lewes fleeth awaie in the night.
Pub. Mim.

Fidem qui perdit nihil potest ultra perdere.
King Henrie at length perceiving the fraud, sent certaine bands of his horsemen after to pursue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was already got-

ten into the inner parts of his owne countrie, those which were sent, turned upon those that were left in the hindermost ward; of whom they slue a great number both horsemen and footmen.

King Henrie following his men, came to Alernueil, and staing there that night, took order for the repairing and new fortifying of the towne. On the morrow after he went to the castell of Danuile, and wan it, taking diuerse knights and peomen within it: this castell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to passe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Alernueil, as in some authors we find reported. Other write otherwise of the mater, as thus, the French king being summoned by king Henrie the father, either to depart from the siege of Alernueil, or to looke for battell: & hearing also that in performance of the message king Henrie approached with his power, he sent a bishop & an abbat unto him to vnderstand if he meant to giue battell in deed. The messengers met king Henrie as he was advanced before his host upon some occasion, with a small companie about him, unto whom they declared that their maister the French king required to be assured whether he should haue battell or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voice made this short answer; Get you hence, and tell your king that I am here at hand. The messengers returning to their maister, declared what they had seene and heard. Whereupon (without longer staie) he raised his field, and with a gallant and mightie armie departed home to his great dishonour, not winning the towne at all, as by the same author it should appeare.

About the same time the earle of Flanders, one of the confederats besieged the towne of Albernueil, and the earle thereof within it, which earle was thought to betray the towne, because it was so easily wonne, and both he himselfe, and those which king Henrie the father had sent thither to defend the towne were taken prisoners. Diuerse other places which belonged to the same earle were also immediately deliuered into the enemies hands, which increased the suspicion.

After this towne of Albernueil (otherwise called Alincourt) in those frontiers was besieged, and finally wonne by surrender, by the said earle of Flanders, who reioiced nothing at the gaine of that towne: for his brother Matthew the earle of Bullongne who should haue bene his heire, was shot into the knee with an arrow, as he approached to the wals, and died of the hurt within a few daies after. The earle of Flanders was so pensive for his brothers death, that he brake by his iourne and returned, blaming his euill hap and follie in that he had attempted war against his cosen germane king Henrie, who neuer had harmed him, but rather had done him manie great and singular pleasures from time to time.

God cause had the earle to giue over the prosecuting of violence against his soueraigne, being daunted with so beaute a chance, & griped also with the grudge of conscience, in so unkindly reuwarding his wellwiller, at whose hands he confessed himselfe to haue receiued manie a benefit. Wherein we are to note, that ingratitude neuer hurteth anie so much as him or them in whom it is nestled. And hereto addeth the comedie-writer, when he saith verie neatlie,

*morem hunc homines habent, quod sibi volunt
Dum id impetrant boni sunt: sed id ubi iam penes se habent,
Ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi sunt.*

Whereouer Henrie the elder (after the iourne of Alernueil ended) came backe to Rouen, and there vnderstanding that Hugh earle of Chester, and Rafe de Foulgiars, men of singular prowesse (who long before were reuolted to his sonne Henrie) had taken

Danuile.

Gilbert de Tileres.

Wil. Parvus.

King Henrie his short answer to the French kings messengers.

Albernueil taken by the earle of Flanders.

R. Houed. Ia. Meir. Ger. Dor. The earle of Bullongne wounded, and dicth.

The earle of Leicester put to flight.

Math. Paris. Leicester won by force.

The king of Scots inuaded Northumberland.

He retireth.

The English spoile Lothian.
A truce.

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the castell of Dole in Brittain, and there making warre, brought all the countrie into trouble, he sent forth streightwaies certeine of his capteines with the Wabanders to aid his people in those parts who on the twentieth day of August (being monday) encountering with the enemies, discomfited them in battell, toke seauentene knights, besides diuerse others both horsemen and footmen, slue aboute fiftene hundred of the enemies being Brittaines, and pursuing the residue, entred the towne which they wan, and droue their aduersaries into the castell, where they besieged them, and with all speed aduertised the king of that enterpise, who immediatlie with all possible hast came thither, applying his whole diligence to win the place, that he might haue them which were within the same at his commandement.

To be short, it was not long per he had his desire, for being such a multitude, that they were not able long to continue within so streit a come, for want of vittell they fell to a composition, yelding the castell vnto the king, their bodies liues and lims saued, on the 25. day of August. There were taken within this castell 80. knights; besides yeomen and other common souldiers. In like maner, and with the semblable good fortune, about the same time, his capteins in England ouercame his enemies: for whereas Robert earle of Leicester that toke part with king Henrie the sonne, had assembled at the towne of Leicester a great host of men, in purpose to set vpon Reignold earle of Cornewall and Richard Lucie capteins on the side of king Henrie the father: they vnderstanding his meaning, marched streight towards Leicester, and by the way met with their enemy earle Robert, whome they so fiercely assailed, that they put him to flight, and after approching the towne, had it surrendered vnto them, permitting the inhabitants to depart with bag and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the castell (which in those daies was of great strength by reason of the situation) they could not win.

Howbeit some write, that by vndermining the walles of the towne were subuerted and throwne downe, so that the towne was entred by force, although they within withstood themselves into the castell and other strong houses, which they defended for a time, till at length they surrendered all, one parcell of the castell excepted, for the which by composition they paid by way of a fine the sum of three hundred pounds to the vse of K. Henrie the father. The siege began the seauenth day of Iulie, and on the 28. day of the same moneth the armie departed from thence, a truce being granted to those that still defended a certeine tower of the castell into the which they were withdrawne.

William also the Scottish king, with an armie of Scots and Gallowaimen invaded Northumberland, and passing by the confines of the bishoppske of Durham did much hurt by slaughter, burning and spoiling the countrie. Neuerthelesse, hearing of a power raised by the English lords in those parts to recall him, he withdrew into his countrie. The English armie following him, wasted the countrie of Louthian, till at length by mediation of certeine religious men, a truce was granted to the Scots to endure till the feast of S. Hilarie. For the which truce happilie some rewards went betwixt, and so the English lords with spoiles and gaires returned homeward.

A few daies after these luckie chances thus happening to king Henrie, king Lewes perceiving fortune to be on that side, determined to assaie whether he could obtaine his purpose by some means of treatie, or at the least put king Henrie in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he would rather suffer all

discommodities whatsoeuer, than once to trie the matter by battell with his sonnes: wherefore he offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Cisors and Trie, shewing bread in the one hand (as they say) and hiding a stone in the other.

King Henrie was easilie intreated to heare of a nie talke for peace, and therefore comming to the place on tuesday the fiftenth daie of September, made so large offers, that he had almost conuerted the young mens minds vnto concord. First he offered to his sonne Henrie the young king, the moitie of one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crowne within England, and foure conuenient castels within the same. And if his sonne had rather remaine in Normandie, he offered the halfe of all the reuenues of that dutchie, with all the rents and profits that were his fathers pertaining to the earldome of Aniou, with certeine castels in Normandie, one castell in Aniou, one in Maine, and one in Cotuaine. To his sonne Richard, he offered halfe the reuenues of Guien, and foure conuenient castels in the same. And to his sonne Gesteire he offered all those lands that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conan erle of Brittain, if he might by the popes good licence marrie hir. And further king Henrie the father yelded himselfe to stand to the order of the archbishop of Tharent and other the popes legats, not refusing to giue his sonnes what rents and reuenues soeuer they should say were reasonable, reseruing onelie to himselfe the administration of iustice, and the power roiall.

These seemed to be large offers, but yet they could not be accepted. For certeine sonnes of Beliall, set vpon nothing but mischance, troublers of common peace and quietnesse, wrought so with them, that no conditions of peace (were the same neuer so reasonable) could content them, so that without effect this communication brake vp, but not without continuall words passed betwixt the parties, in somuch that the earle of Leicester (who being put from all his aid in England, was come ouer to the French king to purchase aid at his hands) could not restraîne but giuing credit to the old adage,

Homo extra corpus suum est cum irascitur,

after many opprobrious words uttered against king Henrie the father, laid hand on his sword to haue stricken him, but the standers by would not suffer him and so they departed; which rash attempt of rather dissolall enterpise,

Non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes.

On the morrow after, the French and English skirmished together betwixt Cursells and Cisors, in which conflict Enguerane Chastillone de Trie was taken prisoner by earle William de Wandeuille, who presented him to the king of England. King Lewes though he iudged it his part to preserve his sonne in law from danger, yet he ment nothing lesse than to ioine battell with the English at that present. But within a few daies after, he sent Robert earle of Leicester into England with an armie of Flemings and others, there to ioine with Hugh Bigot, that both of them might as well by force as faire promises and gentle persuasions bring the whole realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the sonne.

The earle of Leicester therefore landing at Wals- ton the 21. of September, passed through the countrie vnto Fremingham, where he was receiued of Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke; and after that an other flock of Flemings were arrived for their aid, they went vnto Gipswich, where when they had remained a few daies, and augmented their forces by certeine bands of men of warre that belonged vnto earle Bigot, they went to the castell of Baghenet

At

Rog. Houed.
A treatie of
peace.

Rog. Houed.
The offer of
K. Henrie the
father to his
sonnes.

The earle of
Leicester put
to flight.

March. Paris.
Leicester
won by force.

The king of
Scots invaded
North-
umberland.

Hereafter.

The English
spole Lo-
thian.
A truce.

Pub. Mim.

The earle of
Leicester of-
fended to strike
the king.

Additions to
John Pike,

Rog. Houed.

(that belonged unto Rannilph Bzoc) which they toke, spoiled & burned, & then returned to Fremingham.

After this, hearing that the countesse of Leiceſter was arrived at Dreford with an other power of Flemings, they went to meet hir: and to the earle of Leiceſter, having now a ſtrong armie about him, toke leave of earle Bigot, and went to paſſe through the countrie into Leiceſterſhire, there to ſuccour his friends, and to worke ſome feat for the behove and furtherance of their quarell.

In the meane time the arrivall of the earle of Leiceſter being knowne, the people of the countrie were aſſembled together. Alſo Richard Lucie lord cheſe juſtice, and Humfrey de Boun high conſtable of England, with the kings power of hoſſemen which lately before had bene in Scotland and made inrodes there (as before is mentioned) came with all ſped to ſave the countrie from ſpoile, having firſt taken a truce (as before is ſaid) with the king of Scots, till the feaſt of Saint Hilarie next enſuing (or rather Eſter) hoſtages being deliivered on both ſides. Upon knowledge then had there the enemies were lodged, and what they intended to do, the ſaid Richard Lucie & Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmundsburie, whither Reignold earle of Cornewall the kings uncle, Robert earle of Gloceſter, and William erle of Arundell reſorted.

In the meane while, the earle of Leiceſter paſſed forward on his waie ſo farre as Foznham a little village beſide S. Edmundsburie. The lord cheſe juſtice & the earls before mentioned with a great armie, and amongſt others the ſaid Humfrey de Boun, who had the leading of 300. knights, or men of armes at the kings wages, came out of S. Edmundsburie, having the baner of S. Edmund borne before them, & in a marſhy ground betwixt Foznham & Edmundsburie, they encountred with the ſaid earle of Leiceſter, and after long and cruell fight diſcomfited his people, and toke him priſoner, together with his wiſe the counteſſe Petronill, after he had done all that belonged to a valiant capteine.

Some write that there were killed on that day of his people to the number of ten thouſand (and almoſt as manie taken) verelie [all the footmen of the Flemings being in number foure or five thouſand were either taken or ſlaine:] the reſidue that eſcaped fled towards Leiceſter, that they might both defend the towne & themſelves from the danger of their foes.

But here is to be noted, that it ſeemeth by the report of ſome writers, how the earle of Leiceſter had not ſo great an armie there at that battell, as by others account of the number ſlaine and taken it ſhould appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Bigot, he toke upon him to paſſe through the countrie (as ſome write) partly upon truſt that he had of the force and number of his ſouldiers, being about foure or five thouſand ſtout and valiant footmen, beſides 80 choſen and well appointed hoſſemen; and partly in hope that manie of thoſe which were in his aduerſaries campe, would rather turne to him than fight againſt him.

He had a great confidence in the Flemings, who indeed preſumed much upon their owne ſtrength, ſo that they made account of ſome great conqueſt, in ſuch wiſe, that when they came into any large plaine where they might reſt, they would take each others by the hand, and leading a danſe, ſing in their countrie language,

Hop hop Wilkine, hop Wilkine,
England is mine and thine.

King Henrie receiving aduertisement of the victorie which his capteines had thus gotten in England, was marvellous ioyfull, and commanded that the priſoners ſhould be brought over unto him into

Normandie: which being done, he went into Anion, and there fortified the towne and caſtels of the countrie with ſure garriſons of men, to reſiſt all ſudden inuafions, ſecret practices, and other attempts of the enemies. On the feaſt of S. Andrew the apoſtle, he toke the towne of Clandonſine by force, which Richard de Lauerdin held againſt him, having firſt expelled his father the earle of Clandonſine.

About this ſeaſon, or rather ſomewhat before, king Henrie the father (contrarie to the prohibition of the king his ſonne) and after the appeale made unto the pope) gave not onlie unto Richard prior of Douer, the archbiſhoppe of Canturburie; but alſo to Helg-nold Fitz Joceline the biſhoppe of Bath; to Richard de Worceſter archdeacon of Poitiers the biſhoppe of Wincheſter; to Robert Foliot the biſhoppe of Hereford; to Geffrey Kidell archdeacon of Canturburie he gave the biſhoppe of Ely, and to John de Drenford the biſhoppe of Chicheſter.

But now to our purpoſe. The nobles of the realme of England (after the battell of S. Edmundsburie) with an infinite number of men went againſt Hugh Bigot in purpoſe to abate his pride. But whereas they might eaſilie have had him at their pleaſure, by meanes of ſuch ſummes of monie as he gave in bribes, a peace was granted to him till Whitſuntide, within which time having gotten together ſourtene thouſand Flemings, he paſſed through Eſſex, and ſo getting over into Kent, came to Douer, where he toke ſhip and transported over into France.

King Henrie the father held his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Caen in Normandie, about which time a truce was made betwixt him and king Lewes to endure till Eaſter, or (as others write) for the terme of ſix moneths. For ye have to underſtand, that the fame of the victorie gotten by the capteines of king Henrie the father againſt the earle of Leiceſter (being not onlie ſpred through England, but alſo blown over into France) put thoſe that toke part with him in great feare; but ſpeciallie king Lewes miſtruſting the matter began to war wearie that he had attempted ſo far, and ſuſtained ſo great travell and expences in another mans cauſe.

Whileſt this truce indured, the archbiſhop of Canturburie being readie to returne home in deſpaire of his buſineſſe, upon a feigned rumor ſped that there was a peace concluded betwixt the two kings, the father and ſonne, he was called backe and conſecrated by the pope the ſundae after Eaſter: and then furniſhed with the dignities of primate and legat of England, and other privileges according, he toke his waie homewards towards England, after he had laid forth great ſummes of monie to diſſappoint the purpoſes of his aduerſaries.

This yeare in June, the lord Geffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings ſonne beſieged the caſtell which Roger de Mowbray had repaired at Winard Ferie, within the Ile of Wyholme, and compelling the ſouldiers within to yeeld, he beat downe and rased the ſame caſtell unto the verie ground. Robert Mowbray conſtable of that caſtell, as he paſſed thorough the countrie towards Leiceſter, there to procure ſome aid, was taken by the men of Claiſe, and kept as priſoner. Moreover, the ſaid elect of Lincolne toke the caſtell of Spalefert that belonged to the ſaid Roger Mowbray, which being now taken, was deliivered unto the keeping of the archbiſhop of Yorke. The ſaid elect alſo fortified a caſtell at Eopliſe, and toke it to the keeping of William Stuteville. In this meane while the king toke the ſtrengths and fortrefſes which his ſonne Richard had fortified at Harwates, and in the ſame forts and church (which was alſo fortified againſt him) 60. knights or men of armes, and 400. archballiſters, that is, the beſt of them that bare

R. Houed.
The towne of
Clandonſine
wonne.

See his letter
before in page
85.

Matt. Paris.
"which was
fought on the
17. of October,

Anno. Reg. 1174

Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed.

Rog. Houed.

The earle of
Leiceſter taken
priſoner.

Rog. Houed.
Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

ſaith. Paris.

The oth of
the earle of
Flanders.

Additions to
John Pike.

Math. Paris.
Ger. Dor.

Additions to
John Pike.

The king of
Scots inua-
deth Eng-
land.

Castles won
by the Scots.

bare crossebowes.

Philip earle of Flanders in the presence of the French king and other the peeres of France, laien-
15 his hand vpon the holie reliques, sware that within
stant to enter England with an armie, and to do
his best to subdue the same to king Henrie the son.
Upon trust whereof the young king the more presu-
ming came downe to Whitland, the 14. daie of Ju-
lie, that he might from thence send ouer into Eng-
land Kase de la Haie with certeine bands of soul-
diers. Before this the earle of Flanders had sent o-
uer 318. knights or men of armes, as we may call
them. But after their arriual at Dwell, which chan-
ced the 14. of June, by reason that their associates
were disperfed, and for the more part subdued, they
toke with them earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to
Norwich, assaulted the citie and won it, gaining
there great riches, and specialle in readie monie,
and led awaie a great sort of prisoners whome they
ransomed at their pleasure. This chanced the 18. of
June.

I remember that William Parus writeth, that
the citie of Norwich was taken by the Flemings
that came ouer with the earle of Leicester in the
yeare last past, by the conduct of the said earle before
he was taken, and that after he had taken that citie,
being accompanied with earle Bigot, he led those
Flemings also vnto Dunwich, purposing to win
and sacke that towne also: but the inhabitants be-
ing better provided against the coming of their e-
nimies than they of Norwich were, shewed such
countenance of defense, that they preserved their
towne from that danger, so that the two earles with
Flemings were constrained to depart without at-
taining their purpose. But whether that this at-
tempt against Dunwich was made by the earle of
Leicester (before his taking) in companie of earle
Bigot, I haue not to auouch. But verelie for the win-
ning of Norwich, I suppose that William Parus mi-
staketh the time, except we shall saie that it was
twice taken, as first by the earle of Leicester in the
yeare 1173. For it is certeine by consent of most
writers, and especiallie those that haue recorded par-
ticularlie the incidents that chanced here in this land
during these troubles betwixt the king and his sons,
that it was taken now this yeare 1174. by earle Bi-
got (as before we haue shewed.)

But now to proceed. The lords that had the rule
of the land for king Henrie the father, perceiuing
earle Bigots proceedings, sent knowledge thereof
with all expedition to the king, as yet remaining in
the parties beyond the seas. Whilest these things
were a doing, although the minds of manie of the
conspirators against king Henrie the father were
inclined to peace, yet Roger Mowbray, and Hugh
Bigot (by reason of this new supplie of men got out
of Flanders) ceased not to attempt fresh exploits:
and cheslie they solicited the matter in such wise
with William king of Scotland, that whilest they in
other quarters of the realme plaid their parts, he
entered into the confines of Cumberland, and first be-
sieged the citie of Carlisle, but perceiuing he could
not win it in any short time, he left one part of his
armie to kepe siege before it, and with the residue
marched into the countrie alongst by the riuier of E-
den, taking by force the castles of Bourgh and Apple-
bie, with diuerse other. This done, he passed ouer the
riuier, and came through Northumberland (wasting
the countrie as he went) vnto Alnewike, which place
he attempted to win, though his labour therein pro-
ued but in vaine.

This enterprise which he made into Northumber-
land, he toke in hand cheslie at the suit and request

of Roger Mowbray, from whome Cestrey (who after
was bishop of Lincoln) is Henries eldest base son
had taken two of his castles, so that he kept the third
with much adoe. He had giuen his eldest sonne in ho-
stage vnto the said king of Scots for assurance of
such couenants to be kept on his behalfe as were
passed betwixt them. In the meane time one Dun-
cane or Rothland, with an other part of the Scottish
armie entered into Kendall, and wasted that coun-
trie in most cruell wise, neither sparing age nor sex,
inso much that he brake into the churches, due those
that were fled into the same for safeguard of their
liues as well priests as other. The English power of
horsemen which passed not the number of 400. was
assembled at Newcastell, vnder the leading of Ro-
bert de Stoutenille, Kase Glanville, William Ar-
sie, Bernard Balliulle [and Odonet de Umfres-
uille.]

These capteines hauing knowledge that Dun-
cane was in one side of the countrie, and king Wil-
liam in another, determined to issue forth and trie
the chance of warre (which is doubtfull and uncer-
teine, according to the old saien,

Fortuna belli semper ancipiti in loco est)

against the enimies, sith it should be a great rebuke
to them to suffer the countrie to be wasted after that
sort without reuengement. Whereupon riding forth
one morning, there arose such a thicke fog and mist
that they could not discern any waie about them, so
that doubting to fall within the laps of their enimies
at vnwares, they staied a while to take aduise what
should be best for them to do. Now when they were
almost fullie resolved to haue turned backe againe,
by the comfortable words and bold exhortation of
Bernard Balliulle, they changed their purpose, and
rode forward, till at length the northerne wind be-
gan to waken, and droue awaie the mist, so that the
countrie was discovered vnto them, and perceiuing
where Alnewike stood, not knowing as yet whether
the Scots had wone it or not, they staied their pace,
and riding softly, at length learning by the inhabi-
tants of the countrie, that the Scottish king despair-
ing to win Alnewike, had raised his siege from
thence the same day, they turned straight thither, and
lodging there all night, in the morning got to their
horses verie earelie, riding forth towards the eni-
mies that were sped abroad in the countrie to forep-
the same. They had anon espied where the king was,
and incontinentlie compassed him about on euerie
side, who perceiuing the English horsemen readie
thus to assaile him, with all diligence called backe
his men from the spoile; but the more part of them
being straid far off through the sweetnes they found
in getting of preies, could not heare the sound of the
trumpets, yet notwithstanding with those his horse-
men which he could get together, he encountered the
English men which came vpon him verie hastily.

The battell was begun verie fiercelie at the first,
and well fought for a time, but the Scottish horse-
men being toiled before in forreseng the countrie,
could not long continue against the fierce assault of
the English, but were either beaten downe, or else
constrained to saue themselves by flight. The king
with a few other (who at the first had begun the bat-
tell) was taken. Also manie of the Scots who being
far off, and yet hearing of the skirmish, came run-
ning toward the place, & were taken per they could
vnderstand how the matter had passed. This taking
of the king of Scots was on a saturday, being the
seuenth of Iulie.

The English capteines hauing thus taken the
Scottish king in the midst of his armie, containing
the number of 80000 men, returned to Newcastell,
greatlie reioicing of their god successe, aduertising
J. y. king

Polydor.
Duncane a
Scottish cap-
taine wasteth
Kendall.

Wil. Parus.
R. Houed.

Sen. In The.

Bernard de
Balliulle.

The king of
Scots taken.

Ger. Dor.

Wil. Parus.

Matt. Paris.
Marth. West.
Wil. Paruus.
Ger. Dor.

king Henrie the father hereof with all speed, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, and was (the same day that the Scotish king was taken) at Canturburie, making his prayers there before the sepulture of the archbishop Becket (as after it shall appere.)

Polydor.

In the meane while and somewhat before this time, the earle of Leicesters men, which laie at Leicester vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as some write) or rather of Anketill Mallozie constable or gouernour (if we shall so call him, as Roger Houeden saith) came to Portsmouth, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, toke two hundred prisoners, and due or wounded nere hand as manie more, and so with this good successe in that enterprise returned againe to Leicester, from whence they first set forth. The kings hostmen hereupon came straightwaies to Portsmouth, and following the enemies, could not ouertake them.

Rob. Ferreis.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leicester in aid of them that laie there, staied not past ten daies: but finding meanes to increase his number of hostmen, suddenlie made to Nottingham, which Reignold de Lucie had in keeping, and comming thither earelie in the morning toke it, drove out the kings souldiers that laie there in garrison, burned the towne, due the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongst his souldiers: which thing put the countrie about in such feare, that manie of the inhabitants submitted themselues vnto him.

Polydor.
Rog. Houed.
Nottingham taken.

King Henrie the sonne being hereof aduertised by letters oftentimes sent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his friends here in England, efflonces conceiued some good hope to obtaine his purpose: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Whereupon he purchased aid of king Lewes, who (because the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reason to further his sonne in lawes enterprise so farre as in him laie. Wherefore he made his prouision at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, staied till his ships were readie to transport him and his armie, which consisted of certeine hostmen, and of a number of Habanders.

Wil. Paruus.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his sonnes purpose, and of the doings in England, with all possible speed determined to passe ouer into England, and therefore got his souldiers a shipboard, among whom were certeine bands of his Habanders: and so sone as the wind blew to his mind, he caused the sailes to be hoisted vp, and the nauie to set forward. Being landed, he repaired first vnto Canturburie, there to make his prayers, doubting least the blood of the archbishop Thomas Becket being shed through his occasion, did yet require vengeance against him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and toke order for the placing of capteins with their bands in certeine townes about the coast, to defend the landing places, where he thought his sonne was like to arriue. Then went he to Huntington, and subdued the castell there the 19. of Iulie: for the knights and other souldiers that were within it yelded themselues to the kings mercie, their liues and lims saued.

Huntington
castell sdowne.

R. Houed.

Matt. Paris.
Earle Bigot
is accorded
with the R.

After this, assembling his people on all sides, he made his generall musters at S. Edmundsburie, and determined to besiege the castels of Bunghey and Fremmingham, which the earle Hugh Bigot held against him, who mistrusting that he was not able to defend himselfe and those places against the king, agreed with the king to haue peace, paying him the summe of a thousand markes by composition. This agreement was concluded the 25. of Iulie. Whereupon

on a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had sent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enemies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Also the bands of souldiers that came into the realme with Raie de la Paie departed without impediment by the kings sufferance.

R. Houed.

The king hauing thus accomplished that which stood with his pleasure in those parties, remoued from thence and drew towarde Portsmouth. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his feet bound vnder the horses bellie. Thither also came the bishop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the castels of Durham, Portsmouth, and Allerton. Thither also came to the king Roger Mowbray, and surrendered to him the castell of Trefke, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered by into his hands the castels of Lutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Mallozie, and William de Blue constables to the earle of Leicester yelded to the king the castels of Cicester, Grobie, and Mountsozell, to the intent that he should deale more courteously with the earle their maister. Also William earle of Glocester, and earle Richard of Clare submitted themselues to the king, and so he brought all his aduersaries within the realme of England vnto such subiection as he himselfe wished: so that the king hauing atchiued the vpper hand of his enemies returned to London.

The king of
Scots pre-
sented to the
king of En-
gland.

Rog. F.
King
return
Portm

The earle of
Glocester.
The earle Ri-
chard of Clare

All this hurle burle and bloukie tumult, was partlie to be ascribed to the king himselfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his sonne, did direct and abate himselfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious disposition of the youth, who was charged with roialtie, before he had learned sufficient loialtie, else would he not haue made insurrections against his father, that himself might obtaine the monarchie, and the old king do him homage: and partlie to the queenes discontented or rather malicious mind, whose dutie it had bene (notwithstanding such dishonour done hir by the king in abusing his bodie vnlawfullie) so little to haue thought of stirring commotions betwixt the father and the sonnes, that she should rather haue lulled the contention asleepe, and done what the possible could to quench the feruent fier of strife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath bene said long ago,

*Mulier nihil nouit nisi quod vult,
Et plenum malorum est onus.*

Pub. Mm.

But what ensued hereupon euen by wale of chaustement, but that which commonlie lighteth vpon tumult-raisers; namely, either losse of life, or at least restraint of libertie: For the king after this haplie atchiuement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reason and aduise (as it is likelie) would not that so smoking a fierbrand (as queene Elianor had proued herselfe to be) should still annoie his eyes, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to close prison, because she had procured his sons Richard and Gesteire to soine with their elder brother against him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Queene Eli-
anor is com-
mitted to close
prison.

But to proceed, king Lewes being aduertised that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raised a power, and comming to Rouen, besieged it verie streitlie. Shortly after also king Henrie the sonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obtaine the possession of Normandie first, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what danger they stood, without faint hearts prepared all things necessarie for defense, and did euerie thing in order, purposing not to giue over their citie for any threats or menaces of their enemies.

Polydor.

Rouen besie-
ged by the
French king.
Wil. Paruus.

The 1
men of
the citi
out con-
demn
their ki
Two 1

Matt. Paris.
March. West.
Wil. Paruus.
Ger. Dor.

Polydor.

This chanced
a little after
Whitsuntide.

Rob. Ferreis.

Polydor.
Rog. Houed;
Nottingham
taken.

Wil. Paruus.

Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

Huntington
castell towne.

R. Houed.

Match. Paris.
Earle Bigot
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In the meane while and somewhat before this time, the earle of Leicesters men, which laie at Leicester vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as some write) or rather of Anketill Malozie constable or gouernour (if we shall so call him, as Roger Houeden saith) came to Northampton, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, took two hundred prisoners, and due or wounded nere hand as manie more, and so with this good successe in that enterprise returned againe to Leicester, from whence they first set forth. The kings hostmen hereupon came straightwaies to Northampton, and following the enimies, could not ouertake them.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leicester in aid of them that laie there, staied not past ten daies: but finding meanes to increase his number of hostmen, suddenly made to Nottingham, which Reignold de Lucie had in keeping, and comming thither earelie in the morning took it, yow out the kings souldiers that laie there in garrison, burned the towne, due the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongst his souldiers: which thing put the countrie about in such feare, that manie of the inhabitants submitted themselves vnto him.

King Henrie the sonne being hereof aduertised by letters oftentimes sent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his friends here in England, effectones conceiued some good hope to obtaine his purpose: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Hereupon he purchased aid of king Letwes, who (because the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reason to further his sonne in lawes enterprise so farre as in him laie. Wherefore he made his prouision at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, staied till his ships were readie to transport him and his armie, which consisted of certeine hostmen, and of a number of Zabanders.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his sonnes purpose, and of the doings in England, with all possible speed determined to passe ouer into England, and therefore got his souldiers a shipboard, among whom were certeine bands of his Zabanders: and so sone as the wind blew to his mind, he caused the sailes to be hoisted vp, and the nauie to set forward. Being landed, he repaired first vnto Canturburie, there to make his praieres, doubting least the bloud of the archbishop Thomas Becket being shed through his occasion, did yet require vengeance against him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and took order for the placing of capteins with their bands in certeine towne about the coast, to defend the landing places, where he thought his sonne was like to arriue. Then went he to Huntington, and subdued the castell there the 19. of Iulie: for the knights and other souldiers that were within it yielded themselves to the kings mercie, their liues and lims saued.

After this, assembling his people on all sides, he made his generall musters at S. Edmundsburie, and determined to besiege the castels of Bunghey and Fremingham, which the earle Hugh Bigot held against him, who mistrusting that he was not able to defend himselfe and those places against the king, agreed with the king to haue peace, paing him the summe of a thousand markes by composition. This agreement was concluded the 25. of Iulie. Hereby

on a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had sent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Also the bands of souldiers that came into the realme with Kase de la Haie departed without impeachment by the kings sufferance.

The king hauing thus accomplished that which stood with his pleasure in those parties, removed from thence and drew towards Northampton. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his feet bound vnder the horses bellie. Thither also came the bishop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the castels of Durham, Northam, and Allerton. Thither also came to the king Roger Motobzaie, and surrendered to him the castell of Treke, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered by into his hands the castels of Lutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Malozie, and William de Due constables to the earle of Leicester yielded to the king the castels of Cicester, Grobie, and Mountsozell, to the intent that he should deale more courteously with the earle their maister. Also William earle of Gloucester, and earle Richard of Clare submitted themselves to the king, and so he brought all his aduerfaries within the realme of England vnto such subiection as he himselfe wished: so that the king hauing atchued the upper hand of his enimies returned to London.

All this hurle burle and blouie tumult, was partlie to be ascribed to the king himselfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his sonne, did crieit and abase himselfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious disposition of the youth, who was charged with rotaltie, before he had learned sufficient loialtie, else would he not haue made insurrections against his father, that himself might obtaine the monarchie, and the old king do him homage: and partlie to the quenes discontented or rather malicious mind, whose dutie it had bene (notwithstanding such dishonour done hir by the king in abusing his bodie vnlawfullie) so little to haue thought of stirring commotions betwixt the father and the sonnes, that she should rather haue lulled the contention asleepe, and done what she possible could to quench the feruent fier of strife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath bene said long ago,

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Et plenum malorum est onus.*

But what ensued hereupon euen by waie of chastisement, but that which commonlie lighteth by on tumult-raisers; namely, either losse of life, or at least restraint of libertie? For the king after this hapie atchueement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reason and aduise (as it is likelie) would not that so smoking a fierbrand (as quene Eliano had proued himselfe to be) should still annoie his eyes, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to close prison, because she had procured his sons Richard and Cestrey to soine with their elder brother against him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

But to proceed, king Letwes being aduertised that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raised a power, and comming to Rouen, besieged it verie streittlie. Shortly after also king Henrie the sonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obtaine the possession of Normandie first, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiving in what danger they stood, without saint harts prepared all things necessarie for defense, and did euerie thing in order, purposing not to giue ouer their citie for any threats or menaces of their enimies.

The Flemings sent home.

R. Houed.

The king of Scots presented to the king of England.

Rog. He King & return Northam

The earle of Gloucester. The earle Richard of Clare

Pub. Mha.

Quene Eliano is committed to close prison.

Polydor.

Rouen besieged by the French king. Wil. Paruus.

The French men assault the citie out commandment their king Two p

ntes. Now whilst they within were busie in de-
fending how to repell the assault, and to defend them-
selves, the aduersaries about midnight came forth of
their campe, and approaching the walles with their
ladders, raised them vp, and began to scale the citie.
But the citizens being aduised thereof, boldlie got
them to the loops and towres, ouerthrow the lad-
ders of the enemies that were coming vp, and with
arrows, stones and darts beat them backe, to their
great losse and ouerthrow. Howbeit though the en-
emies could not preuaile thus to get the citie by this
assault, yet they continued the siege, and suffered not
them within to be in quiet, but daie and night assai-
led them by one meanes or other.

Rog. Houed.
King Henrie
returneth into
Normandie.

King Henrie the father being aduertised hercof,
after he had set his businesse in order, touching the
saferie and safe defense of the English estate, he re-
turned into Normandie, and landed at Harflet on a
thursdaie being the eight daie of August, bringing
backe againe with him his Barabanders, and a thou-
sand Welshmen. In this meane while, king Lewes
continued still his siege before Rouen, constraining
them within by all meanes he could deuise to yeld
vp their citie. At length came the feast of Saint Lau-
rence, on which daie the French king commanded
that no man should attempt any enterprise against
the citizens, granting them truce for that day, in
worship of that saint. This truce was so acceptable a
thing to them within, that they forgetting them-
selves, without all respect to the danger wherein the
citie stood, threw off their armour, and gaue them-
selves to sleepe and rest. Some also fell to banquetting
and other pastimes in verie dissolute maner.

But though this their remisse vltage and loose
behaviour, and forgetting that a temporarie truce is
no safe warrant of securitie and peace, they deriued
danger and destruction to themselves; which it had
bene their parts prouidentlie to haue prevented, and
not through their carelesnesse to set open a gap of
aduantage to their enemies, who pursued them with
professed hostilitie, notwithstanding they reposed
confidence in the truce that was granted. Wherein
they are to be resembled to the coles of whome Plau-
tus speaketh verie neatly, saying,

*— coquos equidem nimis
Demoror, qui tot vniuersum condimentis, eos eo
Condimento non vti quod prestat omnibus,*

Meaning sobrietie: so these delighting more in their
dishes, than mistrusting their enemies, remem-
bered to take the vse of any pleasure that the conueni-
entnesse of this present time might proffer; onelie
as coles among all their sauces doe mind nothing
lesse than sobernesse: so these in the abundance of
their ioyes, thought nothing of afterclaps, which af-
terwards made them (like foales) to sing an unhappie
had I wist. For the Frenchmen, perceiuing this
their negligence, required licence of the French
king to giue assault to the citie, declaring in what
state the matter presentlie stood; who not meaning
to violate the reuerence of that day, and his promi-
sed faith, with any such vnlawfull attempt, comman-
ded his men of warre that made the request in no
wise to stirre. Howbeit the souldiers upon courtous-
nesse of the spoile, raised the ladders to that part of
the wall which they iudged to be most without war-
ders, so that some of them mounting aloft, got vp,
and were about to helpe vp their fellowes.

Now it hapened (as God would haue it) that two
priests being gone vp into the steeple of the chafe
church, to looke about them for their pleasures, fortu-
ned to see where the French men were about to en-
ter the citie, and straightwaies gaue knowledge to
the citizens beneath. Whereupon the alarm rose, in-
somuch that with all speed the people ran to the place,

The French-
men assault
the citie, with-
out comman-
dement of
their king.
Two priests.

and with such violence came vpon their enemies
which were entred vpon the walles, that straight-
waies they slue manie of them, and chased the resi-
due out of the ditches, so that they returned with bla-
ding wounds to their campe, repenting them of
their unhappie enterprise, that turned them to such
traue and graeuance.

The same day a little before night, king Henrie the
father came vnto Rouen, and was receiued into the
citie with great ioy and gladnesse: for he came thi-
ther by chance, euen about the time that the citie had
thus like to haue bin surprised & taken at vnwares,

¶ There be that write, how the French king (im-
mediatlie vpon the arriual of king Henrie) left
his field and departed, greatlie to his dishonour, bur-
ning vp his engines of warre, and not staying till
his men might haue leisure to charge their wagons
with their armour and other stuffe, which they were
glad to leaue behind for a prey to the English men
issuing forth vpon them. But other declare, that the
French king being nothing abashed of king Hen-
ries coming, continued the siege, in hope to win
the citie.

The next day earlie in the morning (or as other
say in the night season) the king did send forth a cer-
taine number of Welshmen to passe ouer the riuer
of Saine, which they did, and by force made them-
selves waie through the French campe, getting
without losse or danger vnto a great wood, and slue
that day of their aduersaries about an hundred men.
After this, lieng abroad in the countrie, they skirmi-
shed ballie with the French hostesmen, and oft times
cut off such prouision of vittels as came to nourish
the campe. The king himselfe on the other side reman-
ning within the citie, caused his people to issue out
at the gates, and to keepe the enemies occupied with
skirmishes afore the citie. And moreover, where there
was a great trench cast betwixt the French campe
and the walles of the citie, he caused the same to be
filled vp with fagots, stones, and earth. But although
the French men saue this the kings deed well en-
ough, yet none of them issued forth of their tents to
hinder the English of their purpose.

Now king Lewes being sore vexed with his en-
emies on ech side, and perceiuing the citie would not
be wonne within any short time, began to war wea-
rie, and to repent himselfe (as afore) for taking in
hand so chargeable and great a warre for another
mans quarrell. Whereupon he caused William bi-
shop of Sens, and Theobald earle of Blois to go to
king Henrie, and to promise vpon behaueance from
warre for a time, to find means to reconcile him and
his sonnes, betwene whome vnnaturall variance
rested. Whereof k. Henrie being most desirous, and
taking a truce, appointed to come to Gisors [in the
feast of the natiuitie of our ladie] there to meet king
Lewes, that they might talke of the matter and
bring it to some good end.

The French king, so sone as he knew that truce
was taken, raised his siege, and returning home,
within a few daies after (according to the appoint-
ment) came to Gisors, and there communed with
king Henrie: but because he could not make any a-
greement betwixt him and his sonnes at that time,
he appointed another time to meet about it. King
Henrie the father (whilst the truce continued with
the French king) and his sonne Henrie went to
Poitou, where his sonne Richard (whilst his father
had bene occupied in other places) had gotten the
most part of the countrie into his possession. But
now hearing of his fathers coming, and that a
truce was taken with the French king and with his
brother, he considered with himselfe, that without
their assistance he was not able to withstand his fa-
ther.

The French
men are re-
pelled.

Polydor.

Matt. Paris.

R. Houed.
The Welsh-
mens god
seruice.

Nic. Triuet.

Rog. Houed.

The French
king maketh
an ouerture
for peace.

N. Triuet.
A truce.

The French
king leaueh
his siege.

Richard the
kings sonne
prepareth to
resist his fa-
ther.

He beginneth
to despaire of
good successe.

Polydor.

The son sub-
mitteth him-
selfe to the
father.

Ger. Dor.
The father &
sonnes are ac-
corded.

The conditi-
ons of the a-
greement.

R. Houed.

R. Houed.

Richard.

G. Grey.

thers power. Whobbeit at length choosing rather to
trie the matter with force of armes, than cowardlie
to yield, he prepared for defense, furnishing diuerse
townes and castels with garisons of men: and as-
sembling together all the other power that he was
able to make, came into the field, & pitched his tents
not far off from his father. In the meane while, which
way soeuer his father passed, the townes and castels
submitted themselues vnto him, so that Richard be-
gan to despaire of the matter, insomuch that he durst
not approach nere his father, but kept aloofe, doubting
to be entrapped.

At length when he had considered his owne state,
and wised how vnthankfullie the French king and
his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no con-
sideration of him at such time as they toke truce,
he determined to alter his purpose, and hauing some
good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought best to
trie it, which he found to be the best waie that he could
haue taken. For oftentimes it chanceth, that latter
thoughts are better aduised than the first, as the old
saying is,

Δείδρα φέρνιδες σφόνδρα.

Whereupon Richard laing armour aside, came of
his owne accord vnto his father on the 21. of Sep-
tember, and asked pardon. His father most courte-
ously receiuing him, made so much of him as though
he had not offended at all. Which example of courte-
sie preuailed much to the alluring of his other sons
to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing where-
of to speedie effect, he sent this Richard vnto king
Lewes, and to his other sonne Henrie, to commen-
with them of peace, at which time earle Richard did so
effectualle his message, that he brought them both
in good forwardnesse to agree to his fathers purpose,
so that there was a daie appointed for them to meet
with their father, betwixt Colpes in Touraine and
Ambois.

King Henrie reioicing herat, kept his daie (be-
ing the morrow after the feast of S. Michaell) and
there met him both king Lewes, and his two sonnes
Henrie and Gesteire, where finally the father and
the sonnes were accorded; he promising to receiue
them into fauour vpon these conditions.

1 First the prisoners to be released frée with-
out ranfome on both sides, and their offenses, which
had taken either the one part or the other, to be like-
wise pardoned.

2 Out of this article were excepted all those which
before the concluding of this peace had already
compounded for their ranfomes, as the king of
Scots, the earles of Leicester and Chester, and Rafe
Fulgiers, with their pledges.

3 It was also agreed, that all those castels which
had bene builded in time of this warre, should be ra-
ced and shrowne downe, and all such cities, townes,
castels, countries and places, as had bene wone by
either part during these wars, should be restored vnto
those persons that held the same, and were in pos-
session of them 15. daies before the departure of the
sonnes from king Henrie the father.

4 That king Henrie the father should assigne
to his sons moze large reuenues for maintenance
of their estates, with a caution included, that they
should not spend the same riotouslie in any prodigall
sort or manner.

5 To the king his sonne, he gaue two castels in
Normandie, with an increase of yearelie reuenues,
to the summe of 15. thousand pounds Anouin.

6 To his sonne Richard he gaue two houses
in Poitou, with the one halfe of all the reuenues of
the countie of Poitou to be receiued and taken in
readie monie.

7 And to his sonne Gesteire he granted in monie,

the moitie of that which he should haue by the ma-
riage of earle Conans daughter, and after he had
married hir by licence purchased of the pope, he should
enioy all the whole liuings and reuenues that de-
scended to hir, as in hir fathers writing therof moze
at large was conteined.

8 On the other part, king Henrie the son couen-
ted to & with the king his father, that he would per-
forme and confirme all those gifts, which his father
should grant out of his lands, & also all those gifts of
lands which he either had made and assured, or here-
after should make and assure vnto any of his men
for any of their seruices: & likewise those gifts which
he had made vnto his sonne John the brother of king
Henrie the sonne; namelie, a thousand pounds in
lands by yeare in England of his demaine and ex-
cheats with the appurtenances, and the castell and
countie of Potingham, with the castell of Harle-
brough, & the appurtenances. Also a thousand pounds
Anouin of yearelie reuenues in Normandie, and
two castels there. And in Aniou a thousand pounds
Anouin, of such lands as belonged to the earle of
Aniou, with one castell in Aniou, and one in Tou-
raine, and another in Daine.

Thus were the father and sons agreed and made
freends, the sonnes couenancing neuer to withold
their seruices and bounden dueties from their fa-
ther, but to obeie him in all things from that day for-
ward. Herewith also the peace was renewed betwixt
king Henrie and king Lewes, and for the further
confirmation, a new aliance was accorded betwixt
them, which was, that the ladie Adela the daughter
of king Lewes should be giuen in marriage vnto
earle Richard the sonne of king Henrie, who because
she was not yet of age able to marie, she was con-
ueied into England to be under the guiding of king
Henrie, till she came to lawfull yeares.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie
forgetting all iniuries passed, brought home his sons
in maner aforesaid, who being well pleased with the
agreement, attended their father into Normandie,
where Richard and Gesteire did homage to him, re-
ceiuing their othes of allegiance according to the
maner in that case required. But king Henrie the
sonne did no homage, for his father (in respect that he
was a king) would not suffer him, and therefore toke
onlie sureties of him for performance of the coue-
nants on his part, as was thought expedient.

¶ All this dissention and strife was kindled (no
doubt) by the meanes of certeine sowers of discord,
sycophants, parasites, flatterers, claubacks, & picke-
thanks, who had learned their lesson, that

Principum placuisse viuis non vltima laus est,
and thinking by their embossed speech to tickle the
eares and harts of the young princes, who by reason
of their young yeares and nakednesse of experience
in the course of worldlie matters, sought their owne
aduancement, euen by singing fire faggots of dis-
sention betwene them, whose harts naturall affecti-
on had vnited. For by the tenor of the storie (marke
it who will) we shall see that no attempt of the sons
against the father but had originall from the sugge-
stions of euill disposed persons, who (like eeles that
fatten not in faire running water, but in muddie
notes and ponds) sought honour in hurle burles,
& reached out long armes to riches by manie a ones
impouerishment. This to be true, the small euent
and issue proueth; namelie, the mutuall atonement
and reconciliation wouen betwene the father and
the sonnes; their remozie for their vndutifulnes, his
louing fauour and graciousnesse; their promptnesse
to yield to conditions of agreement, his forwardnes
to giue consent to couenants required; their readi-
nesse to do the old king homage, his acceptable ad-
mission

A marriage
concluded.

Wil. Paruus.

R. Houed.
Wil. Paruus
saith that he
did homage
also.

mission of their proffered seruice; with other circumstances to be collected out of the storie, all which doe proue that this their disloyall resistance sprang rather by others incitement, than of their owne seeking. Thus we see what alterations happen in the actions of men, and that euill things manie times (though naturallie bad) doe inferre their contraries, as one aptlie saith,

Discordia fit charior concordia.

With. king of
Scots deliue-
red out of pri-
son with other

Math. Paris.
Prisoners re-
leased.

At length king Henrie went to Faleise, and there deliuered out of captiuitie William king of Scotland, Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh earle of Chester, with diuerse other Noble men which were kept there as prisoners, putting them to their ransomes, and receiuing of them pledges with an oth of allegiance. This king Henrie the father released for his part the number of nine hundred 69. knights or men of armes (if ye list so to terme them) which had bene taken since the beginning of these passed warres.

Castels deli-
uered by the
K. of Scots.

N. Triuer.
Math. Paris.

As for king Henrie the sonne he also set at libertie above an hundred, and that without ransome paying, according to the articles of the peace (as before you haue heard.) But yet some (as is already specified) were excepted out of the benefit of that article, as William king of Scotland, who being not able to paie his ransome in present monie, deliuered by in gage foure of the strongest castels within his realme into king Henries hands, namely, Warwike, Edenborough, Korbourgh, and Sterling, with condition, that if he brake the peace, and paid not the monie behind due for his ransome, king Henrie and his successors should enioy for euer the same castels. He also couenanted, not to receiue any English rebels into his realme. Other write that the king of Scots did not onelie become the king of Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to do homage unto him for the realme of Scotland, and all other his lands, but also deliuered the castels of Warwike, and Korbourgh to be possessed of the same king of England and his heires for euer, with out any couenant mentioned of mortgage.

Reg. Houed.
1175

The kings of
England and
France meet
at Gisors.

Things being settled thus in good order, king Henrie leaving his sonne Henrie at Rouen, went to Argen-ton, and there held his Christmase, and afterwards, namely in the feast of the purification of our ladie, both the kings (as well the father as the sonne) were at Gisors, and upon their returne from thence into Normandie, came to a communication with the French king at Gisors, and then being come backe into Normandie at Bure, the sonne (to put the father out of all doubt and mistrust of any euill meaning in him) swore fealtie to him against all persons, and so became his liegeman in the presence of Richard archbishop of Rouen, Henrie bishop of Baient, William earle of Spandeville, Richard de Hunne, his counsellable, and manie other.

Philip earle
of Flanders.

After this they kept their easter at Chirebourg, from whence they came to Caen, where they met with Philip earle of Flanders, who had latelie before taken on him the crosse, to go to the holie land: where king Henrie the father required him to release all such couenants as king Henrie the sonne had made unto him in time of his last warres, which he frelie did, and deliuered by the writing that he had of the same king concerning those couenants, and so they confirmed unto him the yearelie rent which he was wont to receiue out of England, before the said warres.

Polydor.

Finallie, when king Henrie had visited the most part of the countrie, he came to Harlew, and caused his nauie to be decked and rigged, that he might saile ouer into England. Whilist he tarried here till his ships were readie, he sent letters to his sonne king Henrie, willing him to repaire unto him,

and meaning that he should accompanie him into England. Who at the first was loth to obeye his fathers will and pleasure herein, bicause some enuious persons about him had put in his head a doubt, least his father had not altogether forgot his former grudge, and that he ment at his comming into England to commit him to prison. Which was a surmise altogether void of likelihood, considering that the father, in the whole processe of his actions betwene himselfe and his sonnes, was so farre from the desire of inflicting any corporall punishment, or leueng a nie fine vpon them for their misdemeanour, that he alwaies sought meanes of reconcilment and pacification. And though this Henrie the sonne for his part deserued to be roughlie dealt withall, yet the father handled him so gentlie with courteous letters & mellages, that shortly after he came of his owne accord vnto Harlew, from whence shortly after they sailed both together ouer into England, landing at Portsmouth on a fridaie being the ninth of Maie, from thence they toke their iournie straight to London, all the waies being full of people that came to see them, and to shew themselves glad and ioisfull of their concord and happie arriuall. At their comming to the citie they were receiued with great reioising of the people, beseeching God long to preserve them both in health and honour.

Enuious persons
readie to
forge matters
of suspicion.

The two
kings the fa-
ther and the
sonne returne
into England.

The same yeare William de Breause hauing got a great number of Welshmen into the castell of Abergauennie, vnder a colourable pretext of communication, proponed this ordinance to be receiued of them with a corporall oth; That no traoueller by the waie amongst them should beare any bow, or other vnlawfull weapon. Which oth when they refused to take, bicause they would not stand to that ordinance he condemned them all to death. This deceit he vfed towards them in reuenge of the death of his vnckle Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon easter euen before, they had through treason murdered, and were now acquitted with the like againe.

William de
Breause.

The Welshme
not well dealt
withall.

The same yeare died Reignold earle of Cornwall, bastard sonne to king Henrie the first without heirs male, by reason whereof the king toke into his hands all the inheritance of lands and liuings which he held within England, Normandie and Wales, except certaine portions which the daughters of the same earle had by assignement allotted to them. Also Richard earle of Gloucester deceased this yeare, and his sonne Philip succeeded him.

N. Triuer.
Reignold earle
of Cornwall
departed this
life.

The same yeare was a synod of the cleargie kept at Westminster, wherein many things were decreed for the conseruation of religion. Amongst other things it was provided, that those abbeies and churches which were void of gouernours, and could haue none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill warres, should now be committed vnto men worthy to enioy the same, for the reformation of disorders growne and plentifulle springing up in time of the vacations.

Math. West.
A synod held
at London.

The realme now brought into good order and deliuered from the troubles of warre, as well at home as abroad, the king being at good leisure determined to ride about a great part of the realme, and comming to Porke, sent for the king of Scots to come and do his homage. Now the king of Scots (according to couenants before concluded) came vnto Porke in the moneth of August, where doing his homage about the twentieth day of the same moneth in S. Peters church, the king granted further by his letters patents, that he and his successors kings of Scotland, should do homage and fealtie to the kings of England, so often as they should be necessarilie required thereunto. In signe and token of which subjection, the king of Scots offered his hat and his sad-
dle

W. Parnus.
The king of
Scots doth
homage to the
king of Eng-
land.

die upon the altar of S. Peter in Poike, which for a remembrance hereof was kept there many yeares after that day.

The charter conteining the articles of the peace and agreement concluded betwixt the two kings, which was read in S. Peters church at the same time, exemplified as followeth.

R. Houed.

Wilhelmus rex Scotie deuenit homo ligius domini regis Anglia contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris suis, & fidelitatem ei fecit ut ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui ipsi facere solent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis salua fide domini regis patris sui.

2 Omnes vero episcopi, abbates & clerus terre Scotie & successores sui facient domino regi sicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alij episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, & Henrico filio suo & David & heredibus eorum.

3 Concessit autem rex Scotie, & frater eius, & barones, & alij homines sui domino regi, quod ecclesia Scotie talem subiectionem amodo faciet ecclesie Anglie, qualem facere debet, & solebat tempore regum Anglie predecessorum suorum.

4 Similiter Richardus episcopus Sancti Andree, & Richardus episcopus Dunkeldensis, & Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermlin, & Herbertus prior de Coldingham concesserunt, ut ecclesia Anglicana illud habeat in ecclesia Scotie, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipsi non erunt contra ius Anglicane ecclesie. Et de hac concessione sicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio suo fecerint, ita eos inde asscurauerunt.

5 Hoc idem facient alij episcopi & clerus Scotie, per conventionem inter dominum regem Scotie & David fratrem suum & barones suos factam, comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotie (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem ut ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui facere ei solent, & Henrico filio suo & heredibus suis salua fide domini regis patris sui. Similiter heredes regis Scotie & baronum & hominum suorum homagium & ligiantiam facient heredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem.

6 Præterea rex Scotie & homines sui nulli amodo fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro feloniam receptabunt, vel in alia terra sua nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & stare iudicio curie. Sed rex Scotie & homines sui quam citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iusticiarijs suis aut balliuis suis in Anglia.

7 Si autem de terra regis Scotie aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro feloniam in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis Scotie, & stare iudicio curie, non receptabitur in terra regis, sed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotie per balliuos domini regis ubi inuentus fuerit.

8 Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras suas quas habebunt, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus suis, & de rege Scotie & de hominibus suis. Et homines regis Scotie habebunt terras suas, quas habebunt, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus suis. Pro ista vero conventionem & sine firmiter obseruando domino regi & Henrico filio suo & heredibus suis a rege Scotie & heredibus suis, liberauit rex Scotie domino regi castellum de Roxburgh, & castellum Puelarium, & castellum de Strueling in manu domini regis, & ad custodienda castella assignauit rex Scotie de redditu suo mesurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis.

9 Præterea pro predicta conventionem & sine exequendo, liberauit rex Scotie domino regi David fratrem suum in obsidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem Walderum, similiter alios comites & barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus 18. Et quando castella reddita fuerint illis, rex Scotie & David frater suus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prænominati unusquisque postquam liberauerit obsidem suam, scilicet filium legitimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes suos vel

propinquiores sibi heredes, & castelli ut dictum est reddituri liberabuntur.

10 Præterea rex Scotie & barones sui prænominati asscurauerunt, quod ipsi bona fide, & sine malo ingenio, & sine occasione facient ut episcopi & barones & ceteri homines terre sue, qui non assuerunt quando rex Scotie cum domino rege finiuert eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio suo quam ipsi fecerunt, & ut barones & homines qui assuerunt obsides, liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit.

11 Præterea episcopi, comites & barones conventionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio suo, quod si rex Scotie aliquo casu a fidelitate domini regis & filij, & a conventionem predictam recederet, ipsi cum domino rege tenebunt sicut cum ligio domino suo contra regem Scotie, & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et episcopi sub interdito ponent terram regis Scotie donec ipse ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat.

12 Predictam itaque conventionem firmiter obseruandam bona fide, & sine malo ingenio domino regi & Henrico filio suo & heredibus suis a Wilhelmo rege Scotie & David fratre suo & baronibus suis predictis, & heredibus eorum asscurauit ipse rex Scotie, & David frater eius, & omnes barones sui prænominati sicut ligij homines domino regi contra omnem hominem, & Henrici filij sui (salua fidelitate patris sui) hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Abruicensi, & Iohanne Salisburia decano, & Roberto abbate Malmesburie, & Radulpho abbate Mundeburg, nec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus & baronibus, & duobus filijs suis scilicet Richardo & Galfrido.

These things being recited in the church of S. Peter in Poike, in the presence of the said kings, & of David the king of Scots brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the bishops, earles, barons and knights of Scotland sware fealty to the king of England and to Henrie his sonne, and to their heires against all men, as to their liege and soueraigne lordes.

King Henrie hauing ended his businesse at Poike with the king of Scots and others, which likewise did homage to him there, returned to London, in the octaues of S. Michael, and he called a parlement at Windsor, whereat were present king Henrie the sonne, Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops of England, Laurence archbishop of Dublin with a great number of earles and barons of this realme. About the same time the archbishop of Eborac, and the abbat of S. Brandon, with Laurence the chancelor of Roderike king of Connagh in Ireland were come as ambassadours from the said Roderike, unto king Henrie, who willingly heard them, as he that was more desirous to grow to some accord with those sauage people by some friendly order, than to war with them that had nothing to lose: so that he might in pursuing of them seeme to figh with an hooked gold. Wherefore in this parlement the matter was debated, and in the end a peace concluded at the request of the said ambassadours, the king appointing Roderike to paie unto him in token of subiection, a tribute of ox hides.

The charter of the agreement was written and subscribed in forme as followeth.



Hec est finis & concordia que facta fuit apud Windshore in octauis sancti Michaelis an. Gratie 1175. inter dominum regem Anglie Henr. secundum, & Rodericum regem Connacie, per catholicum Tuamensem archiep. & abbatem E. sancti Brandani, & magistrum Lancellarium regis Connacie.

1 Scilicet quod rex Anglie concedit predicto Roderico ligio homini suo regnum Connacie, quamdiu ei fideliter seruiet, ut sit rex sub eo, paratus ad seruicium suum sicut homo suus, & ut teneat terram suam ita bene & in pace, sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex Anglie intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tribu-

The tenor of the charter of the agreement.

A pt

A parlement at Windsor.

Ambassadours from R. Connagh.

A tribute of ox hides.

Ann I A pi at f ham

Mat

An pia loc

rum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terra habeat sub se, & iusticiet ut tributum regi Anglia integre persoluant, & per manum eius suauiter sibi conseruent. Et illi qui modo tenent, teneant in pace quamdiu manserint in fidelitate regis Anglia, & fideliter & integre persoluerint tributum & alia iura sua quae ei debent per manum regis Conacia, salvo in omnibus iure & honore domini regis Anglia & suo.

2 Et si qui ex eis regi Anglia & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia iura regis Anglia per manum eius solvere noluerint, & a fidelitate regis Anglia recesserint, ipse eos iusticiet & amoneat. Et si eos per se iusticiare non poterit, constabularius regis Anglia, & familia sua de terra illa iuuabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cum ab ipso fuerint requisiti, & ipsi viderint quod necesse fuerit. Et propter hunc finem reddet predictus rex Conacia domino regi Anglia tributum singulis annis, scilicet de singulis decem animalibus unum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra sua, quam de aliena.

3 Excepto quod de terris illis quas dominus rex Anglia retinuit in dominio suo, & in dominio baronum suorum, nihil se intromittet, scilicet Duvelina cum pertinentiis suis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut unquam Marchat Wamailethlachlin eam melius & plenius tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Weseffordia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, scilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta Waterfordia cum tota terra illa quae est a Waterford vsq; ad Duncarnam, ita ut Duncarnam sit cum omnibus pertinentiis suis infra terram illam.

4 Et si Hibernenses qui ausugerint, redire voluerint ad terram baronum regis Anglia, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum predictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua seruicia quae facere solebant pro terris suis. Et hoc sit in arbitrio dominorum suorum. Et si aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domini eorum & rex Conacia accipiat obsides ab omnibus quos ei commisit dominus rex Anglia ad voluntatem domini regis & suam. Et ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem domini regis Anglia illos vel alios, & ipsi seruiant domino de canibus & anibus suis singulis annis de presentiis suis. Et nullum omnino de quacunque terra regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis & mandatum. Hys testibus, Richardo episcopo Wintonia, Gaufrido episcopo Eliensi, Laurentio Dunelmensi archiepiscopo, Gaufrido, & Rogero capellani regis, Guillelmo comite de Essex, & alijs multis.

Whereupon, at this parlement the king gaue an Irishman named Augustine, the bishoppe of Waterford, which see was then void, and sent him into Ireland with Laurence the archbishop of Dublin to be consecrated of Donat the archbishop of Cassels. The same yeare, both England and the countries adjoining were sore vexed with a great mortalitie of people, and immediatlie after followed a sore dearth and famine.

King Henrie held his Christmas at Windsoz, and about the feast of the conuersion of saint Paule he came to Poorthampton, & after the mortalitie was well ceased, he called a parlement, whereat was present a deacon cardinall intituled of S. Angelo, being sent into England as a legat from the pope, to take order in the controuersies betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Pozke. This cardinall whose name was Hugh Petro Lion, assembled in the same place a conuocation or synod of the bishops and cleargie, as well of England as Scotland: in which conuocation, after the ceasing of certein strifes and decrees made as well concerning the state of common-wealth, as for the honest behauiour of mans life, the cardinall consented that (according as by the kings lawes it was alreadye ordered) all manner of persons withyn the sacred orders of the cleargie, which should hunt withyn the kings grounds and kill any of his deare, should be conuicted and punished before a tempozall iudge. Which libertie granted to the king, did so irritinge the immu-

nitie which the cleargie pretended to haue withyn this realme, that afterwards in manye points, prests were called before tempozall iudges, and punished for their offenses as well as the laitie, though they haue grudged indeed and mainteined that they had wrong therein, as they that would be exempted and iudged by none, except by those of their owne order.

Whereupon, in this counsell the matter came in question touching the obedience which the bishops of Scotland did owe by right vnto the archbishop of Pozke, whom from the beginning the popes of Rome had constituted and ordeined to be primate of all Scotland, and of the Isles belonging to that realme, as well of the Orkenies as all the other. Which constitution was obserued by the bishops of those parts manye yeares together, though after they renounced their obedience. Whereupon the archbishops of Pozke (for the time being) continuallie complained, so that these popes, Paschall the second, Calyrt the second, Honozius, Innocentius, Eugenius the third, and Adrian the fourth, had the hearing of the matter, and with often sending their letters, went about to reduce them to the prouince of Pozke. But the Scots still withstanding this ordinance, at length the matter thus in controuersie was referred to pope Alexander, who sent the foresaid cardinall Hugh as well to make an end of that contention, as of diuerse other: but yet he left it vnderdecided.

William king of Scotland came personallie vnto this parlement at Poorthampton, by commandement of king Henrie, and brought with him Richard bishop of S. Andrew, and Joseline bishop of Glasgow, with other bishops and abbats of Scotland, the which being commanded by king Henrie to shew such subiection to the church of England as they were bound to do by the faith which they oboght to him, and by the oth of fealtie which they had made to him, they made this answer, that they had neuer shewed any subiection to the church of England, nor ought. Against which deniall, the archbishop of Pozke replied, and brought forth sufficient priuileges granted by the foresaid popes, to proue the subiection of the Scottis bishops, and namelie Glascolw and Whitterne vnto the see of Pozke. But because the archbishop of Canturburie meant to bring the Scottis bishops vnder subiection to his see, he wrought so for that time with the king, that he suffered them to depart home, without yielding any subiection to the church of England. The letters which the foresaid popes did send touching this matter, were remaining safe and sound amongst other writings in the colledge at Pozke, when Polydor Virgil wrote the histories of England, the copies whereof in an old ancient booke he confessedly to haue seene and read.

But to speake further of things ordered and done at this parlement holden at Poorthampton, the king by common consent of his Nobles and other states, diuided his realme into six parts, appointing thre iustices itinerants in euerie of them, as here followeth, Hugh de Cressie, Walter Fitz Robert, and Robert Spantell, were deputed vnto Poorthfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtontshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex and Hertfordshire: Hugh de Gunderville, William Fitz Rafe, and William Bassett were appointed to Lincoltshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Poorthamptonshire, and Leicestershire: Robert Fitz Bernard, Richard Cifford, Roger Fitz Kemstrey, were assigned to Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Sussex, Berksheire and Oxfordshire: William Fitz Stephan, Berthram de Werton, Thurstan Fitz Simon were ordeined to Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Salopshire: Rafe Fitz

Obedience of the church of Scotland to the church of England.

Rog. Houed. The king of Scots cometh to the parlement.

R. Houed. Division of circuits for iustices itinerants.

ement idioz.

habozis a. Com.

rate of es.

Math. Paris.

tenoz of harter of igre.

An act against prests that were hunters.

Stephan, William Ruffe, and Gilbert Pipard were put in charge with Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Summer-
setshire, Devonshire & Cornwall: Robert de Wals, Ranulf de Glanville, and Robert Pikenet were appointed to Berkshire, Richmondshire, Lancashire, Copeland, Westmerland, Northumberland, and Cumberland.

The oth of
the iustices.

The king caused these iustices to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that they should keepe his assises which he first had ordeined at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, & also caused all his subiects within the realme of England to keepe and obserue the same.

Ger. Dor.

Whereouer at this counsell, king Henrie restored vnto Robert earle of Leicester all his lands, both on this side the sea, and beyond, in maner as he held the same fiftene daies before the warre. To William de Albemarle earle of Arundell, he gaue the earledome of Sussex. About midlent, the king with his sonne and the legat came to London, where at Westminster a conuocation of the cleargie was called, but when the legat was set, and the archbishop of Canturburie on his right hand as primate of the realme, the archbishop of York comming in, and disdainning to sit on the left, where he might seme to giue preeminence vnto the archbishop of Canturburie (vnto manerlie inough indeed) swast him downe, meaning to thrust himselfe in betwixt the legat, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And where belike the said archbishop of Canturburie was loth to remoue, he set his buttocks in his lap, but he scarce touched the archbishops skirt with his bum, when the bishops and other chapeleins with their seruants slept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground, and beginning to lay on him with bats and fists, the archbishop of Canturburie peelding god for euill, sought to saue him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that sage sentence,

The presumptuous demeanour of the archbishop of York.

Pub. Mim.

Nunquam periculum sine periculo vincitur.

The archbishop of York with his rent rochet got by, and a waie he went to the king with a great complaint against the archbishop of Canturburie: but when vpon examination of the matter the truth was knowne, he was well laught at for his labour, and that was all the remedie he got. As he departed to be buffeted forth of the conuocation house towards the king, they cried out vpon him; Go traitor that dost betray that holy man Thomas, go get thee hence, thy hands yet stinke of blood. The assemblie was by this meanes disperfed, and the legat fled and got him out of the waie, as he might with shame enough, which is the common panson and waiting-woman of pride, as one verie well said,

Pub. Mim.
Appeales made.

Cito ignominia fit superbi gloria.

After this, followed appealing, the archbishop of York appealed to Rome, and the legat also for his owne safegard appealed the archbishop of Canturburie vnto Rome, which archbishop submitting himselfe and his cause vnder the popes protection, made a like solenne appeale from the legat to the pope. The legat perceiuing that the matter went otherwise than he wished, and seeing little remedie to be had at that present, gaue ouer his legatship as it had bene of his owne accord, though greatlie against his will, and prepared himselfe to depart. Nevertheless, through mediation of friends that toke paines betwixt them, they gaue ouer their appeales on either side, and dissembled the displeasures which they had conceiued either against other; but yet the conuocation was dissolued for that time, and the two archbishops presented their complaints to the king, who kept his Easter this yeare at Winchester, and about the same time or shortly after, licenced his sonne Henrie to passe ouer into Normandie, meaning

The conuocation dissolved.

shortly after to go vnto Compostella in Spaine, to visit the bodie of saint James the apostle, but being otherwise aduised by his fathers letters, he discontinued his purpose and staid at home.

The same yeare, the ladie Johan the kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. Also the same yeare died the lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, Robert earle of Striguill otherwise Chepfolow, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined lord cheefe iustice in his place, who seized into the kings hands all those fortresses which the said earle of Striguill held within the realme of Ireland. The Irishmen also paid to the king a tribute of twelue pence yearelie for euerie house, or else for euerie yoke of oxen which they had of their owne. William earle of Arundell died also this yeare at Mauerley, and was buried at Wintonham.

N. Triquet.

R. Houed.

N. Triquet.

A tribute granted by the king.

R. Houed.

This yeare, when it might haue bene thought that all things were forgotten touching the rebellious attempts made against king Henrie the father by his sons, and other (as before ye haue heard) he caused the walls both of the towne and castell of Leicester to be rased, and all such castels and places of strength as had bene kept against him during the time of that rebellion, to be likewise ouerthrowne and made plaine with the ground, as the castels of Huntington, Mableton, Grotoby, Hey, Stutesburie or Sterdesburie, Malasert, the new castell of Allerton, the castels of Fremingham and Bungey, with diuers other both in England and Normandie. But the castels of Walsie, and Mountpel he retained in his owne hands as his of right, being so found by a iurie of freholders impanelled there in the countrie; further, he seized into his hands all the other castels of bishops, earles and barons, both in England and Normandie, appointing keepers in them at his pleasure. This yeare also he married his daughter Elianor vnto Alfonso king of Castile.

The walls of the towne and castell of Leicester rased.

Wil. Paruus lib. 3. cap. 3.

Elianor the kings daughter married the king of Castile.

Gilbert Fitz Fergus.

Whereouer, Gilbert the sonne of Fergus lord of Galloway, who had slaine his brother Alured cosen to king Henrie, came this yeare into England, vnder conduct of William king of Scotland, and became king Henrie the fathers man, swearing fealtie to him against all men: and to haue his loue and fauour gaue him a thousand marks of siluer, and deliuered into his hands his son Duncane as a pledge. It is to be remembred also, that in this yeare, Richard earle of Poitou sonne to king Henrie, fought with certaine Breabanders his enemies betwixt Wedgtrine and Butenille, where he overcame them.

Richard earle of Poitou.

¶ Here I haue thought good to aduertise the reader, that these men of war, whom we haue generalie in this part of our booke named Breabanders, we find them written in old copies diuerslie, as Breabazones, Brebanceni, and Brebationes, the which for so much as I haue found them by the learned translated Breabanders, and that the French word somethat peldeth thereto, I haue likewise so named them: whereuppon whether I haue erred or not, I must submit mine opinion to the learned & skillfull searchers of such points of antiquities. For to confesse in plaine truth mine ignorance, or rather vnrésolued doubt herein, I can not satisfie my selfe with any thing that I haue read, whereby to assure my coniecture what to make of them, although verelie it may be, and the likelihood is great, that the Breabanders in those daies for their trained skill and vnsual practise in warlike feats, loan themselves a name, whereby not onelie those that were naturallis borne in Brebant, but such also as serued amongst them, or else vied the same warlike furniture, order, trade, and discipline, which was in vse among them, passed in that age vnder the name of Breabanders. Or else I must thinke, that by reason of some old kind of habit

The departure of the legat from the Realm Liberties retained for churchmen

N. Triquet.

The pong R. beginneth new p. at: fcs against his father.

ses how to remoue his father from the gouernment and to take it to himselfe: but one of his seruants named Adam de Cherehedune being of his secret counsell, aduertised king Henrie the father thereof, for the which his maister king Henrie the sonne

(Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper)

put him to great shame and rebuke, causing him to be stripped naked, and whipped round about the streets of the citie of Poitiers, where he then was upon his returne from his brother earle Richard, with whome he had bene to aid him against his enemies. King Henrie the father perceiuing the naughtie mind of his sonne, and that he ceased not from his wilfull malicioussesse, thought to dissemble all things, sith he saw no hope of amendment in him: but yet to be prouided against his wicked attempts, he furnished all his fortrellies both in England & in Normandie with strong garisons of men, and all necessarie munition.

About this time, the sea rose on such a heighth, that manie men were drowned thereby. Also a great snow fell this yeare, which by reason of the hard frost that chanced therewith, continued long without waisting away, so that fishes both in the sea and fresh water died through sharpenesse and behemencie of that frost, neither could husbandmen till the ground. A soze eclipse of the sunne chanced also the first ides of Januarie. The monastirie of Westwood or Lessnos was begun to be founded by Richard de Lucie Lord chiefe iustice. The same yeare also at Woodstocke the king made his sonne the lord Gessrey knight.

In the yeare 1177. king Henrie held his Christmas at Portsmouth, with his two sonnes Gessrey and John, his other two sonnes the pong king Henrie, and Richard earle of Poitou, were in the parts beyond the seas, as the king in Normandie, and the earle in Gascoigne, where he besieged the citie of Aques, which the vicount of Aques and the earle of Bigorre had fortified against him, but he wan it within ten daies after his comming thither. Within the like terme also he wan the citie of Baion, which Arnold Berthram had fortified against him, and coming to the uttermost frontiers of that countrie adioining to Spaine, he took a castell called saint Piero which he destroyed, and constrained the Basques and Pauarrois to receiue an oth, that from thenceforth they should suffer passengers quietlie to come and go through their countrie, and that they should liue in quiet and keepe peace one with another, and so he reformed the state of that countrie, and caused them to renounce manie euill customes which they before that time had brutallie vsed.

Moreover, king Henrie, to auoid further slander, placed for bishop in the see of Lincoln a ballard son which he had named Gessrey, after he had kept that bishopricke in his hands so long till he had almost clerelie destroyed it. And his sonne that was now made bishop to helpe the matter for his part, made hauocke in waisting and spending in riotous manner the goods of that church, and in the end forsooke his miter, and left the see againe in the kings hands to make his best of it.

Furthermore, the king in times past made a voto to build a new monastirie in satisfaction of his offenses committed against Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie: wherefore he required of the bishops and other spirituall fathers, to haue some place by them assigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whilst they should haue taken aduise here in, he secretlie practised with the cardinals, and with diuerse other bishops, that he might remoue the secular canons out of the colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular canons, so to saue monie in his cofers,

R. Houed.

Rog. Houed. 1177

The citie of Aques or Bigues.

Anno Reg. 23. Polydor. Gessrey the kings bale sonne made bishop of Lincoln.

bit of other speciall cause, a certaine sort of souldiers purchased to themselves the priuilege of that name, so to be called Brabanceni or Brebatones (whether ye will) as hath chanced to the Lanquenets and Keisters in our time, and likewise to the companions Arminacs and Escorchers in the daies of our forefathers, and as in all ages likewise it hath fortuned amongst men of warre. Which if it so chanced to these Brabanceni, I know not then what countre men to make them: for as I remember, Pargades that was a chiefe leader of such souldiers as were knowne by that name (as after ye shall heare) is reported by some authors to be a Breboncois.

It should seeme also that they were called by other names, as the Kouts (in Latine *Reptarij*) which name whether it came of a French word, as ye would say some vnrule and headstrong companie, or of the Dutch word Kutters, that signifieth a rider, I cannot say. But it may suffice for the course of the historie to vnderstand that they were a kind of hired souldiers, in those daies highly esteemed, and no lesse feared, in so much that against them and others there was an article contained among the decrees of the Laterane councell holden at Rome, in the yeare 1179, whereby all those were to be denounced accursed, which did hire, mainteine or any way nourish those Brebatones, Aragonois, Pauarrois, Basques and Coterelles, which did so much hurt in the christian world in those daies.

But to returne where we left to earle Richard, beside the aboue mentioned victorie against those Habanders, if we shall so take them; he also vanquished Hamerike vicount of Limoges, and William earle of Angouleme, with the vicounts of Gendadoze and Cambanais, who attempted rebellion against him, whome earle Richard subdued, and took prisoners, with diuerse castels and strong holds which they had fortified.

About the feast of Peter and Paule, the legat departed out of the realme, of whom we find that as he granted to the king some liberties against the priuileges which the cleargie pretended to haue a right vnto: so he obtained of the king certaine grants in fauour of them and their order, as thus.

1 First, that for no offense, crime or transgression any spirituall person should be brought before a temporall iudge personallie, except for hunting, or for some laie see, or that for which some temporall seruice was due to be yelded, either to the king, or some other that was chiefe lord thereof.

2 Secondlie, that no archbishops see, nor bishops see, nor any abbate should be kept in the kings hands more than one yeare, except vpon some euident cause or necessitie constraining.

3 Thirdlie, that such as sue any spirituall person, and were of such offense conuicted, either by euidence or confession before the iustice of the realme in presence of the bishop, should be punished as the temporall law in such cases required.

4 Fourthlie, that spirituall men should not be compelled to fight in lists for the triall of any matter or cause whatsoeuer.

It should appeare by Nicholas Triuet, that the archbishop of Canturburie procured the bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich, three prelates highlye at that present in the kings fauour, to further these grants; namely, that such as sue any priest or spirituall person might haue the law for it: where before, there was no punishment for a season vsed against such offenders but onelie excommunication. What now to leaue preests, we will passe to other matters.

In this meane time, king Henrie the sonne remaining in Normandie, began to deuise new practi-

ruet,

oued.

ruet,

ribut gra. by the 3.

oued.

ye swals of towne and fell of Lancet faced.

Wil. Paruus, lib. 3. cap. 3.

Richard the king's daughter married in the king of Castile. Gilbert Fitzergus.

The departure of the legat fourth of the Realme. Liberties obtained for churchmen.

Richard earle of Poitou.

N. Triuet,

Prests dis-
placed, & ca-
non regular
put in their
romes.

R. Houed.
Nunnes of
Amesburie.

Philip earle
of Flanders.

John de
Curcio.
The cite of
Dunelm.

Roderick K.
of Alinestre
banquished.

Aluiano a
cardinall.

Will. Parvus.

The legat
holdeth a
council at
Dublin.

costs, planting in another mans vineyard. How-
beit, because it should not be thought he did this of
such a courteous meaning, he promised to give great
possessions to that house, which he after but slender-
lie performed, though upon licence obtained at the
bishops houses, he displaced the prests, and brought
in to their romes the canons as it were by waite
of exchange.

The same yeare also he thrust the nunnes of A-
mesburie out of their house, because of their inconti-
nent living, in abusing their bodie greatlie to their
reproch, and beswolved them in other monasteries to
be kept in more strenghtlie. And their house was
committed unto the abbess and couent of Founte-
uered, who sent ouer certeine of their number to fur-
nish the house of Amesburie, wherein they were plac-
ed by the archbishop of Canturburie, in the presence
of the king and a great number of others.

Philip earle of Flanders by sending ouer ambas-
sadors to king Henrie, promised that he would not
bestow his two neeces, daughters to his brother
Mattheu earle of Bullongne, without consent of
the same king: but shortly after he forgot his pro-
mise, & married the elder of them to the duke of Za-
ringes, & the younger to Henrie duke of Louaine.

John de Curcio lord chiefe iustice of Ireland dis-
comfiting a powder of Irishmen, wan the cite of
Dun in Alinestre, where the bodie of S. Patrike
and S. Colme confessois, and S. Brigit the virgin
are buried, for the taking of which cite, Roderike
king of Alinestre being sore offended, raised a migh-
tie host, and comming into the field, fought with the
lord chiefe iustice, and in the end receiued & toke the
cuerthowls at his hands, although the lord chiefe ius-
tice at that encounter lost no small number of his
men. Amongst prisoners that were taken, the bishop
of Dun was one, whom yet the lord chiefe iustice re-
leased and set at libertie, in respect of a request and
suit made to him by a cardinall the popes legat that
was there in Ireland at that time.

This cardinals name was Aluiano, intituled the
cardinall of S. Stephan in Mount Celio; he was
sent from the pope the yeare before, and comming in-
to England, though without licence, was pardoned
upon knowledging his fault for his entring without
the kings leaue first obtained, and so permitted to go
into Scotland, whither as also into other the north-
west regions, he was sent as legat, authorised from
the pope. Now when he had ended his business in
Scotland, he passed ouer into Man, and there held
his Christmasse with Guthred king of Man, and af-
ter the feast of the Epiphanie, sailed from thence in-
to Ireland, and chanced (the same time that the Eng-
lishmen invaded that countrie) to be in the cite of
Dun, where he was receiued of the king & bishops
of that land with great reuerence.

The inuasion then of the Englishmen being signi-
fied to them of the countrie aforesaid, they asked
counsell of the legat what he thought best to be done
in that matter; who straightwaies told them, that
they ought to fight in defense of their countrie, and
at their setting forward, he gaue them his benedicti-
on in waite of their good speed. But they comming (as
ye haue heard) to encounter with the Englishmen,
were put to flight, and braten backe into the cite,
which was herewith also wone by the Englishmen,
so that the Romane legat was glad to get him into
the church for his more safeguard, and like a wise fel-
low had provided afore hand for such haps if they
chanced; hauing there with him the king of Eng-
lands letters directed to the capitaine in Ireland in
the legats fauour, so that by the assistance and autho-
ritie of the same, he went to Dublin, and there (in
the name of the pope and the king of England) held

a counsell.

But when he began to practise, after the manner
of legats in those daies, somewhat largelie for his
owne advantage, in the churches of that simple rude
countrie, the English capitaine commanded him ei-
ther to depart, or else to go forth to the wars with
them: wherupon he returned into Scotland, hauing
his bags well stuffed with Irish gold, for the which it
seemed he greatlie thirsted.

¶ Where we haue to note the drift of the pope and
all popelings to be far otherwise than they pretend.
For who (vnderle he will be wilfullie ignorant) know-
eth not, that he and his neuer attempt any thing, but
the same beareth the hew and colour of holinesse and
honestie: Hereto tend the sendings out of his legats
and cardinals to make pacifications, to redresse dis-
orders, to appease tumults, & I wot not what infinit
enormities (for he must haue his ore in euerie mans
bote, his spone in euerie mans dish, and his fingers
in euerie mans purse) but the end and scope of all
his doings consisteth in this; namelie, to set himselfe
aboue all souereigntie, to purchase and assure to him-
selfe an absolute and supereminent iurisdiction, to
rob christian kingdomes, to impoverish churches,
chapels, and religious places. Our chronicles are
full of these his pranks, and here we haue one practi-
sed by a lim of his, who (as you see) verie impudentlie
and licentiouslie preied upon the church-goods, and
conuerted the same to his owne profit and commodi-
tie: which he had if not trembled, yet blushed to do,
considering that the gods of the church are the trea-
surie of Christ (or at leastwise ought to be) and that
none ought to alienate or change the proprietie of
such goods, as the canon law hath prouided. Besides,
the wretch ought to haue remembered that which euen
the verie pagans did not forget; namelie,

*Hand vllas portabis opes Acherontis ad undas,
Nudus ad infernas fustis vbererates.*

P. 117. 3.

But now to the doings of John de Curcio, and of
those Englishmen that were with him, who did not
onlie defend such places as they had wone out of
the Irishmens hands against those kings and their
powers, but also enlarged daile more and more their
frontiers, and wan the towne of Armagh (wherein is
the metropolitane see of all that land) with the whole
prouince thereto belonging.

About the same time came ambassadours into
king Henrie from Alfonse king of Castile and Gar-
cias king of Nauarre, to aduertise him, that in a
controuerfie risen betwixt the said two kings tou-
ching the possession of certeine grounds nere unto
the confines of their realms, they had chosen him for
iudge by compromise, promising upon their othes to
stand unto & abide his order and decree therein. Ther-
fore they required him to end the matter by his au-
thoritie, sith they had wholie put it to his iudgement.
Furthermore, either king had sent a most able and
valiant knight furnished with horse and armour
readie in their princes cause to fight the combat, if
king Henrie should happilie commit the trial of
their quarrell unto the iudgement of battell. King
Henrie gladlie accepted their request, so that therup-
on calling his counsellors together, he consulted with
them of the thing, and hearing euerie mans opini-
on, at length he gaue iudgement to with the one, that
the other was contented to be agreeable thereto.

Within a while after, Philip earle of Flanders
came ouer into England to do his deuotions at the
tome of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, of
whome the most part of men then had conceined an
opinion of such holinesse, that they reputed him for a
saint. The king met him there, and verie frendlic
entertained him, and because he was appointed short-
lie after to go ouer into the holie land to war against
Egips

R. Hou

Durb
tower.

Henri
Dubl
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John
kings
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of Tri
Polyd
J.rai
blond.

R. He

Math. Paris
Polydor.

R. Houed.

Polydor.

will
Rob
Polyd
Hug

Gods enemies, the king gaue him five hundred marks in reward, and licenced William Handemile earle of Essex to go in that iourneie with other lordes, knights and men of warre of sundrie nations that were of his dominions.

R. Houed.

The king then returning vnto London, toke order for the establishing of things touching the succie of the realme, and his owne estate. And first he appointed the custodie of such castels as were of most importance by their situation, vnto the keeping of certeyne worthy captaine. To sir William de Stuteville he assigned the custodie of Rochefourch castell, to sir Roger de Stutenille the castell of Edenburgh, to sir William Penulle the castell of Portsmouth, to sir Cestrie Penulle the castell of Berwik, and to the archbishop of Dorke he deliuered the castell of Scarborough, and sir Roger Coniers he made captaine of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the bishop, because he had shewed himselfe an vnfaithful man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therfore to haue the kings fauour againe, he gaue to him two thousand marks, with condition that his castels might stand, and that his sonne Henrie de Putsey alias Pudsey, might enioy one of the kings manors places called Wightton.

Durham tower.

Henrie de Pudsey.
A parlement at Dorford.John the kings sonne created king of Ireland.
Polydor.
It rained blood.

R. Houed.

After this, the king went to Drenford, and there held a parlement, at the which he created his sonne John king of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from pope Alexander. About the same time it rained blood in the Ile of Wight, by the space of two daies together, so that linen clothes that hong on the hedges were coloured therewith: which vnused wonder caused the people, as the manner is, to suspect some euill of the said Johns gouernement.

Moreouer, to this parlement holden at Drenford, all the chiefe rulers and gouernours of Southwailes and Northwailes repaired, and became the king of Englands liege men, swearing fealtie to him against all men. Hereupon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffin prince of Southwailes the land of Merioneth, and to David ap Owen he gaue the lands of Ellesmere. Also at the same time he gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is said) the land of Meth in Ireland with the appurtenances, for the seruice of an hundred knights or men of armes, to hold of him and of his sonne John by a charter which he made thereof. Also he diuided there the lands and possessions of Ireland with the seruices to his subiects, as well of England as Ireland, appointing some to hold by seruice to find forty knights or men of armes, and some thirtie, and so forth.

Vnto two Irish lordes he granted the kingdome of Dorke for the seruice of forty knights, and to other three lordes he gaue the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of the like number of knights to be held of him & his sonne John, reseruing to himselfe & to his heires the citie of Limerike with one cantred. To William Fitz Adelme his sewer, he gaue the citie of Welleford with the appurtenances and seruices: and to Robert de Poer his marshall, he gaue the citie of Waterford, and to Hugh Lacie, he committed the safe keeping of the citie of Diueline. And these persons, to whom such gifts and assignations were made, receiued othes of fealtie to beare their allegiance vnto him and to his sonne for those lands and possessions in Ireland, in maner and forme as was requisite.

William Fitz Adelme.
Robert de Poer.
Hugh Lacie.

The cardinall Winian hauing dispatched his businesse in Ireland, came backe into England, and by the kings safe conduct returned againe into Scotland, where in a counceill holden at Edinburgh, he suspended the bishop of Whitene, because he did refuse to come to that counceill: but the bishop made no

account of that suspension, hauing a defense good enough by the bishop of Dorke, whose suffragane he was.

After the king had dissolued and broken by his parlement at Drenford, he came to Harleborough, and there granted vnto Philip de Breause all the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of forty knights: for Hubert and William the brethren of Keignold earle of Cornewall, and John de la Pomeray their nephue, refused the gift thereof, because it was not as yet conquered. For the king thereof, surnamed Monoculus, that is, with one eie, who had held that kingdome of the king of England, being latelie slaine, one of his kinsmen got possession of that kingdome, and held it without acknowledging any subiection to king Henrie, nor would obeie his officers, because of the losses and damages which they did practise against the Irish people, without occasion (as they alleadged) by reason whereof the king of Dorke also rebelled against the king of England and his people, and so that realme was full of trouble.

Philip de Breause.

Math. Paris.
Polychr.

Jewes in England.

The same season, queene Margaret the wife of king Henrie the sonne was deliuered of a man child which liued not past three daies. In that time there was also through all England a great multitude of Jewes, and because they had no place appointed them where to burie those that died, but onelie at London, they were constrained to bring all their dead corpses thither from all parts of the realme. To ease them therfore of that inconuenience, they obtained of king Henrie a grant, to haue a place assigned them in euerie quarter where they dwelled, to burie their dead bodies. The same yeare was the bodie of S. Amphibulus the martyr, who was instructor to saint Albone found, not farre from the towne of S. Albones, and there in the monastirie of that towne buried with great and solempne ceremonies.

In the meane time, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him & king Lewis began to be renewed upon this occasion, that whereas king Henrie had receiued the French kings daughter Alice, promised in marriage vnto his sonne Richard, to remaine in England with him, till she were able to companie with hir husband, king Henrie being of a dissolute life, and giuen much to the pleasure of the bodie (a vice which was grafted in the bone and therfore like to sticke fast in the flesh, for as it is said,

Quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit)

at leastwise (as the French king suspected) began to fantasie the yong ladie, and by such wanton talke and companie-keeping as he used with hir, he was thought to haue brought hir to consent to his fleshlie lust, which was the cause therfore he would not suffer his sonne to marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares nor viripotent or mariable. Wherefore the French king imagining (upon consideration of the other kings former loose life) what an inconuenience & infamie might redound to him and his, be thought himselfe that

R. Houed.

Turpe senex miles turpe senilis amor,

and therfore deemed iustlie that such a vile reproch wrought against him in his blood, was in no wise to be suffered, but rather preuented, resisted & withstood. Hereupon he complained to the pope, who for redresse thereof, sent one Peter a prest, & cardinall intituled of saint Crisogone as legat from him into France, with commission to put Normandie and all the lands that belonged to king Henrie vnder interdiction, if he would not suffer the marriage to be solemnized without delate betwixt his sonne Richard and Alice the French kings daughter. The king aduertised hereof, came to a communication with the French king at Parie, vpon the 21. of September;

The kings meet at 7 ut.e.

A. J. and

and there offered to cause the marriage to be solemnized out of hand, if the French king would give in marriage with his daughter the title of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and also unto his sonne king Henrie the countie of Neulgesine, that is to say, all the land betwixt Gisors and Dunlie, as he had likewise covenanted.

But because the French king refused so to do, king Henrie would not suffer his sonne Richard to marrie his daughter Alice: howbeit at this entrebrow of the two princes, by the helpe of the cardinall, and other noble men of both sides, they agreed to be friends, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to end all matters touching the controuersies depending betwixt them for the lands in Auvergne and Berrie, and for the fee of Chateau Raoul; then should the matter be put to twelve persons, six on the one side, and six on the other, authorizing them to compound and finish that controuersie and all other which might rise betwixt them. For the French king these were named, the bishops of Claremount, Beuers, and Trois; and three barons, erle Theobald, Robert, and Peter de Courtnele, the kings brethren. For the king of England were named the bishops of Pauns, Bergegoz, and Paunts; with three barons also, Maurice de Croume, William Paigot and Peter de Mountrebell.

At the same time also, both these kings promised and undertook to ioine their powers together, and to go into the holie land to aid Guido king of Jerusalem, whom the Saracen Saladine king of Aegypt did sore oppress with continuall and most cruell war. This done, the French king returned home, and king Henrie came to Wernueil, where he made this ordinance, that no man should trouble the vassall or tenant, as we may call them, for his lords debt.

After this, king Henrie went into Berrie, and took Chateau Raoul or Raoul, and marching towards Castre, the lord of that towne came and met him on the waie, surrendering into his hands the daughter of Raife de Dolis latelie before deceased, whom the king gave unto Baldwin de Riuers, with the honour of Chateau Raoul or Raoul. Then went he unto Graundemont, where Audebert earle of March came unto him, and sold to him the whole countie of March for the summe of sixtene thousand pounds Anionin, twentie mules, and twentie palfreys. The charters of this grant and sale made and giuen vnder the seale of the said earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Christi 1177. Then did the king receiue the fealtie and homages of all the barons and knights of the countie of March, after he had satisfied, contented, and paid the monie vnto the earle according to the covenants.

The king this yeare held his Christmas at Angiers, and meaning shortly after to returne into England, he sent to the French king for letters of protection, which were granted, and sent to him in forme as followeth.

The tenour of the French kings letters of protection.



*L*udouicus rex Francorum, omnibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Nouerit universis vestra quod nos recipimus in protectione & custodia nostra totam terram Henrici regis Anglia charissimi fratris nostri, in cismarinis partibus sitam, si contrigerit eum in Angliam transire vel peregre proficisci. Ita plane, ut quando balliui sui de terra transmarina nos requisierint, bona fide & sine malo ingenio eis consilium & auxilium prestabimus, ad eiusdem terrae defensionem & protectionem.

Item. A. Sum apud Nicenas. The English wherof is thus.

Lewes king of France, to all those to whom these present letters shall come greeting. Know all ye that we haue receiued into our protection & custodie all the lands of Henrie king of England our deare brother, lieng and being in the parts of this side the sea, if it chance him to passe ouer into England, or to go any waie forth from home, so that when the bailiues of his lands on this hither side the sea shall require vs, we shall helpe them and counsell them faithfullie and without male-engine for defense and protection of the same lands. Giuen at Nicenas.

Shortly after, king Henrie returned into England from Poymandie, and at Woodstocke made his sonne Gestepe knight. This yeare pope Alexander sent into all parts legats to summon the bishops and prelates to a generall councell to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yere next following. Wherabout two legats came into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in commission to summon them of England and Poymandie; and the other called Petro de Santa Agatha, who was appointed to summon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isles about the same: whereupon obtaining licence to passe through the king of Englands dominions, he was constrained to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that he should not attempt any thing in his legatship that might be hurtfull to the king or his realme, and that he should come and visit the king againe as he returned homewards.

This yeare on the sundae before the nativite of S. John Baptist, being the 18 of June, after the setting of the sunne, there appeared a marvellous sight in the aire vnto certeine persons that beheld the same. For whereas the new mone shone forth verie fast with his hornes towards the east, straightwaies the upper horne was diuided into two, out of the mids of which diuision a burning brand sprang vp, casting from it a farre off coles and sparks, as it had bene of fire. The bodie of the mone in the meane time that was beneath, seemed to twist and twist in resemblance like to an adder or snake that had bene beaten, and anon after it came to the old state againe. This chanced about a dozen times, and at length from horne to horne it became blacke.

In September following, the mone being about 27. daies old, at six of the clocke, a partile eclipse of the sunne happened, for the bodie thereof appeared as it were horned, shooting the horns towards the west as the mone doth; being twentie daies old. The residue of the compasse of it was couered with a blacke roundell, which comming downe by little and little, shew about the horned brightnesse that remained, till both the hornes came to hang downe on either side to the earthwards; and as the blacke roundell went by little & little forwards, the hornes at length were turned towards the west, and so the blacknesse passing awaie, the sunne receiued his brightnesse againe. In the meane time, the aire being full of clouds of diuerse colours, as red, yellow, Greene, and pale, holpe the peoples sight with more ease to discern the maner of it.

The king this yeare held his Christmas at Winchester, at which time newes came abroad of a great wonder that had chanced at a place called Drenhale, within the lordship of Werlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted it selfe vp on high in appearance like to a mightie tower, and so it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euen tide, and then it fell downe with an horrible noise, so that as such as were thereabout, were put in great feare. That peece of earth with the fall was swallowed

M. Palin.
quart.

Inc. lib. 1.

A generall
councell sum-
moned at
Rome.

Ger. Dor.

A strange
sight about
the mone.

Richa
Rucle
cheke
of En
decal

A par
at Wi

Ram
Glan

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Acta

Anno. Reg. 16.
R. Houed.
1179
A strange
wonder of
the earth.

ed by, leauing a great deepe pit in the place, as was to be seene many yeares after.

¶ Touching these celestiaall apparitions, the common doctrine of philosophie is, that they be mere naturall, and therefore of no great admiration. For of eclipses, as well such as are proper to the sunne, as also those that are peculiar to the mone, the position is not so generallie deliuered, as it is constantlie beleued. For the philosophers giue this reason of eclipses.

M. Palin A.
q. 37.

— radios Phœbi luna interiecta repellit,
Nec finit in terras claram descendere lucem.
Quippe aliud non est quam terre atque æquoris umbra,
Quæ si foris ferit nocturna corpora lune,
Eclipsin facit.

Luc. lib. 1.

In so much as obseruing them to be ordinarie accidents, they are ouerpasseed and nothing regarded. Notwithstandinge Lucane maketh a great matter of eclipses, and of other strange sights preceeding the blowe battels betwene Pompeie and Cesar; intimating thereby, that prodigious wonders, and other rare and vnaccustomed accidents are significations of some notable euent insuing, either to some great personage, to the common-wealth, or to the state of the church. And therefore it is a matter worthy the marking, to compare effects following with signes and wonders before going; since they haue a doctrine in them of no small importance. For not manie yeares after, the kings glorie was darkened on earth, nay his pompe and roiall state toke end; a prediction thereof might be imported by the extraordinary eclipse of the sunne, a beautifull creature, and the ornament of the skie.

Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholikus the archbishop of Tuam, with fise or six other Irish bishops, and diuerse both bishops and abbats of Scotland, passed through England towards the generall councill, and withall toke their oth, that they shuld not procure any damage to the king or realme of England. There went but onelie foure bishops out of England, to wit, Hugh Butley or Pudsey bishop of Durham, John bishop of Norwich, Reginald bishop of Bath, and Robert bishop of Hereford, beside abbats: for the English bishops scrupelous stood in it, that there ought but foure bishops to go forth of England to any generall councill called by the pope. This yeare Richard de Lincle lord chiefe iustice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a canon in the abbete of Westwood or Lesnos, which he had founded, and built vpon his owne ground, endowing it with great reuenues, and in Iulie after he died there.

Richard de
Lincle lord
chefe iustice
of England
deceased.

A parlement
at Windsoze.

Ranulfe de
Glauuille.

Gestrey earle
of Britaine
son to king
Henrie.
Guidomer
de Leons.

The mone
eclipsed.
The French
king cometh
a madding to
visit the arch-
bishop Sec-
rets towne.

King Henrie the father called a parlement at Windsoze, at the which was present king Henrie the sonne, and a great number of lords, earles and barons. At this parlement, order was taken for partition of the realme, so that it was diuided into foure parts, certeine sage personages being allotted vnto euerie part to gouerne the same, but not by the name of iustices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glauuille was made ruler of Northeshire, & authorized iustice there, as he that best understood in those daies the ancient lawes and customes of the realme. The same yeare, Gestrey earle of Britaine by his fathers commandement leued an armie, and passing ouer into Britaine, wasted the lands of Guidomer de Leons, and constrained him to submit himselfe vnto him.

The 18. day of August, the mone was eclipsed, which was seene of king Henrie and his companie as he rode all that night towards Douer there to meet the French king, who was coming towards England to visit the towne of archbishop Thomas Becket, as he had before time vowed. He landed at Douer the 22. day of August. There came ouer with him

Henrie duke of Louaine, Philip earle of Flanders, Baldwin earle of Guines, earle William de Han-deuille, and diuerse other earles, lords, barons and knights; whome king Henrie was readie to receiue at the water side, and the morow after brought them with great honoz to Canturburie, where they were with due reuerence and vnspokeable respect of archbishop Richard, and diuerse other bishops there assembled together with the couent of Christes-church, and an infinit multitude of Nobles and gentlemen. The French king offered vpon the towne of the said archbishop Thomas, a rich cup of gold; and gaue to the monks there an hundred tuns of wine to be receiued pearlelie of his gift for euer at Possie in France. Further he granted to the same monks, that whatsoeuer was bought in his dominions of France to their vse, should be free from toll, tallage, and payent any manner of excise for the same. These grants he confirmed with his charter thereof, made & deliuered to them by the hands of Hugh Butley, son to the bishop of Duresme that was his chancelor. King Lewes hauing performed his voto, and receiued manie rich gifts of king Henrie, returned home into France, and shortly after causing his sonne to be crowned king, resigned the gouernment to him (as by some writers appeareth). About the same time, Cadwallon prince of Wales, being brought before the king to make his answer to diuerse accusations exhibited against him, as he returned toward his countrie vnder the kings safe conduct, was laid for by his enimies, and slaine, to the kings great slander, though he were not gilty in the matter. After this, king Henrie the father held his Christmasse at Potingham, and William king of Scotland with him.

The French
king is
dying.

Polydor.

Marth. Paris.
Cadwallon
prince of
Wales.

Anno Reg. 26.
R. Houed.

1180

Discord be-
twixt the
French king
and his no-
bles.

The same yeare fell discord betwixt the yong king of France, and his mother and vnclis, his brethren, earle Theobald and earle Stephan, who thinking themselves not well vsed, procured king Henrie the sonne to ioin with them in frendship, and to go ouer into England to purchase his fathers assistance in their behalfe against their nephew. Who being come ouer to his father, informed him of the whole matter, and did so much by his earnest suit therein, that before the feast of Easter, his father went ouer with him into Normandie, and immediatlie vpon their arrivall in those parts, the old French quene, mother to the yong king Philip, with their brethren the said earles, and manie other noble men of France, came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hostages into his hands, and receiued an oth to follow his counsell and aduice in all things.

Herevpon king Henrie assembled a great armie, in purpose after Easter to invade the French kings dominions: but before any great exploit was made, he came to an entervew with the new king of France, betwixt Cisors and Treodunt, where partly by gentle words, and partly by threatnings which king Henrie vsed for persuation, the French king released all his indignation conceived against his mother and vnclis, and receiued them againe into his fauour, couenancing to allow his mother for euerie day towards his expenses seven pounds of Paris monie, during his father king Lewes his life time; and after his death, the should inioy all his dowry, except the castles which king Philip might re- teine still in his hands. Also at this assemble, king Henrie the father in the presence of the French king, receiued homage of Philip earle of Flanders, and granted to him for the same a thousand marches of silver, to be receiued pearlelie out of the chequer: at London, so that in consideration thereof he should find five hundred knights or men of armes, to serue the king of England for the space of 40. daies, then

R. Houed

The earle of
Flanders
doth homage
to the king
of England.

sooner he should haue warning giuen vnto him.

Moreover, the two kings at this assemble concluded a league together, and whereas certein lands were in controuersie betwixt them, as the fee of Chauteau, Raoul, and other small fees, if they could not agree among themselves concerning the same, either of them was contented to commit the order thereof, and of all other controuersies betwixt them vnto six bishops, to be chosen indifferentlie betwixt them, the one to chuse three, and the other three.

Matth. Paris.
Tailbourg
towne.

In this yeare, or (as the annales of Aquitaine say) in the yeare last passed, Richard earle of Poitou subdued the strong fortesse of Tailbourg, which was iudged before that time inexpugnable: but earle Richard oppressed them that kept it so sore with streight siege, that first in a desperate mood they issued forth, and assailed his people verie valiantlie, but yet neuertheless they were beaten backe, and forced to retire into their fortesse, which finally they surrendered into the hands of earle Richard, who caused the walls thereof to be rased. The like fortune chanced to diuers other castles and fortresses that stood in rebellion against him within a moneth space.

Matth. Paris.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geffrey de Rancon, who of a proud and loftie stomach practising rebellion against duke Richard, took this enterprize in hand, and when he had atchiued the same to his owne contentation, he passed ouer into England, and was receiued with great triumph, pompe & magnificence.

W. Paruus.
The foyme of
the kings
coine chan-
ged.

About the same time, the foyme of the kings coine was altered and changed, bicause manie naughtie and wicked persons had deuised waies to counterfeit the same, so that the alteration thereof was verie necessarie, but yet greuous and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the realme.

Anno Reg. 27.
R. Houed.
1181

King Henrie the father, whilst he was at Aquins after Christmase made this ordinance, that euerie man being worth in goods to the value of an hundred pounds Antouin, should keepe one horse able for seruice in the wars, and complet armour for a knight or man of armes, as we may rather call them. Also that such as had goods worth in value from 40. pounds to 25. of the same monie, should at the least haue in his house for his furniture an habergeon, a cap of Steele, a speare, and a sword, or bowe and arrowes. Furthermore he ordeined, that no man might sell or late to gage his armour and weapon, but should be bound to leaue it to his next heire. When the French king and the earle of Flanders were aduertised that king Henrie had made this ordinance amongst his subjects, they gaue commandement that their people should be armed after the like manner.

Matth. Paris.

This yeare after Candlemasse, Laurence archbishop of Dublin came ouer to the king into Normandie, and brought with him the son of Roderike king of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of conuenants passed betwixt them, as the payment of tribute and such like. The said archbishop died there in Normandie, whereupon the king sent Geffrey de Haie one of his chaplains, and chapleine also to Alerius the popes legat into Ireland, to seize that archbishops see into his hands. He also sent John Lacie constable of Chester, and Richard de Deake, to haue the citie of Dublin in keeping, which Hugh Lacie had in charge before, and now was discharged, bicause the king took displeasure with him, for that without his licence he had married a daughter of the king of Conagh, according to the manner of that countrie.

This yeare also, Geffrey the kings bassard sonne, who was the clea of Lincolne, and had receiued the profits of that bishopricke by the space of seven yeares, and had his election confirmed by the pope in the feast

of the Epiphantie at Parlebridge, in presence of the king and bishops renounced that preferment, of his owne free will. Within a while after the pope sent a streit commandement vnto Richard archbishop of Canturburie, either to cause the same Geffrey by the censure of the church to renounce his miter, or else to take vpon him the order of priesthood. Wherefore vpon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his especiall friends, iudging himselfe insufficient for the one, he was contented to part with the other; and thereupon wrote letters vnto the said archbishop of Canturburie, in foyme as followeth.

A letter of Geffrey the kings base sonne elect of Lincolne to Richard archbishop of Canturburie.

Menerabili patri Richardo Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo apostolica sedis legato, Galfridus domini regis Anglie filius & cancellarius salutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maiestati apostolica vestre iniungere sanctitati, ut me certo tempore vocaretis ad suscipiendum ordinem sacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego vero considerans quamplures episcopos maturiores ac prouectiores prudentia & aetate vix tanta administrationi sufficere, nec sine periculo animarum suarum sui officium pontificatus ad perfectum explorare, veritus sum onus importabile senioribus mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hac non ex leuitate animi, sed ob reuerentiam sacramenti. Habito itaque tractatu super eo cum domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus meisque rege & Pictonensi & Britannorum comitibus: episcopis etiam Henrico Baiocensi, Frogerio Sagienensi, Reginaldo Batoniensi, Sefrido Cicestrensi, qui presentes aderant, aliter de vita & statu meo disposui, volens patris mei obsequi militare ad tempus, & ab episcopalibus abstinerere: omne itaque ius electionis inde & Lincolniensem episcopatum spontanea, libere, quiete, & integre, in manus vestra pater sancte resigno, tam electionem quam episcopatus absolutionem postulans a vobis, tanquam a metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apostolica sede specialiter delegato. Bene vale.

The king for his maintenance, now after he had resigned his bishopricke, gaue him 500. markes of yearelie rent in England, and as much in Normandie, and made him moreover lord chancellor.

This yeare also after Easter, the kings of England and France came to an enteruue together, at a place in the confines of their countries called by some writers Vadum Sancti Remigij, on a mondaye being the 17. of April, in which assemble of those two princes, the knights templers and hospitallers presented to them letters directed from pope Alexander vnto all christian princes, aduertising them of the danger wherein the holie land stood at that present, if speedie remedie were not the sooner provided. Wherefore he exhorted them to aduise their helping hand towards the releafe thereof, granting vnto all such as would enterprize to go thither in person (to remaine there vpon defense of the countrie against the infidels) great pardon, as to those that did continue there the space of two yeeres, pardon of penance for all their sins, except theft, extortion, roberie, and vsurie; in which cases restitution was to be made, if the partie were able to do it; if not, then he should be absolved as well for those things as for other. And those that remained one yeare in those parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penance due for all their sinnes. And to those that went to visit the holie sepulchre, he also granted great pardon, as remission of their sinnes, whether they came thither or peradventure died by the waie. He also granted his free indulgence vnto those that went to warre against the common, the professed and open enemies of our religion.

In opidi
for arm

The danger
of the holie
land.

Tewes
haue ne
mour.

religion in the holie land, as his predecessors the popes Urbanus and Eugenius had granted in time past: and he received likewise their twines, their children, their goods and possessions vnder the protection of S. Peter and the church of Rome.

The two kings hauing heard the popes letter read, and taken good aduice thereof, promised by Gods fauour shoulde to prouide conuenient aid for release of the holie land, and of the christians as yet remaining in the same. This was the end of their communication for that time, and so they departed, the French king into France, and the king of England into Normandie.

In the meane time, by the king of Englands appointment, William king of Scotland went ouer into Normandie, and by the aduice and good admonition of king Henrie, he granted licence vnto two bishops of his realme of Scotland, to wit, Aberdene and saint Andrewes, to returne into Scotland, whom he had lately before banished, and driuen out of his realme. Moreover, as king Henrie late at Harcliet readie to saile ouer into England, discord fell betwixt the king of France and the erle of Flanders, so that the king of England at desire of the French king returned backe, and came vnto Gilos, where the French king met him, and so did the erle of Flanders, betwixt whom vpon talke had in the matter depending in controuersie, he made a concord, and then comming downe to Chirburge, he and the king of Scots in his companie passed ouer into England, landing at Portemouth the 26. of Iulie.

In ordinance
for armour.

The king now being returned into England, ordeined a statute for armour and weapon to be had amongst his subiects here in this realme, which was thus. Euerie man that held a knights fee should be bound to haue a paire of curasses, an helmet, with shield and speare; and euerie knight or man of arms should haue as manie curasses, helmets, shields and speares as he held knights fees in demaine. Euerie man of the lattie hauing goods or reuenues to the value of sixtene marks, should haue one paire of curasses, an helmet, a speare, and a shield. And euerie free man of the lattie hauing goods in value worth ten marks, should haue an habergeon, a Steele cap, a speare; and all burgeses, and the whole communalte of free men should haue a wambais, a cap of Steele, and a speare.

Further it was ordeined, that euerie man thus bound to haue armour, should be swozne to haue the same before the feast of S. Michael, and to be true vnto king Henrie Fitzempres, in defense of whome and of his realme they should keepe with them such armour and weapon, according to his precept and commandement thereof had and made. And no man being furnished with such armour, should sell, pledge, lend, or otherwise alien the same, neither may his lord by any means take the same from him, either by waite of forfeiture, by distresse or pledge, nor by any other means: and when any man died, hauing such armour, he shall leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the field, then he that hath the custodie of his bodie shall haue the armour, and find an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

If any burgesse of any good towne haue more armour than he ought to haue by this statute, he shall sell it or giue it to some man that may weare it in the kings seruice. No Jew might haue armour by this statute: but those that had anie, were appointed to sell the same to such as were inhabitants within the realme; for no man might sell or transport anie armour ouer the sea, without the kings licence. For the better execution of which ordinance, it was ordeined, that inquests should be taken by sufficient in-

Jewes might
haue no ar-
mour.

rors, that they were that were able to haue armour by their abilitie in lands and goods. Also the king would, that none should be swozne to haue armour, except he were a free man of birth and blood.

The same yeare, the king being at Malham, assigned an aid to the maintenance of the christian souldiers in the holie land, that is to wit, 42. thousand marks of silver, and five hundred marks of gold. Hugh Bosun otherwile called Beuclouke the sonne of Ranulfe the second of that name earle of Chester, died this yeare, and was buried at Leke. He left behind him issue by his wife the countesse Beatrice daughter of Richard Lacie lord iustice of England, a sonne named Ranulfe, who succeeded him, being the first erle of Chester, a third of that name after the conquest. Besides this Ranulfe he had foure daughters by his said wife; to wit, Maude married to David earle of Angus, Huntingdon and Galloway; Mabel coupled with William Daubignie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derby, and Hauise joined with Robert Quincie earle of Lincoln.

Matt. Paris.

The decess of
Hugh earle of
Chester.
Ran. Higd.

The 21. of Nouember, Roger archbishop of Porke died, who (when he perceived himselfe in danger of death by force of that his last sicknesse) deliuered great summes of monie vnto certaine bishops and other graue personages to be distributed amongst poore people: but after his death, the king called for the monie, and seized it to his vse, alleadging a sentence giuen by the same archbishop in his life time, that no ecclesiasticall person might giue any thing by will, except he deuised the same whilest he was in perfect health: yet the bishop of Durham would not depart with foure hundred marks which he had receiued to distribute amongst the poore, alleadging that he dealt the same awhile before the archbishops death, and therefore he that would haue it againe, must go gather it vp of them to whom he had distributed it, which he himselfe would in no wise do. But the king toke no small displeasure with this vndiscreet answer, inasmuch that he seized the castell of Durham into his hands, and sought means to disquiet the said bishop by diuerse manner of waies.

The archbisch,
of yorke de-
cesseth.

The king held his Christmasse this yeare at Winchester, and afterwards sailed ouer into Normandie, because he heard that the king his sonne was gone to his brother in law king Philip, and began to practise felonies with trouble, which was true indeed: but yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and toke an oath, that from thenceforth he would neuer swaue from him, nor demand more for his maintenance but an hundred pounds Annoti by the date, and ten pounds a day of the same monie for his wife. His father granted this, and also covenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare he would giue him the seruices of an hundred knights. Neuerthelesse all this did little amend the matter, for though he set a new copie of countenance thereupon, yet he retained his old perverser purpose in his discontented mind, hauing learned that

I 182
The k. passeth
ouer into
Normandie.

The k. & his
sonne effrons
reconciled.

Qui nescit fingere nescit regere.
After this, king Henrie the father as a mediator betwixt the king of France, and the erle of Flanders touching controuersies betwixt them did so much in the matter, that he set them at one for that time.

About the same season, king Henrie the father sent William de Mandeville earle of Albemarle, and other ambassadors vnto the emperor Frederike, to intreat for his sonne in law the duke of Saronie, that he might be againe restored into his fauor, which could not be obtained: for he was already condemned to exile, but yet thus much to pleasure the king of England the emperor granted, that so manie as went with him out of their countrie, might re-

Rog. Houed.

The duke of
Sapornie,

B. Hg.

turne

turne againe at their pleasure, and that his wife the dutchesse and the h. of Englands daughter, should enjoy hir dowrie, and be at libertie, whether she would remaine vpon it, or follooe hir husband into exile, therefore when the daie came that he must depart out of his countrie, he set forward with his wife and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his countrie, and finally came into Normandie, where he was right iustly receiued of his father in law king Henrie.

Shortlie after his comming thither, he gaue licence to the Noble men that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then he himselfe went into Spaine to visit the bodie of S. James the apostle. His wife being great with child, remained with his father in Normandie, and at Argenton she was deliuered of a sonne. This yeare the Welchmen slue Ranulfe Boer thirife of Gloucestershire. King Henrie held his Christmasse at Caen, with his three sons, Henrie the king, Richard earle of Poitou, and Geoffrey earle of Britaine. There was also Henrie duke of Saronie, with his wife and their children, besides the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, with other bishops earles and barons in great number.

Here would king Henrie the father, that his son the king should receiue homage of his brethren Richard earle of Poitou, and Geoffrey earle of Britaine. The earle of Britaine did not staie at the matter, but the earle of Poitou refused, alledging that it was not conuenient so long as their father liued, to acknowledge any superiortie to their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldest sonne, so he claimed the lands which he held due to him in right of his mother. This deniall so much offended his brother the king, that afterwards when Richard would haue done homage, he would not receiue it, whereupon Richard departed from the court in great displeasure, & comming into Poitou, began to fortifie his castles & towne, that he might be in a readinesse to stand vpon his safegard, if his father or brethren should come to pursue him. King Henrie the sonne followed him, set on by the earles and barons of Poitou, which for the sharpe and cruell gouernement of earle Richard, hated him mortallye. Againe on the other side, the fauourable courtiers, & gentle personage, and other noble qualities which they saw in the young king, moued them to take part with him against Richard, and shortly after their brother Geoffrey came with a great armie in aid of his brother the king, in so much that earle Richard not knowing how to shift off the present danger, sent to his father for aid, who being desirous in his mind to see such vnnaturall dealing among his sonnes, gathered an armie and set forward.

He had a little before travelled to see them at one, in so much that where earle Richard held a castle named Clareuall, which after the fathers deceasse ought to remaine vnto king Henrie the son, vpon his complaint thereof made, the father did so much with the earle, that he surrendered it into his fathers hands. Immediatlie after all the three sonnes came to Angers, and there swaie to be obedient vnto their fathers will, and to serue him against all men: whereupon he appointed them a daie to meet at Spirabell, where the barons of Guien should also be, vnto whom king Henrie the sonne had sworne to aid them against earle Richard. Herewith was earle Geoffrey sent vnto them to persuaade them to peace and quietnesse, and to come vnto Spirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appointment: but in stead of persuaading them to peace (contrarie to his oth so oftentimes receiued) he procured them to pursue the warre both against his father and his brother

earle Richard; and no maruell for

Male facta gratia. nunquam bene coalescit.

King Henrie the sonne remaining with his father, shewed outwardlie that he wished for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and so obtained licence of his father to go vnto Limoges, that he might labour to reduce both his brother Geoffrey, and the barons of Guien vnto quietnesse. But such disssembling was put in practise by king Henrie, that when the father followed with an armie, and came vnto Limoges, in stead of receiuing him with hono, as it had bene their duties to haue done, they shot at him, and perced through his vpermost armoe, so that both he and his sonne Richard were constrained to depart. Whosoeit afterwards he entered that citie, and comming forth of it againe to talke with his sonnes, those within Limoges effronies rebelled, so that certeine of them within, shot the booke whereon king Henrie the father rode into the head. And if it had so chanced, that the booke in casting vpon his head had not receiued the blow, the arrow had light in the kings breast, to the great danger & perill of his person. Neither did his sonnes the king and his brother Geoffrey go about to see such an heinous attempt punished, but rather seemed to like well of it, and to mainteine those most malicious enemies of their soueraigne lord and father, for they ioined with them against him, although king Henrie the sonne made countenance to be willing to reconcile his brother and the barons of Guien to his father by waie of some agreement: but his double dealing was to manifest, although indeed he abused his fathers patience for a while, who was desirous of nothing more than to win his sonnes by some courteous meanes, and therefore diuerse times offered to pardon all offences committed by his enemies, at the suit of his sonne the king, who in deed offered himselfe now and then as an intreatour, but that was onelie to win time that his brother with such Zabanders and other soldiers as he had with him in aid, beside the forces of the barons of Guien, might worke the more mischance against their father and their brother earle Richard, in wasting and destroing their countreies that stood stedfast on their side.

In the meane time Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other bishops and abbats both of England and Normandie assembled together at Caen, and in the abbey church of S. Stephan pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all those that did hinder and impeach their purpose, which was to haue peace and concord concluded betwixt the king and his sonnes, the same sonnes onlie out of the said sentence excepted.

Diuerse shittes were made by king Henrie the sonne, and his brother earle Geoffrey also to get monie for the payment of their soldiers, as spoiling of thirnes, and such like. But at length when things framed not to their purpose, and that the harme which they could do, against their father was much lesse than they wished, if power had bene answerable to their willes, king Henrie the sonne through indignation and displeasure (as some write) fell into a greuous sicknesse in a village called Bertell, not farre from Limoges, where his father late at siege.

At the first he was taken with an extreme fever, and after followed a sore fire. Some perceiving himselfe in danger of death, and that the physicians had giuen him ouer, he sent to his father (better late than neuer) confessing his trespasses committed against him, and required of all fatherlie love to come & see him once before he died. But for that the father thought not good to commit himselfe into the hands of such ingracious persons as were about his sonne, he sent his ring vnto him in token of his blessing,

The dutchesse of Saronie deliuered of a sonne. Ranulfe Boer slaine. Anno Reg. 29. 1183

Will. Paruus.

Polydor.

Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. war betwixt the brethren.

The father seeketh to appease the quarrell betwixt his sonnes,

Earle Geoffrey dealeth vn-faithfullie.

The dissolul disssembling of the young king.

King Henrie the sonne falleth sicke.

He sendeth to his father.

and as it were a pledge to signifie that he had forgiven him his unnatural doings against him. The son receiving it with great humilitie, kissed it, and so ended his life in the presence of the archbishop of Burdeaur and others, on the day of saint Barnabie the apostle. He died (as some write) verie penitent and sorrowfull.

His repentance before his death.

A strange kind of superstitious devotion, if this report of our author be true

He is drawn out of his bed, a thing unlike to be true.

His death.

N. Truer.

The bodie of the young king is thus buried at Rouen.

And whereas in his life time he had vowed to make a journeie into the holie land against Gods enemies, and taken upon him the crosse for that intent, he delivered it unto his familiar friend William Marshall to go thither with it in his stead. Moreover when he perceived present death at hand, he first confessed his sinnes secretlie, and after openly before sundrie bishops and men of religion, and received absolution in most humble wise. After this, he caused his fine clothes to be taken from him, and therewith a heare cloth to be put upon him, and after tying a cord about his necke, he said unto the bishops and other that stood by him; I deliver my selfe an unworthy and greivous sinner unto you the ministers of God by this cord, beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ, which pardoned the these confessing his faults on the crosse, that through your prayers and for his great mercies sake it may please him to be mercifull unto my soule; whereunto they all answered, Amen. Then he said unto them, Draw me out of this bed with this cord, and laie me out on that bed streawed with ashes (which he had of purpose prepared) and as he commanded so they did: and they laid at his feet and at his head two great square stones. Thus being prepared to die, he willed his bodie after his deceasse to be conveyed into Normandie, and buried at Rouen. And so after he had received the sacrament of the bodie and blood of our Lord, he departed this life as aforesaid, about the 28. yeare of his age.

His bodie after his death was conveyed towards Rouen, there to be buried accordinglie as he had willed: but when those that had charge to convey it thither were come unto the citie of Mauns, the bishop there and the cleargie would not suffer them to go any further with it, but committed it to buriall in honourable wise within the church of saint Julian. Whereof when the citizens of Rouen were advertised, they were sore offended with that doing, and freight waies sent unto them of Mauns, requiring to have the corps delivered, threatening otherwise with manie earnest bids to fetch it from them by force. Wherefore king Henrie, to set order in this matter, commanded that the corps of his sonne the king should be conveyed unto them of Rouen to be buried in their citie, as he himselfe had willed before his death. And so it was taken up and conveyed to Rouen, where it was effectually buried in the church of our ladie.

Thus ended this young king in his flourishing youth, to whom through his owne trust, defects long life was justlie promised, sith he delighted to begin his government with unlawfull attempts, as an other Absolon against his owne naturall father, seeking by wrongfull violence to pull the scepter out of his hand. He is not put in the number of kings, because he remained for the more part under the governance of his father, so that he rather bare the name of king as appointed to regine, than that he may be said to have reigned in deed. So that here by the waie a notable observation both occurreth and offer it selfe to be noted of us; namely, that even princes choyzen though borne to great excellencie, and in high degree of dignitie, are to consider with themselves, that notwithstanding their statelie titles of sovereignty, they have a dutie to discharge unto their parents, which if it be neglected, and that in place thereof disobedience is substituted, God himselfe (when politike

lawes provide not to punish such offenses) will take the cause in hand, & will powere vengeance upon such ingratiouse choyzen. For he will be true of his word both in blessing and cursing, in blessing the dutifull child with long life and happie daies, and in cursing the obstinate and froward with short life and unfortunate daies, according to the tenure of his law. If this man had lived in the old Romans time, when aged persons were so reuerenced and honoured (much more parents) he had bene cut off in the prime of his disobedience, and present death had bene inflicted upon him as a due and deserved reward; which Iuuenal noteth excellentlie well in these wordes,

*Credebant hoc grande nefas, & morte piandum,
Si iuuenis vetulo non assurrexerat, & si
Barbato cuncting puer licet ipse videret
Plura domi sarra, & maioris glandis acernos,
Tam venerabile erat praecedere quatuor annis,
Primis par adeo sacra lanugo senectae.*

Iuuen. sat. 13.

King Henrie (after his sonne the king was thus dead) enforced his power more earnestlie than before to winne the citie and castell of Limoges which he had besieged, and at length had them both surrendered into his hands, with all other castles and places of strength kept by his enemies in those parts, of the which some he furnished with garisons, and some he caused to be lated flat with the ground.

Limoges rendered to king Henrie.

There rose about the same time occasion of strife and variance betwixt king Henrie and the French king, about the enticement of the countie lieng upon Gisors, called Menquesine, on this side the citie of Bept, which was given unto king Henrie the sonne, in consideration of the marriage betwixt him and queene Margaret the French kings sister. For the French king now after the death of his brother in law king Henrie the sonne, required to have the same restored unto the crowne of France: but king Henrie was not willing to part with it. At length they met betwixt Trie and Gisors to talke of the matter, where they agreed that queene Margaret the widow of the late deceased king Henrie the son, should receive yearelie during hir life 1750 pounds of Anount monie at Paris, of king Henrie the father and his heires; in consideration whereof she should release and quit claime all hir right to those lands that were demanded, as Menquesine and others. Shortly after, Messire erle of Britaine came to his father, and submitting himselfe, was reconciled to him, and also to his brother Richard earle of Poitou. Also I find that king Henrie at an entertainment had betwixt him and the French king at their accustomed place of meeting betwixt Trie and Gisors on saint Nicholas day, did his homage to the same French king for the lands which he held of him on that side the sea, which to do till then he had refused. The same yeare king Henrie held his Christmas at the citie of Mauns.

Menquesine

The kings of England and France talke together.

Anno Reg. 30

When the king had set the French king and the earle of Flanders at agreement for the controuersie that chanced betwixt them about the lands of Meritendois, he passed through the earle of Flanders countie, and comming to Waland, took ship and sailed ouer into England, landing at Dover the tenth day of June, with his daughter the duchesse of Saronie, who was afterwards deliuered of a sonne at Winchester, and his husband the duke of Saronie came also this yeare into England, and was iollilie receiued and honourable entertained of the king his father in law.

1584

The duchesse of Saronie deliuered of a sonne.

And whereas the archbishop of Colen came ouer into England this yeare to visit the tombe of Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie, the king trauelled to make an agreement betwixt him and the Saxonish duke touching a certelie variance depending

The archbishop of Colen

Hugh Po-
nant.

The duke of
Saxony par-
doned and re-
voked out of
exile.

Death of No-
ble men.

The govern-
ment of the fo-
rests divided.

ding betwixt them, wherein the king did so much, that the archbishop forgave all injuries past, and so they were made friends. Also by the counsell of the same archbishop the king sent Hugh Poant archdeacon of Liscus, and others, ambassadors from him unto pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made some waie to obtaine a pardon for the said duke, and licence for him to returne into his countrie. Those that were sent demeaned themselves so discretly in doing their message, that the emperor comming where the pope then was, that is to say, at Verona in Italie, at the earnest suit of the said pope was contented to release all his euill will which he bare towards the duke, pardoned him for all things past, and licenced him now at length to returne home into his countrie, his condemnation of exile being clerlie revoked.

There died this yeare sundrie honorable personages, as Simon earle of Huntington son to Simon earle of Northampton, after whose decease the king gaue his earldome unto his brother David, or (as Radulph de Diceto saith) because the said Simon died without issue, the king gaue the earldome of Huntington unto William king of Scots sonne to earle Henrie that was sonne to king David. Also the earle of Warwike died this yeare, and Thomas Fitz Bernard lord chiefe iustice of the forests, which came Alaine de Beuill had inioined before him. Now after the death of this Thomas Fitz Bernard, the king diuided his forests into sundrie quarters, and to euery quarter he appointed foure iustices, two of the spiritualtie, and two knights of the temporaltie, beside two generall wardens that were of his owne seruants, to be as surueyers aboue all other foresters of vert and venison, whose office was to see that no disorder nor spoile were committed within any groundes of warren contrarie to the assises of forests. Diuerse prelates died this yeare also, as foure bishops, to wit, Gerald surnamed la Bucle bishop of Chesser, Malran bishop of Rochester, Joceline of Salisbury, and Bartholomew of Excester.

Besides these, diuerse abbats, & on the 16. of February died Richard archbishop of Canturburie in the 11. yeare after his first entring into the gouernment of that see. His bodie was buried at Canturburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and wasteth the goods of that church inordinatlie. It was reported that before his death there appeared to him a vision, which said: Thou hast wasted the goods of the church, and I shall rot thee out of the earth. Whereupon he took such a feare, that he died within eight daies after. Then Baldwin who before was bishop of Worcester succeeded him, he was the 40. archbishop that had ruled the church of Canturburie. The king and bishops procured his election not without much adoe: for the monkes pretending a right thereto, were sore against it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white monke, he neuer eat flesh to his liues end. On a time an old woman met him, and asked him if it were true that he neuer eat any manner of flesh; It is true said he. It is false quoth she, for I had but once piew to find me with, and thy seruants haue taken hie from me. Whereunto he answered, that if it so were, he should haue as good a cow restored to him by Gods grace as his owne was. The same time also Margaret the wife of the late deceased king Henrie the first, returned into France to her brother king Philip, and was after joined in marriage with Bela king of Hungarie.

But after long digression to returne againe to our purpose. The king being aduertised of the destruction and spoile which the Welshmen daily did practise against his subjects, both in their persons and substance, assembled a mightie armie, and came with

the same unto Worcester, meaning to invade the enimies countries. But Kees ap Griffin fearing his puissance thus bent against him and other the leaders of the Welshmen, came by safeconduct unto Worcester, and there submitting himselfe, swore fealtie to the king, and became his liegeman, promising to bring his sonne and nephues unto him as pledges. But when (according to his promise) he would haue brought them, they refused to go with him, and so the matter rested for a time.

After this, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Windsor, and the same yeare Heraclius the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Roger master of the house of St. Johns of Jerusalem came into England, to make suit unto king Henrie for aid against the Saracens that daily wan from the christians, townes and holds in the holie land, taking and killing the people most miserable, as in the description of the holie land may more plainelie appeare, where the doings of Saladine the Saracen are touched. The patriarch made earnest request unto the king, proffering him the keyes of the citie of Jerusalem, and of the holie sepulchre (with the letters of Lucius the third then pope of Rome) charging him to take vpon him the iourne, and to haue mind of the oath which before time he had made.

The king deferred his answer for a time, and calling a counsell of his lords together at Clerkenwell, on the 15. of Aprill, asked their aduice in this matter: who declared to him, that as they took it, he might not well depart so far out of his realme and other dominions, leaving the same as a prey to his enimies. And whereas it was thought by some, that he might appoint one of his sonnes to take vpon him that iourne, yet because they were not as then with in the realme, it was iudged that in their absence there was no reason why it should be so decreed.

Whosoeuer in the meane time vpon licence granted by the king, that so manie might go as would, Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie preached, and exhorted men to take vpon them the crosse so effectualie, that a great number receiving it, fullie purposed to go on in that iourne. At length the king gaue answer to the patriarch, excusing himselfe in that he could go, for he declared that he might not leaue his land without keeping, being in danger to remaine as a prey to the robberie and spoile of the French men: but he offered to giue large summes of gold and siluer to such as would take vpon them that voyage. With this answer the cardinal was nothing pleased, and therefore said: We see a man and not monie: euery christian region well nere sendeth vs monie, but no countrie sendeth vs a prince; and therefore we require a prince that needeth monie, and not monie that needeth a prince. But the king still alledged matter for his excuse, so that the patriarch departed from him comfortlesse, and greatlie discontented in his mind: whereof the king hauing knowledge, and intending somewhat to recomfort him with sweet and pleasant words, followed him to the sea side. But the more the king thought to satisfie the patriarch with words, the more wrath and discontented he became himselfe to be: in so much that at the last he said unto him, Whither to hast thou reigned gloriously, but hereafter shalt thou be forsaken of him, whom thou at this time forsakest. Consider of him, and remember that he hath giuen thee, and what thou hast yielded to him againe, how first thou wast false to the king of France; and after suedst archbishop Becket, and now hast thou forsaken the protection of Christes faith.

The king was stirred with these words, and said unto the patriarch, Though all the men of the land were one bodie, and spake with one mouth, they durst not

Heraclius pa-
triarck of Je-
rusalem.

A counsell at
Clerkenwell.

Baldwin
archbishop
of Cantur-
burie exhort-
eth men to
go to waite
against the
Saracens.

Five thou-
sand markes
saith Geni-
Dor.

Ran. Hig.

The words
of the patri-
arch to the
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“not utter such words against me. No wonder (said the patriarch) for they love thine and not thee; that is to say, they love thy temporal gods, and stand in feare of thee for losse of promotion, but thy soule they love not. And when he had so said, he offered his head to the king; saying, Do by me even as thou diddest by archbishop Becket, for all is one to me, either to be slaine here in Europe of a wicked christian, or in the holie land by a Saracen, for thou art worse than a Saracen, and thy people follow the prey and spoile and not a man. The king kept his patience, and said, I may not go out of my land, for if I should, mine owne sonnes would rise and rebell against me. No maruell (said the patriarch) for of the diuell they came, and to the diuell they shall. And thus he departed from the king in great displeasure. Thus haue some written; but by others it appeareth that the patriarch remained here till the king went ouer into Normandie himselfe, in companie of whom the patriarch went also (as after shall appeare.)

Rash iudgement in an holie father.

R. Houed. John the kings sonne made king of Ireland. Ger. Dor.

This yeare the last of March, king Henrie made his sonne John knight, and shortly after sent him ouer into Ireland, of which countrie he had made him king. At his comming into Ireland, he was honourable receiued of the archbishop of Dueline, and other noble men that had bene sent thither before him. The king allowed him great abundance of treasure, but he hauing learned that

Non minor est virtus quam quarere parua tueri,

keeping it in his coffers (as one now come into a strange place, and not knowing what he shuld want) would not depart with it so frælie amongst his souldiers and men of warre as they looked for: by reason whereof their seruice was such, that in diuerse conflicts he lost manie of his men, and at length was driuen through want of conuenient aid, to returne againe into England, hauing appointed his capteins and souldiers to remaine in places most expedient for the defense of that countrie. ¶ But here of yee may read moze at large in the historie of Ireland.

On the mondaie in the weeke before Easter, chanced a soze earthquake thorough all the parts of this land, such a one as the like had not bene heard of in England sithens the beginning of the world. For stones that laie couched fast in the earth, were removed out of their places, stone houses were ouerthrowne, and the great church of Lincolne was rent from the top downwards.

The day next after this terrible wonder, the king and the patriarch with the bishop of Durham and a great sort of other Noble men of this realme, passed the seas from Douer to Wilsand, and so rode forth towards Normandie, where immediatlie upon his comming thither he raised a power, and sent word to his sonne Richard earle of Poitou (which had fortified the townes and castles of Poitou against him, and taken his brother Geoffrey prisoner) that except he deliuered vp into his mothers hands the whole countrie of Poitou, he would surelie come to chastise him with an iron rod, and bring him vnder obedience smallie to his ease. Upon this message earle Richard being somewhat better aduised, obeyed his fathers commandements in all points, rendering vp into his mothers hands the earldome of Poitou, and comming to his father as an obedient sonne, shewed himselfe readie to serue him at commandement with a glad and willing mind. Some after this, and about the seauenth houre of the day, the sunne suffered a generall eclipse, so that no part of it appeared, and therewith folloved great thunder with lightning and soze tempest, with the violence whereof both men and beasts were destroyed, and manie houses burned.

Rog. Houed. Particular and not general, faith Ger. Dor.

Shortly after this, the kings of England and France met and communed together for the aiding of them in the holie land, and they promised indeed to send thither both men and monie: but the patriarch made small account thereof, for he was much deceiued of that which he hoped to haue brought to passe, which was, either to haue got the king of England, or one of his sonnes, or some other man of great authoritie with him into the holie land: but bicause that would not be, he departed from the court verie sorrowfull and soze displeased, so that it may be thought, that then (and not before his departure out of England) he spake his mind so plainlie vnto the king (as before yee haue heard.)

Moreouer, about this time king Henrie obtained of pope Urbane the third, that he might crowne which of his sonnes it shoulde please him king of Ireland, in token of which grant and confirmation, the said pope sent vnto him a crowne of peacocks feathers, after a feat maner woven in with gold.

This yeare the king held his Christmase at Dartmouth, and shortly after came to a communication with the French king, at the which he toke a solemne oath that he would deliuer the ladie Alice the French kings sister (whome he had as yet in his custodie) vnto his sonne Richard erle of Poitou in marriage. For the which marriage to be had and solemnized, the French king granted to deliuer vnto the said Richard the towne of Gisors, with all that which his father king Lewes promised vnto king Henrie the sonne (latelie deceased) in marriage with quene Margarete the wife of the same Henrie, receiuing aith thereto, neuer to make aie claime or chalenge to the same towne and lands.

King Henrie (after he had thus concluded and finished his affaires with the French king) returned backe into England in Maie, and then was Hugh prior of Witham instituted bishop of Lincolne after that the see there had bene void and without any lawfull gouernour almost the space of seauentene yeares. This Hugh was reputed a verie godlie and vertuous man. Before him Walter Constance was nominated to that see, but bicause he was made archbishop of Rouen before he was inuested in the church of Lincolne, he is not accounted in number of the bishops of Lincolne.

Moreouer king Henrie shortly after his returne at this time into England, assembled a great armie, and went with the same to Caerleill, in purpose to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chastised Rowland lord of that countrie, who was sonne to the third the sonne of Fergus, for the iniuries done to his cosine germains, namelie to Duncane sonne to Gilbert, who was sonne to the same Fergus, in spoiling him and the residue (after the deceasse of the said Gilbert) of their parts of inheritance, usurping the whole to himselfe. But as the king was now readie to inuade his countrie, Rowland came to him, and used such meanes vnder pretense of satisfaction, that he made his peace with the king, who thereupon brought backe his armie, and did no moze at that time.

About the same time came newes to the king, that Hugh Lacie was slaine in Ireland by an Irish gentleman that was his confederate (or rather by a labourer, as in the Irish historie you may read) whereof the king was nothing sorry, bicause the same Hugh was growne to so high degree of puissance in that countrie, that he refused to obeie the kings commandement when he sent for him.

¶ It is to be noted, that when king Henrie had conquered the most part of Ireland, and set the countrie in some good order, after his comming from thence, such capteines as he left there behind him, were

Anno Reg. 32.

I 186

King Henrie returneth into England. Ger. Dor. Hugh prior of Witham made bishop of Lincolne.

Hugh Lacie slaine.

Hugh Lacie's
diligence to
enlarge his
possessions in
Ireland.

were not idle, but still did what they could to enlarge the confines which were committed to their governance: but amongst them all this Hugh Lacie was the chiefeft, in ſomuch that after the death of Richard earle of Strigulle, the king made him governour of the countrey in place of the ſaid earle, by reaſon whereof he ſo enlarged his poſſeſſions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onely to the enemies, but alſo to his aſſociats, as to ſuch Engliſh captives as were abiding in Ireland upon gard of the Engliſh frontiers. For if any of them diſobeyed his commandement, he would not ſticke to chaſtiſe them at his pleaſure, ſo that by ſuch meanes he ſeemed rather to conquer the countrey to his owne uſe, than to the kings. Wherein he dealt not ſo direaſle or diſcreetlie as he might; for,

Homines volunt allici non impelli.

He had alſo joined himſelfe in marriage with a daughter of the king of Wlleſter, not making king Henrie privie to the ſame. Whereupon the king having ſundry informations preſented to him of ſuch his preſumptuous demeanour, commanded him by his letters to returne home, and come before his preſence, which to do (as before I have ſaid) he reſuſed, by reaſon whereof he confirmed the ſuſpicion which was conceived of him, to riſe upon no vaine conjectures, and therefore the evil that came to him was nothing lamented of king Henrie, who with good cauſe was highly offended towards him for the contempt and conſiderations aforeſaid.

King Henrie
not ſozie for
the death of
Lacie.

The death of
Geffrey the
kings ſonne.

This yeare Geffrey the kings ſon who was earle of Britaine died at Paris, and was buried in the ſame citie, leaving behind him (beſides two daughters) one onely ſonne as then in his mothers wombe, of whom ſhe was delivred in the night of the feaſt of Caſter next ſuſeining his husbands death: he was named Arthur, and ſucceeded his father in the earldome of Britaine. His fathers death was occaſioned (as men ſudge) by a fall which he caught at a tournament, for he was ſore hurted therewith, and never had his health, but finally fell into a ſtir and ſo died.

About this ſeaſon pope Urbane wrote unto Baldwin archbiſhop of Canturburie, granting him licence to build a church at Alkinton, in honour of S. Stephen and Thomas Becket now reputed a martyr, and that the fourth part of the offerings which came to the boſe of Thomas the martyr ſhould be aſſigned to the uſe of the monks, and an other fourth part to the buildings of that church, and an other fourth part to be given to the poore, and the other fourth part remaining he might reſerve to himſelfe to beſtow at his pleaſure. But within a while after, at the ſuit and ſupplication of the prior and convent of Canturburie (who liked nothing of the former partition) the pope ſent letters of prohibition to the ſaid archbiſhop, that he ſhould ceaſe from building of the ſore mentioned church, becauſe the building thereof would be prejudiciall to the church of Canturburie.

The ladie
Ermenegard
the vicount
Beaumonts
daughter, mar-
ried to Will-
iam king of
Scots.

Caſtell of E-
denborough.

About the ſame time alſo king Henrie gave his coſen the ladie Ermenegard (who was daughter to Richard Viſcount Beaumont) in marriage unto William king of Scotland, cauſing the archbiſhop of Canturburie to ſoine them together in the bond of matrimonie within the chappell at Woodſtocke, where he kept great there in honour of that marriage for the ſpace of foure daies together. And further he gave at the ſame time unto the king of Scots the caſtell of Edenborough: and the king of Scots ſtreitwaies gave it unto his wiſe the ſorſaid Ermenegard, as a portion of hir dower, augmented with an hundred pounds of lands by the yeare, and 40. knights fees.

The French king required to have the cuſtodie of the infant Arthur, heire to Geffrey earle of Bri-

taine: but king Henrie would in no wiſe grant thereto. Wherefore he ſent Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, William de Mandeville earle of Albemarle, and Ranulfe de Glanville lord cheſe juſtice of England to the French court, to talke with king Philip about that matter, ſo that king Philip having heard them, was contented to ſtate from attempting force till the feaſt of S. Hilarie. But in the meane time it chanced, that one ſir Richard de Wallles a knight of the realme of France went about to fortiſie a caſtell in a village that belonged to him called Wallles, ſituated betwixt Trie & Viſozs. Whereupon Henrie Wre (conſtable of Viſozs under William earle of Albemarle) was nothing content therewith, and therefore got a companie together, & went ſoorth to diſturbe the worke. Upon this occaſion the ſervants of the ſaid ſir Richard de Wallles came ſoorth, and encountred with him in the field, in ſomuch that kaſe the ſonne of ſir Richard de Wallles was ſlaine, and the reſidue that were with him ſled, many of them being ſore beaten and wounded.

When the French king was informed hereof, he cauſed all the kings of England his ſubjects, that could be found within his countreies and dominions of France to be apprehended, and their goods ſeized. The ſherwards, bailiffs, & officers then of king Henrie, did the like by the French kings ſubjects that chanced to be at that preſent within the king of Englands countreies, on that further ſide of the ſea. But within a little while after, the French king ſet the Engliſh ſubjects at libertie, and ſo likewiſe did the R. of Englands officers releaſe the French ſubjects.

At this time king Henrie held his Chriſtmaffe at Wilford, and ſhortlie after came one Adrianus a ſubdeacon cardinall, and Hugh de Poquant from the court of Rome, ſent as legats from pope Urbane into Ireland, that they might crowne earle John the kings ſonne king of that land. But king Henrie made a delaie therein, taking the legats with him into Normandie, whither he ſailed at the ſame time, and landing at Walland, he went from thence into Normandie, and ſhortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at a place called Vadum Sancti Remigij, where after much talke they could not agree, by reaſon the French king demanded things unreaſonable, and ſo they departed without any thing concluded [ſaving a truce] till after Whitiſuntide.

About the ſame time, the citie of Jeruſalem was taken by Saladine the cheſe prince of the Saracens. Whereupon much conference was had among the chriſtian princes for the ſuccozing of thoſe chriſtians, which as yet held and defended other peeces in the holie land, ſo that by publiſhing of the popes buls, manie toke on them the croſſe: and amongst other Richard the ſonne of king Henrie (without anie licence obtained of his father) received the ſame, bowing to go thither out of hand, and to fight againſt Gods enemies to the uttermoſt of his power.

In the meane time the grudge will increased betwixt king Henrie and Philip the French king, partly for one cauſe, and partly for another, but ſpecially one cheſe occaſion was for that earle Richard deſerred the davings of his homage unto king Philip for the dutchie of Aquitain, which by his fathers appointment he now inioined and held. The French king to prevent his enemies, immediatlie upon the expiring of the truce raiſed a power, and entering into the dominions belonging to king Henrie, waſted the countrey till he came unto Chateau Raoul: about which caſtell alſo he ſoorthwith planted his ſiege.

When king Henrie was advertiſed hereof, he raiſed his power alſo, and together with his ſonne earle Richard came with all ſped to ſuccour his people,

Embassadors
ſent to the
French king.

Sir William
de wallis.

Ger. Dor.

A truce
granted.

The king of
Englands
ſubjects are-
ſted in Fraiſe.

The French
ſubjects are-
ſted in Nor-
mandie.

Erle Ric-
ardeth hi-
ther faire
ſwords.

Anno Reg. 1187
Adrianus
a cardinall.

King Henrie
paſſeth our
into Nor-
mandie.

He ſet
on his treaſure,

Ger. Dor.

Jeruſalem
taken.

Anno Re-
1187
King Ri-
chard returnet
Englan

Out of the
annales of
France writ-
ten by Sir
coll Gallis.

King Ri-
chard paſſeth
into Nor-
mandie.
Polydor
Beaumer
from the
parts.

ple, and to saue his castell from the hands of his enemies. Now when he approached nere vnto the place, he pitcht doونه his tents ouer against the one side of the french campe, and earle Richard on the other, so that they were readie to assaile the french king on both sides at once, but before they came to ioine battle, by the mediation of a cardinall (as some write) or (as other saie) through meanes made by the earle of Flanders, the matter was taken vp. For earle Richard through perswasion of the said earle of Flanders came to the french king, and agreed with him, before that his father king Henrie was resolved of any such matter for his part, so that he was now in a maruellous perplexitie, & almost to seeke what was best to do, as a man fearing his owne suertie, by reason of mistrust which he had in his sonne Richard: but yet at the length through humble suit made by his said sonne vnto the french king, a truce was granted by the space of two yeares.

Earle Richard, after the matter was thus taken vp, went into France with the french king, of whom he was so honoured whilst he was there, that they kept one table at dinner and supper in the daie time, and (as was said) one bed serued them both to sleepe on in the night.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of all this, fell into great suspicion thereto this great familiarity betwixt the french king and his sonne would tend, and doubting the likeliest, sent for him to returne vnto him. But earle Richard perceiuing his father to mistrust his loialtie, gaue faire words, and promised to returne with all convenient speed. Howbeit he ment an other matter, and so departing from the french court, came to Chinon, where he got into his hands a great portion of his fathers treasure that was kept there, against the will of him that had the custodie of it, and taking it thus auaile with him, he began to fortifie his castels and townes within his countrie of Poitou, and cleerly refused to come backe to his father for a time, although at length forsaking the counsell of naughtie men, he turned home vnto him, and humbly submitted himselfe, in such wise as to his dutie appertained. And for the more assurance therof, he renewed his fealtie, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie euangelists. Which done, king Henrie went into Britaine with an armie, and tooke the castell of Mountreils by siege, which one Henrie de Lions, and one Guinemer his brother had gotten into their hands, after the deceasse of Geoffrey earle of Britaine.

This yeare the twentie of October, the citie of Chichester was almost wholie consumed to ashes by mischance of fire. The head church with the bishops palace, and the houses of the canons were burnt euen downe to the ground. After this king Henrie held his Christmasse at Caen, from whence he went to Hardest, and there taking the sea passed ouer into England. The french king hearing by and by of his departure, assembled a great armie, and theaetned to despoile the countrie of Normandie, and other lands on that side the sea, except king Henrie would deliuer into his hands the towne of Vieux, with the appurtenances, or cause his sonne Richard earle of Poitou to take to wife his sister Alice, according to his promise.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he turned with all speed into Normandie, that he might provide for timely resistance, if the french king came forward to invade his dominions. About the selfe same time came newes out of the holie land, that Saladin after the winning of Ierusalem, pursued his victorie with such successe, that he had taken from the christians the more part of all other townes and strengths within the land. These newes were no

thing pleasant to the christian princes, and namelie the two kings Henrie and Philip seemed sorrowfull for the same, and therefore came to an enterbiew together on the 21. day of Iannuarie betwixt Trie and Vieux, where the archbishop of Tre was present, though whose earnest exhortation the two kings were made friends, and the same day receiued the crosse at his hands in purpose to make a iourneie together against those Saracens that had done such iniuries to the christian name. And for a difference that one nation might be knowne from an other, the french king and his people toke vpon them to weare red crosses, the king of England and his subiects white crosses: but the earle of Flanders and his men ware greene.

Herewith they departed asunder, each one repairing to their countries to prouide their armies, and make them in a readinesse to set forward by a day towards this necessarie iourneie. King Henrie coming to Chinon, by aduise of his counsell, ordeined that euerie one of his subiects should yeld a tenth part of his reuenues and moueable goods for that yeare towards the aid of them in the holie land (coyne of that yeares growth excepted, and also all armour, horkes, bowes, apparell, ornaments of chappels, and pretious stones, which should not come in the rate of goods now taxed, nor be charged with this payment.) Moreover those knights and men of warre that were appointed to go in this iourneie paid nothing, but had that monie also towards their furniture, which were gathered of their tenants and farmers, horkers, burgesses and others that toke vpon them the crosse without licence of their lords, paid his tenth, so that none of them went free.

There were also good orders denised, both for the aduancement of Gods glorie, and the releefe of the common-wealth, as that no man should sweare in any outragious manner, that no man should playe at cards, dice or tables, and that no manner of person after Easter should weare any coslie furs or cloth of scarlet, nor that men should vse to haue their tables serued with more than two dishes of meat at one meale, nor should haue their apparell cut, fagged, or laced: and further, that none of them should take any women forth with them in this iourneie, except such a land: esse, of whom there might not growe a nie suspicion of wanton life. It was also ordeined, that the monie of such as died in this iourneie, should go towards the finding and maintenance of their seruants and of poore people, and towards the aid of the christians in the holie land. Moreover, the pope granted that all those that went forth in this iourneie, repenting and confessing their sinnes, should be absolved and pardoned of the same. The king having thus taken order for his businesse in the parts on the further side the sea, came now ouer into England againe, landing at Winchelsey on a saturday the thirtieth day of Iannuarie, and calling a counsell together at Gaittington, which is eight or nine miles from Southampton, he there declared what orders he had taken for his iourneie into the holie land. Wherevpon the bishops of Dorseth and Lincoln, and a great number of other people toke vpon them the crosse at the preaching of the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester.

This done, king Henrie toke order also for the reliefe of the tenth, as well here in England, as he had done in the parts subiect to him on the further side the sea. He also sent Hugh bishop of Durham, and other both spirituall and temporall persons, vnto William king of Scots, to gather the tenth like wise within his countrie, but he met them betwixt Warke and Biggtham, and would not suffer them to enter into Scotland, but he offered to giue vnto the king of England

An enterbiew
betwixt the
two kings.

The two
kings receiue
the crosse.

The french
swore red
crosses,
The English
white,
The Flemings
greene.

An aid granted
to them in
the holie land.
Wil. Paruus.

Good orders
and disciplin
instituted.

The king res
turneth into
England.

A counsell
helden at
Gaittington.
Ger. Dor.

A tenth leuied
in Scotland.

The king
of Scots.

Ger. Dor.

A truce
granted.

Earle Richard
grieth his fa-
ther faire
words.

He segeth by-
on his fathers
treasure.

Anno Reg. 34.
1188
King Henrie
returneth into
England.

King Henrie
passeth againe
into Nor-
mandie.
Polydor.
Because newes
from the east
part.

England in recompense of the tenths, and for to haue againe his castels, the summe of 5000. marks of siluer, which could not be accepted. The French king likewise gathered the tenths in his countrie towards this intended iourne. But by the working of some wicked spirit (as we may well thinke) which enuied the aduancement of the christian commonwealth, that god meaning of the two kings was broken and disappointed: for the peace latelie concluded betwixt them continued not long vniuolated.

The French writers impute the fault thereof vnto English men, and the English writers laie it to French men. The French writers say, that earle Richard the son of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Reimond earle of Tholouze. The English writers reppose the French king as a wicked man, in that he should of purpose breake the peace and moue warre against king Henrie, to with draw him from going to make warre against the Saracens, to the which enterpryse he was wholie bent and inclined. Such is the maner of manie writers, who more affectionat to the loue of their countrie than to the truth, do not obserue the law of histories in their writings, but rather inuie one against another in a bialling and repprouing maner.

¶ Examplis hereof are more than by any possible may be remembered, and namelie for benenitie sake George Buchanan in the 8. booke of his Scottish historie verie reprochfullie speaketh of Richard Grafon (a right reuerend man while he liued and of enter name also being dead) charging him with ignorance, and the report of a shamelesse lier. Whose case, because it is not so convenient to be handled in this place as els where, we will remitt to the reigns of * Edward the third, in whose time John Ballioll was king of Scots, and clere him (as well as we can) from a Scottish slander. Another example also we haue, and that most notozious, of Gabriel Præcolus the Jesuit, who hauing neuer bene in England, nor yet vnderstanding the English tong, blashphemy not to say that the translation of the English bible hath in it a thousand faults. A singular and insufferable impudencie, when men passe not what they vomit and cast vp out of a full gorge sursetting with malice and rancour! But what shall we say,

Omne superuacuum pleno de pectore manat.

In deed (as Roger Houeden and other do witness) the foresaid earle Reimond, and also Aimer earle of Angouleme, Geoffrey de Racon, and Geoffrey de Lusignan, with the most part of all the pables of Poitou, made warre against earle Richard, and he held tacke against them all, and in the end overcame them. Amongst other of earle Reimonds part whom he took, was one Peter Seille, by whose counsell earle Reimond had taken diuerse merchants of Poitou that were subiects to earle Richard, & done manie other displeasures to him and to his countrie, therefore earle Richard kept this Peter in verie close prison, and would not put him to his ransom: in somuch that earle Reimond took two of the king of Englands knights, sir Robert Doer, and sir Richard Fraser, as they were returning from Compostella, where they had bene to visit the bodye of S. Iagges, but they were quicklie set at libertie by the French kings commandement, for the reuerence of S. James whose pilgrims they were.

After this, earle Richard entred with a great army into the lands of earle Reimond, wasted the same, and took by siege a castell of his situate nere vnto Tholouze, called Poissac: whereof the French king hearing, sent out of hand to the king of England, requiring to know if the damages done by his sonne earle Richard vnto him & his people in Tholouze, were done by his commandement, for the

which he demanded restitution. Herevnto the king of England answered, that his sonne earle Richard did nothing in that behalfe, either by his knowledge or commandement: but that as he had signified to him by the archbishop of Dublin, what soeuer he did therein, was done by the counsell of the French king himselfe.

Howsoeuer this matter went, certeine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hand, vpon a sudden entred into Berrie, and toke from king Henrie Chateau Raoul, Bezancots, Argenton, Mount Richard, Mountresor, Wandosme, Leprose, Blanc en Berrie, Culan and Polignon. Wherefore king Henrie (who was at this time in England about to prepare an armie to go therewith into the holie land) when he heard thereof, with all speed possible he sent Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and Hugh bishop of Durham ouer into France, to appeale the French kings displeasure with courteous words and reasonable perswasions if it might be: but when that could not be brought to passe, he sailed ouer into Normandie himselfe, with an armie of Englishmen and Welshmen, landing with the same at Verdue the 10. date of Iulie, after he had bene fore tossed by a cruell tempest that rose as he was on the sea, to the great danger of his person, & all that were with him.

How after his coming to land, he repaired vnto Alencon, increasing his power by gathering vp souldiers and men of warre out of Normandie and other his countries on that side the sea. In the meane time his sonne Richard earle of Poitou entred into Berrie with a mightie armie, and the French king deliuering Chateau Raoul vnto the keeping of sir William de Berres returned into France, so that earle Richard spoiled and wasted the lands of those earls and barons which toke the French part exceedingly. The French king kept him as yet within France, and durst not come forth now after the arrival of king Henrie, but manie enterprises were attempted by the capteines on both sides. Philip bishop of Beauuois invading the frontiers of Normandie, burned Blangenville, belonging to the earle of Angi, and the castell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeville, thereof he bare the title of earle) and wasted the countrie round about. The French king also came to the towne of Trois, and burned it, and took 40. men of armes there, but the castell he could not win. On the other part, Richard earle of Poitou took a strong place called Les Roches, beyond Trois towards Wandosme, with 25. men of armes, and 60. yeomen.

About this time king Henrie sent ambassadours vnto the French king, as Walter the archbishop of Rouen, John bishop of Eureux, and William Marshall, to require restitution for the damages done to him and his people. And furthermore, that if the French king refused to make restitution, then had they in commandement to declare defiance against him. Wherevnto the French king answered, that he would not giue ouer to make warre till he had Berrie, and the countrie of Meurin or Meulgesine wholie in his possession. Wherefore king Henrie with a mightie armie (on the Tuesday after the feast of the decollation of S. John) entred into the realme of France, and burned manie towne and villages, approaching the same day nere to the towne of Gaunt, where the French king was thought to be. How as it chanced, William de Berres and Dрого de Perlo encountered with Richard earle of Poitou and William de Mandeville earle of Albemarle, so that William de Berres was taken by earle Richard, but by negligence of them that should haue taken heed to him, he escaped awaie vpon his pegasus horse. The more so after also, earle Richard departed from

The good meaning of the two kings disappointed. Polydor.

Reimond earle of Tholouze.

* where he shall be fullie & sufficientlie answered.

Horat. in art. poet.

Rog. Houed. The nobles of Poitou rebell against earle Richard.

Peter Seille.

Erle Richard invadeth the earle Tholouze lands.

Annales de France.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Chester, Lich. Ger. Dor.

Ger. Dor.

Chateau Raoul it is called in the French annales: but I chronicles of Anjou name it Chateau Raoul, and rightlie as I thinke.

Sergeants.

The well-men.

The two kings come to a treatie.

An elme cut downe.

A commendable protestation and word to be noted.

Castellum.

In other treatie betwixt the two king

Erle Richard revolteth fr his father to serue the French kin

Polydor.

The welsh-
men.

from his father towards Berrie, and upon the thur-
sdie the welshmen burned manie villages, with
the castell of Denulle that belonged to Simon
Daneth, and toke manie rich pzeies and boties. Also
William Dandeuille earle of Albemarle burned a
place called saint Clare, that was belonging unto
the demaine of the French king.

The two
kings come
to a treatie.

An elme cut
downe.

But for, when the English were fullie bent to pro-
secute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand,
there came messengers unto king Henrie from the
French king, requiring him that he would grant a
peace to be had betwixt them, with promise that if he
would condescend thereunto, that he should receiue
by way of restitution all that the French king had
now taken from him in Berrie. Hereupon they
came to a communication betwixt Erie & Gloucs,
and when they could not agree, the French king cau-
sed a great elme standing betwixt those two places
to be cut downe, at which the kings of England and
France were accustomed to meet when they treated
of matters in controuersie betwixt them, swearing
that from thenceforth there should neuer be anie
more meetings holden at that place.

A commenda-
tie protestat-
ion and wor-
thie to be
noted.

Castellium.

Afterward, when the earle of Flanders and the
earle of Blois with diuerse other earles and barons
of the Realme of France, laid their armor aside, pro-
testing openlie that they would not put on the same
again to make warre against any christian, till they
should returne from their iournie which they had
bowed into the holie land, the French king destitute
of men to serue him, made sute once againe to king
Henrie, that they might meet and talke of peace,
which was hardlie granted, and so they met on the
morrow after saint Faithes daie, or the seauenth of
October, at Chatellon, where they entreated of a
forme of peace, so that the French king should
haue restozed all that he had taken within the coun-
tries belonging to king Henrie, and likewise Ri-
chard earle of Poitou should deliuer by writ to the
earle of saint Giles (otherwise called earle of Tho-
louse) all that he had taken from him since the breach
of the last truce. But when king Henrie would not
deliuer the castell of Palsie in pledge to the French
king, they departed in sunder (as before) without
any thing concluded. The king of France after this
toke the castell of Paluall.

In other trea-
tie betwixt
the two kings

Upon the eighteenth day of August the two kings
came againe together about a new treatie of peace
betwixt Bonsemlance and Sukennie, where the
French king offered king Henrie, to restore to him
all that he had taken by his last warres; if his sister
Alice might be ioined in marriage with Richard erle
of Poitou, now eldest sonne alieue to king Henrie,
and that all king Henriess subjects might doe homage
and sweare fealtie to the same Richard. But king
Henrie after the old pproverbe, *Huius piscator sapit*, ha-
uing bought his experience with the feeling of smart,
& bearing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his
sonne Henrie, after such his advancement to king-
lie degree, would not grant the French kings re-
quest herein. Whereupon a further mischæse hap-
ped, for his sonne earle Richard (taking displeasure
that his father should denie him that honour, which
made altogether for his more assurance to succede
him as king) fell from his said father manifestlie,
and became the French kings man, doing homage
to him also without consent of king Henrie, for all
those lands that belonged to his said father on that
further side the sea. The French king for his homage
and fealtie gaue him Chateau Raoull and Poldun,
with all the honour thereto belonging.

Erle Richard
reualteth from
his father to
serue the
French king.

Polydor.

Some write, that the chieffest cause which moued
king Henrie to refuse to ioine his sonne earle Ri-
chard and the ladie Alice, daughter unto the French

king in marriage together, was, for that he was lin-
ked in the combersome chaine of hot burning loue
with the same ladie, and therefore he sought all the
shifts of excuses & delates that might be imagined;
so that it appeared he had no mind to part with hir.
The truth was (as writers affirme) he had already
persuaded hir to satisfie his lust, insomuch that he li-
ked hir so well, that he ment to be diuorced from his
wife quene Elianor, and to marrie this yong ladie,
which if he might bring to passe, and haue children by
hir, he purposed to disherit those which he had by
Elianor, and to make the other which he should haue
by Adela his legitimat and lawfull heires. Yet before
they departed from this communication, a truce
was taken to endure till the feast of S. Hilarie. And
Henrie bishop of Alba a cardinall that was sent
from the pope to end this controuersie betwixt these
two mightie princes, accursed Richard earle of Poi-
toun, for that by his meanes the troubles rose and
were continued betwixt them.

Rog. Houed.

The towne of Beverley, with the church of saint
John the archbishop, was in maner wholie consumed
with fire, on the 20. of September. Also the same
yeare died William of Sempringham, the autho-
r and first founder of the religious order of Sem-
pringham. Moreover Gilbert de Ogerstan a knight
templer put in trust by king Henrie, with others, to
gather the tenths towards the relese of the holie
land, was proued to vse falshood in the receipt, and so
was deliuered unto the maister of the temple at
London to be punished according to the statutes of
his order. Also this yere in the bigill of S. Laurence,
there was seene at Dunstable by diuerse persons a
figure of the crosse verie long and large in the aire,
with the shape of a crucifix thereon, and streames of
bloode to their sight seemed to run out of the wounds
of the feet, hands and sides. This strange appearance
continued in sight from none till almost night.

Benerley
burnt.

William de
Sempring-
ham deceaseth.
Gilbert de
Ogerstan.

A strange ap-
perance in the
aire.

Some will deeme this a mere fable, and saie it
saoureth of grosse superstition and idolatrie, where-
upon they will conclude that no such fragments pou-
dered with papistrie should be inserted into a chro-
nicle. But (to auoid all suspition of iustifying the fan-
sies of men) note you this, that in the ecclesiasticall
hystorie, no small number of things no lesse strange
and true than this seemeth vaine and false, are reco-
ded; yea even touching the verie crosse. But consi-
dering that this our age is verie nice and deintie in
making chosse of matter pleasing their owne humors,
we will not wade too farre in this kind of argu-
ment, which we know may as soone offend as it is ta-
ken, as a thorne may picke, or a netle sting when it
is touched. Neuerthelesse, we would not with that
the forme of a thing should be quite condemned; for
some scandalous peoples pleasures, whome nothing
will please, vntlesse it come out of their owne drit-
uat or casket of conceits.

King Henrie held his Christmas at Saumur in
Aniou, but manie of his earles and barons were gon
from him, and toke part with the French king; and
with his sonne Richard earle of Poitou. Now when
the day was come, in which the truce expired, the Bri-
tains (which had a charter of covenants of the French
king and earle Richard, that if they concluded any
peace with king Henrie, the Britains should be par-
takers in the same) entred into the confines of those
countries, which still continued their due obedience
towards king Henrie; spoiling and wasting the
same on each side with barbarous crueltie. At which
time also a legat came from the pope named John
de Anagnia, who assaied both by courteous meanes
and also by threats and menacings to reduce the par-
ties vnto peace and concord: insomuch that by his
procurement they met this yeare after Easter neere

Anno. Reg. 35.
1189

A legat.

L. j. buto

unto Fleet Bernard, whose within a few daies together, to trie if by talke they might sort to some reasonable conditions of agrément.

Math. Paris. The last time of those their meetings was in the Whitsunweeke, at what time the French king required not onelie to haue his sister Alice deliuered vnto earle Richard for wife, according to the former covenants, but also some assurance giuen vnto the same earle Richard, that he should inherit his fathers lands after his deceasse. Also he required that earle John might take vpon him the crosse to passe ouer into the holic land also, for otherwise earle Richard would not go. Holobert king Henrie would in no wise consent to any of these demands: but yet as some write, he offered thus much vnto king Philip, that if he could be so content, his sonne John should marrie his sister Alice, and inioy with hir all such things as he demanded in preferment of his sonne Richard, and that in more large maner than he had requested the same. But king Philip would none of that.

R. Houed. Thus how soeuer it was, whilst the one demanded that which the other thought no reason to grant, they departed without concluding any agrément, so that king Philip hauing got by this meanes a good occasion to further his enterprises, with all his whole puissance entred into Spaine, where he destroyed a great part of that countrie, and approached to the citie of Mauns, where king Henrie as then laie, in purpose to besiege it. But king Henrie being warned of his comming set the suburbs on fire, because his enemies should haue no succour in them. Holobert it the flame of the fire was by force of the wind driven so directlie into the citie, that what with heat and assault of the enimie, the king being without any store of souldiers to defend it longer, was constrained to forsake it. Wherewith he was so moued, that in departing from the citie, he said these words of his sonne Richard to himselfe: With thou hast taken from me this daie the thing that I most loued in this world, I will requite thee, for after this daie, I shall deuide thee of that thing which in me should most please thee, even mine owne hart.

The swords of king Henrie in his displeasure towards earle Richard. Mauns yielded to the French king. Wil. Paruus. Being thus driven to leaue the defaced citie of Mauns, he repaired vnto Chinon, the citizens where of being left destitute of aid, yielded themselves to the French king, who taking a great pride in his doings for that victorie, passed ouer Loire, and won the citie of Tours, wherein he placed a garison, and so hauing sped his businesse with good successe, brought home his armie laden with preies & booties. King Henrie being thus put to the worse, and not perceiuing anie readie meane how to recover his losses, began to despair in himselfe, and therefore of necessitie thought it best to seeke for peace, but his suit was in vaine: for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not grant to agree vpon any reasonable conditions.

Polydor. The earle of Flanders seetheth to agree the parties. Math. Paris. At the last Philip the earle of Flanders and William archbishop of Reims, with Hugh duke of Burgoine, came to king Henrie to moue waies of agrément, and to conclude the same betwixt him on the one partie, and the French king and earle Richard on the other partie. Earle Richard had the Brittaines and them of Poitou confederate with him, vnder such conditions, as he might not agree with his father, unless they might be compised in the agrément. At length they agreed vpon conditions, not altogether aduantageable to the king of England, yet in the end, Chatcau Raoul was restored to king Henrie with all that had bene taken from him since the time that the French king & he took vpon them the crosse: on the other part king Henrie did homage to the French king, which in the beginning

of this warre he had surrendred and renounced. He was bound also to paie to the French king 20. thousand markes for the aid which earle Richard had receiued of him: moreover to resigne and acquite vnto the French king, all that which either he or his predecessours held or possessed within Aluergne. Other articles there were which king Henrie agreed vnto soze against his will, as the deliuerie of the ladie Alice or Adela, and such other, which (as not much materiall) we passe ouer.

10 This peace was concluded not farre from Tours, in a place appointed conuenient for both the kings to meet in, about the feast of the apostles Peter and Paule. And (as writers record) there chanced great thunder and lightening at the verie time when the two kings came to enterueiw and talke together, so that the thunderbolt did light betwixt them two: & yet (notwithstanding such thunder & lightening) the aire was cleare and nothing troubled. The two kings parted a sunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the next day the like chance happened, greatlie to the terrour of them both. Which moued king Henrie the soner to condescend to the agrément.

30 Moreover this is not to be forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongst them, king Henrie required to haue all their names deliuered vnto him in writing, which had promised to take part (and were ioined as confederates) with the French king and earle Richard. This was granted, and when the roll was presented vnto him, he found his sonne John the first person that was named in that register, wherewith he was so troubled and disquieted in his mind, that comming to Chinon he felt such greefe hereof, that he cursed euen the verie date in which he was borne, and as was said, gaue to his sonnes Gods curse and his, the which he would neuer release, although he was admonished to doe it both of sundrie bishops and other religious and godlie men. Thus saith Houeden.

40 Holobert, it is not like that earle Richard at this time had procured his brother John to be confederate with him in his rebellious dealings, but rather because earle Richard had some suspicion, least his father would make John his heire and successour in the kingdome, it might be a policie wrought by the French king and earle Richard, to alienate his fathers mind from the said John.

50 These evils were esteemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iust iudgement of God, for that being admonished diuerse waies, as well by diuine reuelation, as by the wholesome aduise of graue men, as Hugh bishop of Lincolne and others, he would not reforme his licentious appetite of heaping vp sinne vpon sinne, but still wallowed therein to his owne destruction. Whereupon being brought to such an extremite as ye haue heard, he was taken with a greuous sicknesse, which bringing him to utter desperation of recovering of health, he finallie departed this life, though more through verie anguish and greafe of his late losse and troubles sustained, than by the force of his bodilie disease (as writers haue affirmed.) But howsoeuer it was, he ended his life the first of Iulie in the 61. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned 34. yeares, nine moneths, and two daies, which was in the yeare after the birth of our saviour 1189. and of the creation of the world 5155. His bodie was buried at Founteuerard, which is an abbey situate not farre from the towne of the eagle within the dutchie of Alanson.

Immediately vpon his death, those that were about him, applied their market so busilie in catching and filching awaie things that late readie for them, that the kings corpes late naked a long time, till a child covered

Thirtie thousand to the king and twentie to the barons of France, says Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. At Gisors faith Ger. Dor.

Strange thunder & lightning.

Orano maner of fight betwixt them.

The first Henrie the second.

His dangers.

His bad The corruption of his bodie.

His fall

His quarrels and contentions of him

Rodolph Dileto.

King Henrie departed this life.

Rodolph Dileto.

His surname
whereof it
came.

A strange
manner of
fight betwixt
fishes.

The issue of
Henrie the
second.
His sonnes.

His daugh-
ters.

His base son.
The constiti-
tion of his
bodie.

His stature.

His qualities
and conditi-
ons of mind.

Ralphus de
Diceto.

Ralphus de
Diceto.

uered the nether parts of his body with a short cloke, and then it seemed that his surname was fulfilled that he had from his childhood, which was Shortmantell, being so called, because he was the first that brought short clothes out of Antioiu into England. As his sonne Richard met the corpes going towards the burfall, suddenly there issued blood out of the dead bodies nostrilles, which was taken for a signification that it abhorred the presence of so wicked a son, which in his life time had so persecuted the father. His death was signified by a marvellous strange wonder, for a few daies before he died, all the fishes in a certaine mere of poole in Normandie, leapt forth on land in the night season, and fought together with such a noise, that a great multitude of men came running thither to behold the wonder, and could not find on fish alive in the mere.

He had issue by his wife quene Elianoz (as may appear by that which already is rehearsed) foure sonnes, Henrie, Richard, Gestepe, and John, besides two other that died young, as some authors haue recorded: also three daughters, Maude, married unto Henrie the duke of Saroyne; Elianoz the wife of Alfonso the eight of that name king of Castile, and Joane giuen in marriage unto William king of Sicill. He had also two bastard sonnes by a concubine, the one named William, & the other Gestepe. He was of bodie fleshy and strong, and could abide verie patientlie the displeasures both of cold and heat, he had a large head, a broad breast; a broken voice, and was furthermore verie spare of diet, chesellie because he would not be too fat; and therefore when he was at quiet without any trouble of warres, he would exercise himselfe in hunting or travelling abroad. He was of a good stature and verie well formed, of a comelie countenance, partlie red beared, with gracie eyes, of wit quicke, and of a perfect good memorie, so that he would long remember those things which he had either read, heard, or seene. He was stout of stomach, and more constant in time of aduersitie than in time of prosperitie, except at the time of his death, when being destitute in manner of all his friends, he shewed himselfe almost in despair. He was liberall towards all men, oftentimes giuing rewards to his souldiers ouer and besides their wages.

Moreover, of nature he was pitifull towards the poore, as it well appeared by diuerse his charitable deeds; as for example. When in the yeare 1176, there was a great dearth & scarcitie of bread in the parts of Antioiu & Spaine, he fed euerie daie with sufficient sustentance ten thousand persons, from the beginning of Aprill, till the time that new corne was inned: and that provision sooner was laid vp in garners, cellers and storehouses, for the kings necessarie uses, he caused the same to be imployed towards the relafe of religious houses, and poore people. He took of his subiects but sildome times any great tributes. He was verie expert in feats of warre, and right fortunate therein. He praised his capitains and men of warre when they were dead, and lamented their losse more than he shewed to loue them when they were alive. And this did he of policie, that they might understand that they should be honoured after death, and therefore feare it the lesse. He was somewhat learned, and also knowne to be wise.

His care to haue iustice duly ministred in his realme was exceeding great, insomuch that finding how the shirifes were rather inclined to seeke their owne gaine, than to deale byrightlie with his subiects, he appointed other officers to haue a regard to their doings, as if they had bene controllers, that they knowing how there were such appointed to haue a sound oversight in their dealings, might be

the more circumspect in their duties. He ordeined also punishments for hunters in forrests and grounds of warren, either by fining them, or by imprisonment.

Moreover, he ordeined that murderers should suffer death by hanging: and so for other transgressours he appointed other kinds of punishments, as some to be condemned to exile, and other to losse of limbs, &c. according to the qualitie of the offense committed. And to haue the lawes duly executed, and iustice byrightlie ministred on all hands, he was so careful that he tried all orders of men, in placing them in romes of iustice. And lastlie, trusting to find among the cleargie such as would not be corrupted with bribes, nor for respect of feare or friendship decline from right iudgement, he chose forth the bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich to be principall iustices of the realme, so as they might end and determine all matters, except in certaine cases referred to the hearing of the prince himselfe.

His vices were these, as they are remembered. In time of aduerser fortune no man could shew himselfe more courteous, gentle, meke, and promising more largelie than he would. But when fortune once began to smile, no man was more sharpe, hard to deale with, nor more redie to breake his promise and faith. He was also partlie noted of couetousnesse: for although he was liberall towards souldiers and strangers, yet was he strict inough towards his owne people, and namelie towards his sonnes, which caused them to estrange themselves and their good wils from him. He was not so zealous toward the execution of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his owne priuat commoditie.

He was out of measure giuen to fleshy lust, and satisfieng of his inordinate concupiscence. For not contented with the vse of his wife, he kept manie concubines, but namelie he delighted most in the company of a pleasant damsell, whom he called the Rose of the world (the common people named hir Rosamund) for hir passing beautie, propernesse of person, and pleasant wit, with other amiable qualities, being verelie a rare and pærelesse pæce in those daies. He made for hir an house at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, like a labyrynth, with such turnings and windings in & out as a knot in a garden called a maze, that no creature might find hir nor come to hir, except he were instructed by the king, or such as were secret with him in that matter. But the common report of the people is, that the quene in the end found hir out by a silken thread, which the king had drauone after him out of hir chamber with his foot, and dealt with hir in such sharpe and cruell wise, that she liued not long after. She was buried in the nunnrie of Godstow beside Oxford, with these verses upon hir tome:

*Hic iacet in tumulo, Rosamundi non Rosa munda,
Non redolet sed olet, quæ a redolere solet.*

The meaning whereof may be found in Graftons large chronicle, page 77. in an English septenarie.

Long time after the death of this damsell, in the said abbete was shewed a cofer, that some times was hirs, of the length of two foot, in the which appeared giants fighting, startling of beasts, swimming of fishes, and flieng of foules, so liuelie, that a man might wonder at the fine deuise thereof.

Moreover, king Henrie was noted not to be so fauourable to the liberties & freedoms of the church as he might haue bene. For besides the persecuting of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, he would not suffer the legats sent from the pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had swozne that they should do nothing periuicall to the customs of his kingdom, neither by prescri-

L.ij. bing

Bishops chosen
principall
iustices.

The vices of
H. Henrie.

His incontin-
encie.

Rosamund his
concubine.

Ran. Higd.

Do not neglect
in aiding the
Christians as
gained the
Saracens.

bing orders, nor any other manner of act or meanes.
He was thought to be negligent in aiding the chris-
tian common-wealth in the holie land. For though
he had appointed twice or thrice to go thither in per-
son, yet being letted by light occasions, he staid at
home, and sent small relafe thither, though he was
earnestlie called upon for the same. His estimation
was such amongst foren princes, that Philip king
of France being netolie entred into the gouern-
ment of that realme after his fathers deceasse, com- 10
mitted himselfe and his kingdome to the disposition
and order of king Henrie, as if he had bene regent
of his realme, and gouernour of his person.

There liued in the daies of this king Henrie the
second, diuerse honourable personages and capteins
of great fame, for their approued valiancie and expe-
rience in warlike enterpises, as Robert earle of
Leicester, Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke, Keig-
nold earle of Cornetwall, Robert ferreis earle of
Darbie, Richard Lacie, Roger Botobray, Kase de
Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun constable of England,
Ranulfe Glanville, William Clesey, & Bernard
de Ballioll. Also there flourished in his time here in
this land, men of singular learning in arts and scienc-
es, as Nicholas Breakespeare, Serlo surnamed
Grammaticus, William Rheuallensis, Adam de
Guesham, Thomas of Wunmouth, Adelbertus Le-
uita, Ceuastus Cicestrensis, Ddo Cantianus, Cal-
rdo Rheuallensis, Johannes Sarisburienensis, Cle-
mens Lanthoniensis, Walter Daniell, Robert
knought alias Cantus, Robert Folioth, William
Ramsey, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe,
Ddo Piremuth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Do-
uer, William of Peterborough, Cicercienensis, Bar-
tholometo Alcanus, and Gilbert de Sempingham,
with others.

¶ And here to make an end with this high and
mightie prince Henrie the second, I haue thought
god to make you partaker of an epitaph, which we
find in Matthew Paris and others written of him as
followeth. 40

*Epitaphium in Henricum secundum
regem mortuum & hic sepultum.*

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multipliciq; modo duxq; comesq; fui,
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terra
Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hac, pensa discrimina mortis, & inde
Humanae specula conditionis habes.

*Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Frenchmen
ouer this Iland; namelie, Stephan of Bul-
longne and Henrie the second.*



*Quod potes instanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Transit, & incantus mors inopina rapit.*

Aliud.

Tymuli regis superscriptio breuis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non succederat orbis,
Res breuis est ampla, cui fuit ampla breuis.

*An epitaph vpon king Henrie the
second dead and heere in-
toomed.*

OF late king Henrie was my name,
which conquerd manie a land,
And diuerse dukedoms did possesse,
and earledoms held in hand.
And yet while all the earth could scarce
my greedie mind suffice,
Eight foot within the ground now serues,
wherein my carcase lies.
Now thou that readeest this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that serue to shew the state
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Doo good then here, fore slowe no time,
cast off all worldlie cares,
For brittle world full soone dooth faile,
and death dooth strike vnwares.

An other.

SMall epitaph now serues, to decke
this toome of statelie king:
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could scarce his mind content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that serues now life is spent.

¶ Here may be thought that the reigne of the Flo-
mans and French men ouer the realme of England
toke end, a hundred twentie two yeares after the
comming in of the Conquerour; for those that reig-
ned after this Henrie the second, we may rightlie
esteme to be Englishmen, bicause they were borne
in England, and bled the English tong, customes,
and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of
the countrie. 50

Anno R

1188

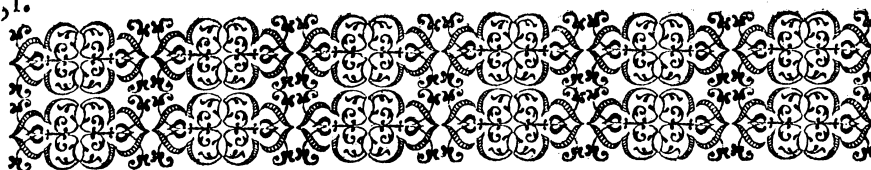
Wil. Par

Matt. Pa

Stepha
Turne
committ
to ppsolMath. F
Polydor.Habbell
ter to th
of Glouc
married
John &
brother.
She is
by diuer
thors &
Math. F
R. Houc

Matt. Pa

The ki
mother:
at libert



Richard the first, second sonne to Henrie the second.

Anno Reg. 1.

1189

Wil. Parvus.

Matt. Paris.

Stephan de
Turnham
committed
to prison.March. Paris.
Polydor.Isabell daugh-
ter to the earle
of Gloucester
married to
John 3 kings
brother.She is named
by diverse au-
thors Hauisla.
March. Paris.
R. Houed.

Matt. Paris.

The kings
mother set
at libertie.

Richard the first of that name, and second sonne of Henrie the second, began his reigne ouer England the first day of Julie, in the yere of our Lord 1189, in the seauen and thirteth yere of the emperour Frederike the first, in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of Philip the second king of France, and king William surnamed the Lion as yet living in the gouernement of Scotland.

This Richard, immediatlie after the solemnities of his fathers funerals were ended, made hast to Rouen, where he was tofullie receiued, and proclaimed duke of Normandie, receiuing the inuesture according to the custome, on the twentieth day of Julie. Then studieng to set all things in good order on that side the sea, he made search where his fathers treasure was preserued, and thereupon attached Stephan de Turnham, who was seneſchall or gouernour (as we may call him) of Anion, and committing him to prison, compelled him to make deliuerie of all such summes of monie as he had hid and laid vp in cereteine castels by the commandement of the late king his father.

Whilist he was thus occupied, his brother John came to him, to whom he tofullie gaue the welcome, and besides all other things which his father had bequeathed vnto him by his testament in England, amounting to the value of foure thousand pounds of pearlie rent, with the earledome of Poictaine, he procured a marriage for him (being now a widower) for his further advancement with the ladie Isabell, daughter to Robert earle of Gloucester, which earle had appointed the said John to be his heire as before is mentioned, although Baldwine the archbishop of Canturburie forbad the marriage, because they were consens in the third degree of consanguinitie. To Robert earle of Leicester also he restored all his lands which had bene taken from him, and such persons as his father had disherited, he restored likewise to their former rights and possessions, howbeit those had forsaken his father, and taken part with him against his said father, he seemed now so much to mislike, that he remoued them vtterlie from his presence, and contrariwise preferred such as had continued faithfull vnto his father in time of the troubles.

At length, king Richard remembryng himselfe of his mother queene Elianor, who had bene separated from the bed of hir husband for the space of sixtene yeres, and was as yet detained in prison in England, wrote his letters vnto the rulers of the realme, commanding them to set hir againe at libertie, and withall appointed hir by his letters patents, to take vpon hir the whole gouernment of the kingdome in his absence. The queene being thus deliuered, and hauing now the cheefe authoritie & rule in hir hands, rode in progresse about the realme, to see the estate thereof; and as she passed from place to place, she

shewed gladſome countenance to the people whereſoeuer she came, doing also what she could to pleasure them, that she might thereby win their good willes to hir, and to hir sonne: but speciallie remembryng by hir late experience and tast thereof, what an irksome & most greuous thing imprisonment was, she caused the gailes to be opened, and forthwith set no small number of prisoners at libertie by the way as she passed throught the countries, according to the verse of Virgil,

Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.

In the meane time, king Richard concluding a league with Philip king of France, receiued all those places againe which were taken from his father by the same Philip, together with his wife Adela, whom vpon suspicion that she had bene dishonested in hir person before, without any sufficient cause thereof had, he forsooke, & sent hir home with hir dowrie, and otherwise with great and princelie gifts, most bountifullie enriched, hauing already concluded a marriage with the ladie Berengaria, daughter to Garſias king of Nauarre, who was sent into Sicill vnto hir sister Joane, that he might marrie hir there, as he called that waie towards the holie land.

Whilist these things passed thus in these parties, the christians in the holie land daillie sent hither for aid, whereupon the two kings of France and England toke counsell together, and determined with all conuenient speed to ioine their powers, & with ships prepared for that purpose to saile into Syria. Hauing thus concluded, they went about to prepare themselves of necessarie prouision for so long a tourne. Now when king Richard had set in order his affaires in Normandie and France, he came ouer into England, landing at Poxtsmouth the 13. of August. With him also came his brother John, vnto whom he assigned the castels of Warlebydige, Lutegareſhall, Peake, Wollesour, the honoz of Wallingford, Wakehill and Cie, with the earledoms of Poictaine, Dorset, Sumerset, Potingham, Derbie, Devonshire, and Cornewall, with the earledome of Lancaster, intituling him earle of the same, whereby he was so exalted in state and degree, that he seemed in manner of a tetrarch, hauing as it were a fourth part of the realme in gouernance: but yet the king held some of the castels (in those counties and honozs thus giuen to his brother) in his owne hands. Moreover, vnto William Marſhall he gaue in marriage the daughter of Richard earle of Chepſtow, together with the earledome which hir father possessed; and to Gilbert Fitz Roger the sonne of Rainsfey he gaue the daughter of William de Lancaster. After he was landed (as before ye haue heard) he hastid to Winchester, where his mother queene Elianor with the most part of the English nobilitie had laine a good space to attend his comming, and there on the euen of the assumption of our ladie, the king was by them receiued with great ioy and triumph.

¶ Here is to be noted, that whilist the queene and lords laie in Winchester waiting for the kings arrival,

The 2. kings
of England &
France deter-
mine to go in-
to the holie
land.

At South-
ampton the
21 of August
saith Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed.
Mauch. Paris.

uall, Gesteu Middle the bishop of Elic departed this life. He is named by Geruafius Dorobernensis the proud bishop of Elic: but he might rather haue named him the rich bishop, for he left in his cofers no small quantitie of treasure, of the which thre thousand and two hundred marks came to the kings part towards the charges of his coronation. So maruell though Geruafius spake somewhat in his dispraise, for (as he himselfe confesseth) he was no friend but an enemy to monks.

His fathers
treasure.

R. Houed.
Gau. Vinlaf.
Nic. Triuer.
The second of
September
saith Ger. Dor.

The order of
his coronation.
Matth. Paris.

Reg. Houed.

Reg. Houed.

The king
his ory.

But to let this passe, sone after the kings coming into England, he was informed that the Welshmen had broken into the English marches, and destroyed certeine towncs; to reppelle whose presumptuous attempts he made towards them, but was yet staied for that time, & reuoked by his mother. At Salisburie he found his fathers treasure, highlie reioicing, for that the summe was far greater than he thought it would haue proved, for besides the pretious stones, apparell, and ieuels, it was reported he had there the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds in readie coine. With this good hap king Richard not a little aduanced, came to London on the first of September, where he had appointed prouision to be made for his coronation, and so calling a councell of the Nobles of the realme, he received the crowne with all due and accustomed solemnitie, at the hands of Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie, the thirde daie of September.

At his coronation, first the archbishops of Canturburie, Roan, Erier, and Dublin, which were present, with all the other bishops, abbats and cleargie, apparelled in rich copes, and hauing the crosse, holie water and censures carried afore them, came to fetch him vnto the doore of his priue chamber, and there receiuing him, they led him vnto the church at Westminister, till he came before the high altar with a solempne procession. In the middle of the bishops and cleargie went foure barons, bearing candlesticks with tapers, after whom came Gesteu de Lucie bearing the cap of maintenance, and John Sparshall next to him, bearing a great and massiue paire of spurs of gold: then followed William Sparshall earle of Striguill *alias* Pembroke, who bare the roiall scepter, in the top wherof was set a crosse of gold: and William de Patrike earle of Salisburie going next him, bare the warde or rod, hauing on the top thereof a doue. Then came thre other earles, Dauid brother to the king of Scots, the earle of Huntingdon, John the kings brother earle of Portaigne, and Robert earle of Leicester, ech of them bearing a sword byrigh in his hand with the scabbards richlie trimmed and adorned with gold.

The earle of Portaigne went in the middst betwixt the other two. After them followed six earles and barons, bearing a checker table, vpon the which was set the kings scotchens of armes, and then followed William Pandenill earle of Albemarle, bearing a crowne of gold a great heighth before the king, who followed the same, hauing Hugh bishop of Durham on the right hand, and Reignold bishop of Bath on the left, ouer whom a canopy was borne: and in this order he came into the church at Westminister, where before the high altar in the presence of the cleargie & the people, laing his hand vpon the holie euangelists and the reliques of certeine sainats, he took a solempne oth, that he should obserue peace, honour, and reuerence to almighty God, to his church, and to the ministers of the same all the daies of his life. Also that he should exercise byrigh iustice to the people committed to his charge, and that he should abrogate and disanull all euill lawes and wrongfull customes, if anie were to be found within the precinct of his realme, and mainteine those that were

good and laudable.

This done, he put off all his garments from the middle vptowards, his shirt excepted, which was open on the shoulders, that he might be annointed. The archbishop of Canturburie annointed him then in thre places, to wit, on the head, on the shoulders, and on the right arme, with praiers in such case accustomed. After this, he couered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his cap aloft thereon; and then when he had put on his roiall garments and uppermost robe, the archbishop took vnto him the sword wherewith he should beat downe the enemies of the church; which done, two earles put his shoes vpon his feet, and hauing his mantell put on him, the archbishop forbad him on the behalfe of almighty God, not to presume to take vpon him this dignitie, except he faithfullie meant to performe those things which he had there sworn to performe. Wherevnto the king made answer, that by Gods grace he would performe them. Then the king took the crowne beside the altar, and deliuered it to the archbishop, which he set vpon the kings head, deliuering to him the scepter to hold in his right hand, and the rod roiall in his left hand, & thus being crowned he was brought backe by the bishops and barons, with the crosse and candlesticks, and thre swords passing forth before him vnto his seat. When the bishop that sang the masse came to the offertorie, the two bishops that brought him to the church, led him to the altar, and brought him backe againe.

Finallie when masse was done, and all things ended in order as was requisit, he was brought with solempne procession into his chamber, where he put off his heauie rich apparell, and put on a crowne and other garments more light and easie, and so went to dinner, whereat wanted no store of meats & drinks, which were serued out in most princelie and beautifull wise.

Vpon this daie of king Richards coronation, the Jewes that dwelt in London and in other parts of the realme, being there assembled, had but soie hap, as it chanced. For they meaning to honour the same coronation with their presence, and to present to the king some honorable gift, wherby they might declare themselves glad for his aduancement, and procure his friendship towards them, for the confirming of their priueleges & liberties, according to the grants and charters made to them by the former kings: he of a zealous mind to Christs religion, abhorring their nation (and doubting some sorcerie by them to be practised) commanded that they should not come within the church when he should receiue the crowne, nor within the palace whilst he was at dinner.

But at dinner time, among other that pressed in at the palace gate, diuers of the Jewes were about to thrust in, till one of them was stricken by a christi-an, who alledging the kings commandement, kept them backe from comming within the palace. Which some of the unrulie people perceiuing, and supposing it had bene done by the kings commandement, took lightlie occasion thereof, and falling vpon the Jewes with staves, bats and stones, beat them and chased them home to their houses and lodgings. Wherewith rose a rumoz through the citie, that the king had commanded the Jewes to be destroyed, and therevpon came running together, to assault them in their houses, which when they could not easily breake vp nor enter, by reason the same were strongly builded, they set fire on them, so that diuers houses were consumed, not onelie of the Jewes, but also of their neighbours, so hideous was the rage of the fire. Here we see that

Regis ad exemplum totius componitur orbis.

The king being aduertised of this riotous attempt of

Jewes be
to death.

Wil. Parous.

The Jewes
meant to pre-
sent him with
a rich gift.

Matth. Paris.

A Jewe
kenn.

The people
fall vpon the
Jewes and
beat them.

Pal. in sus

A counce
pipewell

Their houses
are set on fire.

Jewes burnt
to death.

of the outrageous people, sent some of his counsellours, as Kanulfe de Glanville lord iustice, and other officers to appease the tumult: but their authoritie was nothing regarded, nor their persuasions any whit reuerenced, but their thretynings rather brought themselves in danger of life among the rude sort of those that were about to spoile, rob, and sacke the houses and shops of the Jewes: to the better accomplishment of which their vnlawfull act, the light that the fire of those houses which burned, gaue after it was once night, did minister no small helpe and occasion of furtherance. The Jewes that were in those houses which were set on fire, were either smothered and burned to death within, or else at their coming forth most cruellie receiued vpon the points of speares, billes, swordes and gleaues of their aduersaries that watched for them verie diligentlie.

This outrage of the furious and disordered people continued from the middelt of the one day, till two of the clocke on the other; the commons all that while neuer ceasing their furie against that nation, but still killing them as they met with any of them, in most horrible, rash and vnreasonable maner. At length, rather wearied with their cruell doings, than satisfied with spoile, or moued with respect of reason or reuerence of their prince, they withheld themselves from their riotous enterprise, after they had executed manie vnlawfull and horrible enormities. This great riot well deserued soe and grieuous punishment, but yet it passed ouer without correction, in respect of the great number of the transgressors, and for that the most part of men for the hatred generally conceived against the obstinate forwardnesse of the Jewes, liked the doings hereof well enough, interpreting it to be a good token, that the iustice daie of the kings aduancement to the crowne should be dolefull vnto the Jewes, in bringing them to such slaughter and destruction. Finally, after that the tumult was ceased, the king commanded that no man should hurt or harme any of the Jewes, and so they were restored to peace, after they had sustained infinit damage.

The occasion of this tragedie and bloudie tumult (redounding to the Jewes great veneration and pitifull distresse, but to the satisfieng of the peoples furious and vnbridled prouesse to crueltie) sprang principally from the king, who if he had not so lightly esteemed of the Jewes when they repaired vnto him with their present, in signe of submission and hope of obtaining their suite then purposed to be exhibited; this hurle burlie had not ensued. For it was a violent example & a mightie motive to the people to maligne the Jewes; as also a hart-graue to them in respect of their reietion, when the prince gaue them so discourteous a repulse. Here therefore is to be obserued, that the people is the princes ape, as one verie well saith. For looke whereto he is inclined, note wherein he delighteth; the same is the practise of the people: in consideration thereof the mightie ones of the world haue spectall cause to haue an eye to their course of life, & to set caueats before their actions, that the people may in them see none but good signes of commendable & vertuous imitation. For

Pal. in suo sig.

A counsell at
Dipewell.houses
on fire.

regis imago
vulgu. & ad mores accedere principis optat.

Qualis enim rex est talis quoque subditus illi.

Esse solet populus, iudicijque tenetur iudicij.

Shortlye after, to wit, the 15. day of September, a counsell was holden at Dipewell, where the bishops and abbats being assembled, there were in presence of the king and of the archbishop of Cantuarburie elected certeine bishops and abbats to such places as then were vacant: and amongst other, William de Longchampe the kings chancelor was elected to the

see of Elie, Gessrey the kings bassard brother vnto the archbishopricke of Dorke, who was the 32. in number that had gouerned the same, Gessrey de Lucie to Winchester, one Hubert Walter to Salisburie, and Richard archdeacon of Elie, and the kings treasurer to the see of London. The abbies that were prouided of abbats were these, Glasseburie, Shirborne, Perforre and Feuersham. In like maner, John the elect of Whitherne was consecrated bishop of that see, by the hands of the archbishop of Dublin. Also in this counsell the king ordeined Hugh bishop of Durham, and William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, lord chiefe iustices of Engi. and hauing deposed Kanulfe de Glanville from that comue.

Moreouer, the king being thus established in the estate of the kingdome, did not forget his iourne which he had promised into the holie land, but with all diligence made his prouision, and namelie he sought to gather monie to furnish his charges, and so there vpon leuied a tax, engaged, sold, and let to farme his lands, tols, customs, and other his reuenues, with certeine counties and offices, so that he made an exceeding summe of monie. He also found, that Kanulfe de Glanville lord chiefe iustice, and other of the head magistrates had not behaved themselves by rightlie in the administration of their offices; so that he both deposed the said lord chiefe iustice as is aforesaid, and almost all the shiriffes and their deputies within the realme of England, putting them to grieuous fines for their offences and transgressions, and so by that meanes he got no small deale of monie.

¶ Here note by the waie, how William Paruus affirmed, that where this Kanulfe Glanville, being a man of high wisdom and kept into age, saw that manie things were done by the new king, not so aduisedlie, nor with such foresight as they ought to be, sought of his owne accord to be discharged of his office, that he might the better prepare himselfe to go in that iourne to the holie land, as by taking vpon him the crosse he had vowed in the daies of king Henrie, and so he solemnely renounced his office, which other (nothing so worthy of it) did afterwards introy.

Moreouer, the king vnderstanding that Hugh Butsey or Pudsey bishop of Durham, being a verie aged man, had much monie, he sold to him the manour of Seggesfield or Sabberge, with the wapentake belonging to the same, and also found meanes to persuade him to buy his owne prouince, which he did, giuing to the king an inestimable summe of monie, and was therevpon created an earle by the king for the same: wherevpon he was intituled both bishop and earle of Durham, whereat the king would iest afterwards and saie; What a cunning craftie man am I, that haue made a new earle of an old bishop.

Furthermore, the same bishop gaue to the king a thousand markes to be made chiefe iustice of England, and that he might tarrie at home, and not go into the holie land. And because he would not be reprobated of any person, he obtained of the apostolicke see (which saileth no man that is surcharged with white or red metall, and would be eased) a licence for a summe of monie to be dispensed with for that iourne. The king thus being earnestlie bent to make commoditie of those things, for the which he might get any monie at all, the citizens of London presented vnto him a great summe towards the furnishing forth of his enterprise. Wherevpon to acquitte their courtesie, he granted them large priuileges, and ordeined that the citie should be ruled by two head officers, which they should chuse amongst themselves remouable from yeare to yeare by the name of bailiffes. The names of the two first bailiffes chosen by

The bishop of
Whitherne
consecrated.
Rog Houed.

Matt. Par.

Wil. Paruus.

The bishop of
Durham.
Sabberge.
The bishop of
Durham
made an earle.The citizens
of London
present monie
to the king.
Polydor.
Liberties
granted to
London.Two bailiffes
by

by force of that ordinance, were Henric Coznehill, and Richard Fitz Reiner.

Port Greues. The citie before those daies euer since the coming in of William Conquerour, and a good while before his time, was gouerned by certeine officers or rulers named Port Greues (which word is deriued of two Saxon words, as Port and Greue. By Port is meant a towne, and by Greue a gardian or ruler, as who should saie, A keeper or ruler of a towne.) These rulers with the lawes & customes then vsed within this citie, were registred in a booke called (as some haue said) Dome daie, but through negligence after these lawes and customes were changed and altered, the booke was lost, so that the remembrance of such rulers as were before the daies of this Richard the first, are not to be had. These bailiffes euer entred at Michelmasse, and so continued forth their yeare.

Apprentices. Thus began the citie first to receiue the forme and state of a common-wealth, and to be diuided into fellowships, which they call craftes or corporations. Such also are admitted to the fellowships of these companies, as haue truelie serued as apprentices a certeine number of yeares, as seuen at the least, vnder which time of seruice expired, there is none made free, nor suffered to inioy the liberties of that citie, sauing such as are borne free, that is to saie, of freemen with in the citie, of whome at this time, it is not much matteriall to make any further report. The citie thus consisting of the said craftes or occupations, chooseth out of the same a senat or companie of graue counsellours, whom they name Aldermen (E) changed into (A) according to the old Saxon pronuntiation. It is also diuided into 26. tribes or wards, of the which euerie one hath his feuerall Alderman, or ouerser, who haue both authoritie sufficient, and large priuileges to mainteine the good gouernement of their portions withall. Out of the number of these, there is another officer yearelie chosen and appointed, called the Maior, who ruleth all the rest.

St. Richard setteth things on sale. But now to retorne vnto the further doings of king Richard before his departure out of England towards his iournie into the land of Palestine, commonlie called Holie land, it is said, he made such sale of things appertaining to him, as well in right of the crowne, as otherwise, that it seemed to diuerse he made his reckoning neuer to retorne againe, in so much that some of his counsellours told him plaine-ly, that he did not well in making things alwaie so free, to the dishonoring of his maiestie, and preiudice of his succellour; vnto whom he answered, that in time of need it was no euill policie for a man to helpe himselfe with his owne, and further ioined hereto these words, that if London at that time of need would be bought, he would surelie sell it, if he might meet with a conuenient merchant that were able to giue him monie enough for it.

Ran. Higd. Wil. Paruus. Another way he had also to gather riches, and that was this. He had a licence of pope Innocent the third, to dispense with such as pleased him within his realme, for their holues made to go into the holie land, although they had taken on them the crosse for that purpose, namelie such as he should appoint to remaine behind him for the defense of his countrie: and of these also he took abundantlie, and diuerse other he compelled to fine, namelie, to the end that he might get their monie likewise, that hereby he obtained no small summe toward the furniture of his iournie. But both pope & prince forgot in the meane while, that

Boni pastores est tondere pecuni non excoiare.

This yeare also in the moneth of Nouember, as Matthew Paris saith, Johannes de Anagnia a card-nall and legat from the pope arriued here in England, coming on land at Douer, and because the

king was as then in the north parts, the same card-nall was prohibited on the behalfe of the kings mother queene Elianor, to passe any further without the kings commandement. And so he staid there thirtene daies at the charges of the archbishop of Canturburie, till the king came to those parties, by whose wisdome a direction was taken for the quieting of the controuersie betwixt the archbishop, and the monkes of Canturburie, for the chappell church of Hakinton now called S. Stephans.

R. Houed. In the same moneth of Nouember, by the kings appointment, Gesteire the elect of Poike, who was the kings brother, with other barons and lords of Poikehire, receiued William king of Scotland at the water of Tweed, and from thence with all due reuerence and honour they brought him vnto Canturburie, where the king had called a counsell of the lords of his realme both spirituall and temporall, in the which euerie of them toke an oth to be true to the king, and to continue in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, which oth also the king of Scots receiued, being there present, and likewise king Richards brethren earle John and Gesteire the archbishop of Poike.

William king of Scots. The king of Scots therefore hauing receiued this oth, and thinking the time to serue his purpose for redeming of those castels, which were deliuered to king Henric as gages for his ransom, paid now vnto king Richard ten thousand markes, and had restitution of the same, that is of Bertwike, Roxburgh, Sterling, and Edenburgh. But William Paruus saith, that Edenburgh was restored to him in the daies of king Henric, by reason of his wife which he toke in the parties beyond the seas: and herewith agreeth the Scottish chronicle. King Richard also assigned to queene Elianor his mother, the accustomed dowry, with manie lordships and honours beside, as an augmentation thereof. About which time died William de Mandeville earle of Albemarle at Rouen, and Hugh de Putsey the nephue of the bishop of Durham died at Aclat, and was buried at Durham. Also Formalis archbishop of Erier died at Northampton, and was there buried in the church of S. Andrewes.

Rog. Houed. In the meane time, king Richard still desirous to furnish himselfe with monie, deuised yet another shift, and feigned that he had lost his seale; wherefore he commanded a new to be made, which being done, he caused it to be proclaimed and published in euerie countrie, that those to whom he had granted any thing by his deed or charter, meaning to inioy the same in euertie, should not thinke it much to come and haue it confirmed by his new seale, least afterward the other being lost, their lawfull titles might be called into question. Whereupon manie that could not come to him whilest he was in England, were glad to follow him, and saile ouer into Normandie, and there to fine at his pleasure for the new seale, to the end that their writings might be confirmed thereby, and made so much the more sure to them and their succellours. For the same businesse also Remigius the prior of S. Albons, and manie other went ouer to their great costs, charges, and trouble, after he was transported into France.

Marth. Paris. I find moreover about the same time, that the kings brother earle John exhibited a soze complaint against the Romane legat and other bishops; for that the archbishop of Canturburie, after the appeale made vnto the apostolike see, had put his lands vnder interdiction for his marriage made with the earle of Glocesters daughter: which when the legat heard, he forthwith confirmed the appeale, and released the earles lands of the aforesaid interdiction. The same time also, the tenth part of all the moueable goods through

Hugh bishop of Durham gouerneth the north parts. Marth. Paris.

William Log champe busbo of Elie.

R. Houed. King Richard passeth ouer to Normand

1190
Fadum sancti Remigii.
A league betwixt king of England and France.

R. Houed.

Contention betwixt two ambitious bishops.

M. Palen Gu

through the realme of England was lent to the aid of the warres in the holie land. And this collection, passing under the name of an almes, was extended upon the goods as well of the spirituall men as temporall.

Hugh bishop of Durham governeth the north parts. Marth. Paris.

William Longchamps bishop of Ely.

After all this, King Richard desired to set order in the government of his realme, appointed Hugh bishop of Durham to have the rule of the north parts as chiefe iustice from Humber northwards toward Scotland, deliuering unto him also the keeping of Winchester castell: the residue of the kingdome (with the custodie of the towre) he assigned to the governance of William Longchamps bishop of Ely; whome he had made chiefe iustice of that part, and chancellor of the realme, a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, but verie factious and desirous of rule, honour and riches farre above all measure. And with these two he lodged in commission Hugh Baronle, William Marshall earle of Hereford, or rather Penbrooke, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, and William Brewer, men of great honour, wisdom, and discretion.

R. Houed. King Richard passeth ouer into Normandie

On the fifth day of December, he departed from Canturburie, and went to Dover, there to take water, and so on the eleuenth day of December, he passed ouer into Calice, where he found Philip earle of Flanders readie to receiue him, who attended upon him till he came into Normandie, where the king held his Christmas at Buron, and immediatlie he came to an enterview with the French king at Gue. Remige, where they concluded peace together, to be kept betwixt them & their countries on each part: the which was put in writing, and confirmed with their othes and seales in the feast of saint Hilarie.

1190
Yadum sancti Remigi.
A league betwixt the kings of England and France.

R. Houed.

Furthermore, about the purification of our ladie, Eliano, the queene mother, and the ladie Alice sister to the French king, Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, John bishop of Poerke; Hugh bishop of Durham, Geoffrey bishop of Winchester, Reignold bishop of Bath, William bishop of Ely, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, and Hugh bishop of Exeter, with Geoffrey the elect of Poerke and John earle of Poerke, the kings two brethren, by commandment of the king passed ouer into Normandie, to confer with him before his setting forward.

Contention betwixt two ambitious bishops.

Some write, that now at this present, the king should ordeine or rather confirme the bishop of Ely his chancellor to be lord chiefe iustice ouer all England, and the bishop of Durham to be lord iustice from Trent northwards. But whensoever they were thus advanced to such dignities, howsoever they came by them, directly or indirectly, it was this, that immediatlie thereupon, strife and discord arose betwixt them: for having proud and turbulent, they obtained authority, considering which of them should beare most rule and authority, in so much that whatsoeuer seemed good to the one, the other misliked, as in cases where partners in authority are equal, it often happeneth. The like hereof is now before his twene the archbishops of Canturburie and Poerke in diuise kings reigns. For the more ambitious on is to delight in singularitie, to admit no peers, to give place to no superior, to acknowledge no equal. Whereto alludeth the propheticall saying, and in emptiness it is the old Adam, and the new Adam, and the old Adam continued at this day, as by the words following may be gathered, and so marvellous obsequies both here and elsewhere.

M. P. in sua

As at Stamford (on the faire day in Lent) at the colne, and at Poerke, notwithstanding after a number of them had bene besieged certaine daies within a towne of the kings (whether they fled for succour) one of their leaues go heremours caused four hundred of their companies to consent to haue their thames cut

Peri, for in multum multis comitantibus vent;

Inflatus in vento folle, jac fante superba, etc.

Howeuer at the same time he caused his two brethren, earle John, and Geoffrey the elect archbishop of Poerke to take an oth not to returne into England during the terme of thre yeares next ensuing, without his consent and licence first had. This he did, foreseeing what might happen, providing as it were against such practices as his brethren might happilie attempt against him. But yet his mother queene Eleanor procured him to reuoke that decree immediatlie, least it might seeme to the world, that his sonnes should stand in feare one of another. And so the earle of Poerke was licenced to returne into England at his pleasure, swearing an oth at his departure to obeye the kings behest, and truelie to serue him, according to the dutie of a good and loiall subject. The bishop of Ely lord chancellor and chiefe iustice of England was also sent backe hither into this realme, to set forward things behouefull for the kings iourne.

Earle John licenced to returne into England.

In like maner the king sent to Rome to obtayne that the said bishop of Ely might be constituted the popes legat through both the prouinces of Canturburie and Poerke, and likewise through Wales and Ireland. Which was soon granted by the bulles of pope Clement the third, bearing date the 5. of June. For the which office the bishops gaue him 1500 marks, to the great offense of the king, as he shewed afterward to cardinall. Ottauer that came to visit him when he arrived in the citie of Aiber, being upon his iourne towards Messina, as after may appere. But in the meane time, calling together the lords and peers of those his dominions on that side the sea, to wit, Normandie, Britaine, Armoie, Poitou, and Gaen, he consulted with them what number of soldiers and how manie ships it should be convenient for him to take with him, and furnish with Alia: and herewith he did command them also to obeye Robert earle of Leicester, whome he appointed to remaine amongst them as his lieutenant or vicegerent of those parts during his absence.

The bishop of Ely retourneth.

Polydor.

But here to leaue King Richard in consultation for matters appertaining to his iourne, and shew briefly what happened (by the waie) to the Jewes, which as then dwelt here in England, after that King Richard was passed ouer into Normandie: ye haue heard how after the riot against them at London, when the king was crowned, he took order that they should remaine in peace vnder his protection, and commanded that no person should in any wise molest them. But now after that he was gone ouer, and that the soldiers (which prepared themselves to follow him) began to assemble in troops, the heads of the common people began to wayle, and saide would they haue had some occasion of raising a new tumult against the Jewes, whome (for their vniuersall diuile practices to the vndoing of many an honest man) they most deuolue hated, wishing most earnestlie the expulsion out of England. Wherupon by reason of a riot committed lately against them, at the towne of Dunstonspall, where many of them were slain, other people in other parts of the realme, taking occasion therat, as if they had bene called by by the hand of a bell or trumpet, rose against them in thre towne where they had any habitations, and set them after a diuile manner to rout and slay.

W. Parua.

The hatred borne to the Jewes.

As at Stamford (on the faire day in Lent) at the colne, and at Poerke, notwithstanding after a number of them had bene besieged certaine daies within a towne of the kings (whether they fled for succour) one of their leaues go heremours caused four hundred of their companies to consent to haue their thames cut

John Textor.

Five hundred with Houeden and Textor.

one at an others hands, he himself cutting his wives
throt first, whose name was Anna, then his childrens,
one after another, and last of all slue himselfe, onlie
rather than he would fall into the hands of the chri-
stians, that had thus long besieged them. The rest
perceiving what their great Rabbi had done, set fire
vpon all their goods and substance, which they had got-
ten into the towre with them, and so consuming the
same, would haue burnt also the residue of their fel-
lowes which would not agree to the Rabbies coun-
sell, in the cruell murdering of themselves, if they
had not taken a strong turret hard by within that
towre, and defended themselves both from the fire
and crueltie of their brethren, who had made awaie
themselves in such manner as I haue said: and that
to the number of foure hundred, or (as some write)
fue hundred at the least.

On the morow, those that were saued, called out
to the people, and not onelie shewed how and after
what sort their fellowes were dispatched, but also of-
fered to be baptised, and forsake their Iudaisme, if
they might haue their liues saued from the immin-
ent & present danger wherein they saw themselves
to be wrapped, through the furie of the people. To be
short, this thing was granted, and they came forth,
howbeit they were no sooner entred into the prease,
but they were all slaine, and not one man of them
preserued.

After this also, the people ran to the cathedra-
ll church, and broke into those places where their bonds
and obligations laie, by the which they had diuerse of
the kings subsidies bound vnto them in most uncon-
scionable sort, and for such detestable vsurie as (if
the authors that wrote thereof were not of credit)
would hardlie be belieued. All which euidences or
bonds they solemnlie burned in the midst of the
church. After which, ech went his waie, the soldiers
to the king, and the commons to their houses, and so
was the citie quieted. This happened at Poike on
Palmesundaye eue, being the 17. of March: and vpon
the 15. of that moneth, those that inhabited in the
towne of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, were set
vpon, and manie of them slaine. The residue that es-
caped, through the procurement of the abbat then
named Samson, were expelled, so that they neuer
had anie dwellings there since that time.

Thus were the Jewes unmercifullie dealt with in
all places in maner through this realme, the first be-
ginning whereof chanced at London (as before ye
haue heard) and the next at Lin, of which I thinke it
good to note some part of the maner therof, although
brieflie, and so to returne to my purpose. The occa-
sion therefore of the tumult at Lin chanced by this
meanes: it fortuned that one of the Jewes there
was become a christian, therewith those of his nati-
on were so moued, that they determined to kill him
where soeuer they might find him. And herevpon
they set vpon him one daie as he came by, through
the streets: he to escape their hands fled to the next
church; but his countie-men were so desirous to ex-
ecute their malicious purpose, that they followed
him still, and enforced themselves to breake into the
church vpon him. Herewith the noise being raised by
the christians that sought to saue the converted Jew,
a number of soldiers being forreiners, that were
arrived there with their belles out of sundrie parts,
and diuerse also of the towne-men came to the re-
scue, and setting vpon the Jewes, caused them to flee
into their houses.

The towne-men were not verie earnest in pursu-
ing of them, because of the kings proclamation and
ordinance before time made in fauour of the Jewes:
but the mariners followed them to their houses, & the
diuerse of them, robbed and sacked their goods, and

finallie set their dwellings on fire, and so burnt them
vp altogether. These mariners being enriched with
the spoile of the Jewes goods, and fearing to be cal-
led to accompt for their vnlawfull act by the kings of-
ficers, got them forthwith to shipboard, and hoisting
vp sailles, departed with their ships to the sea, and so
escaped the danger of that which might haue bene o-
therwise laid to their charge. The towne-men being
called to an accompt excused themselves by the ma-
riners, burdening them with all the fault. But al-
though they of Lin were thus escaped, yet they of
Poike escaped not so easilie. For the king being ad-
uertised of such outrage, done contrarie to the order
of his lawes and expresse commandement, wrote o-
uer to the bishop of Elie his chancellour, charging
him to take cruell punishment of the offenders.

The bishop with an armie went to Poike, but the
cheefe authors of the riot hearing of his coming,
fled into Scotland: yet the bishop at his coming
to the citie, caused earnest inquirie to be made of the
whole matter. The citizens excused themselves, & of-
fered to proue that they were not of counsell with them
that had committed the riot, neither had they aided
nor comforted them therein in anie maner of wise.
And in deed the most part of them that were the of-
fenders, were of the countries and towne-nere to
the citie, with such as were crossed into the holie
land, and now gone ouer to the king, so that verie
few or none of the substantiall men of the citie were
found to haue ioined with them. Howbeit this
would not excuse the citizens, but that they were put
to their fine by the stout bishop, euerie of them paying
his portion according to his power and abilitie in
substance, the common sort of the poore people being
pardoned, and not called into iudgement, sith the
ringleaders were fled and gone out of the waie: and
thus much by waie of digression touching the Jewes.

Now to returne vnto the king, who in this meane
time was verie busie to provide all things necessa-
rie to set forthward on his iourne, his ships which laie
in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, being ready to
put off, he took order in manie points concerning
the state of the common-wealth on that side, and
cheefelie he called to mind, that it should be a thing
necessarie for him, to name who should succeed him
in the kingdome of England, if his chance should
not be to returne againe from so long and danger-
ous a iourne. He therefore named (as some suppose)
his nephew Arthur, the sonne of his brother Gese-
broke of Brittain, to be his successor in the king-
dome, a young man of a likele profite and princelie
forwardnesse, but not ordained by God to succeed
ouer this kingdome.

About the same time the bishop of Elie, lord chan-
cellour and cheefe iustice of England, took vp to the
kings bed, of euerie citie in England, two palfrises
and two sumpter horses, & of euerie abbey one pal-
frise and one sumpter horse; & euerie manor within
the realme found also one palfrise and one sumpter
horse. Wherewith the said bishop of Elie delivered
the government of Poike shire to his brother Wil-
bert de Longchamper and all those knights of the
said shire, which should not come to make an order
to the law, vpon summons against them, he commaun-
ded to be apprehended wherby and by call in prison.
Also when the bishop of Durhame was returned from
the king and came oller into England to go vnder his
charge, at his meeting with the lord chancellour at
Elie (notwithstanding that he shewed him his let-
ters patents of the grant made to him to be iustice
from Trent northward) the said lord chancellour ta-
king his iourne to Southwell with him, there dete-
ned him as prisoner, till he had made surrender to
him of the castell of Glindor, & further had deliue-
red

William I
Chiti.The king
maie is si
forth.Salon,
Sablinas,
Sabnilla.

Polydor.

Shleiers
men.

Ballers

Danishm
for blond
drawers.

Matt. Wells

Remilers

Chett an
pickerie.

Wil. Par

The slaugh-
ter made of
the Jewes
at Lin.The bishop
of Durhame
re-
turned of his
brake.

red

red to him his sonnes, Henrie de Butey, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he should keepe the peace against the king and all his subiects, untill the said prince should returne from the holie land. And so he was deliuered for that time, though hostlie after, and whilst he remained at Houeden, there came to him Hubert de Longchampe the lord chancelloz brother, and William de Stuteuille, the which caused the said bishop to find sufficient suertie that he should not thence depart without the kings licence, or the lord chancelloz, so long as the king should be absent. Hereupon the bishop of Durham sent knowledge to the king how and in what sort he had bene handled by the chancelloz.

William de
Chiff.

The kings
naue is set
forth.

Baton,
Sablin, or
Sabuille.

Polydor.

Sleiers of
men.

Byallers.

Punishment
for bloud-
drawers.

Remiers.

Chest and
pickerie.

Wil. Paruus.

In the meane time the king was gone into Gascoigne, where he besieged a castell that belonged to one William de Chiff, and toke both the castell and the owner, whome he caused to be hanged for the spoiles and robberies which he had committed vpon pilgrims that passed by those parts toward Compostella, to visit the bodie of saint James. After this, the king came backe vnto Chinon in Aniou, and there toke order for the setting forth of his naue by sea, ouer which he appointed these gouernours Gerard archbishop of Aux, Bernard bishop of Baieur, Robert de Sablin, Richard de Camuille, and William de Foz de Alerun, commanding all those that should passe forth with his said naue, to be obedient vnto these persons as his deputies and lieutenants. Herewith they were appointed to prouide victuals to serue all those that should go by sea for the space of 60. daies.

The king also made the same time certeine ordinaunces to be obserued among the seafaring men which tended to this effect:

1 First, that if any man chanced to slea an other on the shipboard, he should be bound to the dead bodie and so throwne into the sea.

2 Secondlie, if he killed him on land, he should yet be bound to him as before, and so buried quicke togither.

3 Thirddie, if any man should be conuicted by lawfull witness, that he drew any weapon to strike any other, or chanced by striking at any man to draw bloud of him that was smitten, he should lose his hand.

4 Fourthlie, if he gaue but a blowe with his fist without bloudshedding, he should be plunged three severall times ouer head and eares in the water.

5 Fiftlie, if any man reuiled another, he should for euerie time so mistusing himselfe, forfeit an ounce of siluer.

6 Sixtlie, that if any man were taken with theft or pickerie, and thereof conuicted, he should haue his head polled, and hot pitch poyzed vpon his pate, and vpon that, the feathers of some pillow or cushion shaken aloft, that he might thereby be knowne for a thief, and at the next arrivall of the ships to any land, be put forth of the companie to seeke his aduerture, without all hope of returne vnto his fellowes.

These were the statutes which this famous prince did enact at the first for his naue, which stithens that time haue been verie much enlarged. About the same time John Bishop of Whiterne in Scotland, suffragane to the church of Yorke, ordeined Gesteuy archbishop of Yorke, preest. At the same season also the election of the same Gesteuy was confirmed by pope Clement, who among other things that he wrote to the chapter of Yorke on his behalfe, in the end he added these words: We do therefore admonish you all, and by the apostolicall bulles command you, that you exhibit both reverence and honour vnto him as vnto your prelat, that thereby you may appeare commendable both before God and man. Given at La-

teran in the nones of March and thirde yeare of our government.

Whilst these things were in doing, there came into France legats from the said Clement, to moue the two kings to make all the speed possible towards their iourneie, bicause of the great danger wherein things stood in Palestine, requiring present helpe. Hereupon king Richard (his men and prouision being readie) commanded that his ships should set forward, & to coast about by the streits of Giberalterre to come vnto Marceilles, where he appointed to meet them, and so with a chosen companie of men he also set forth thitherwards by land, and comming to Towrs, receiued the scrip and staffe as a pilgrime should, at the hands of the archbishop there.

After this, both the kings of England and France met at Wizeley in the octaues of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, and when they had remained there two daies they passed forth to the citie of Lion, where the two kings departed in sunder, and each one kept his iourneie, the one toward Guenes, where his naue was appointed to come to him, and the other to Marceilles, there to meet with his fleet, according to his appointment. But the English ships being let and staied by the way by contrarie winds and rigorous tempests, which tossed them to and fro vpon the coasts of Spaine, could not come in any conuenient time vnto Marceilles, so that king Richard thinking long to tarrie for them, & perceiuing they could not keepe their appointed time, he hired ships from all places thereabouts, and embarking himselfe and his men in the same, vpon saint Laurence euen, sailed forth towards Sicile, where he was appointed to meet with king Philip.

Here is to be noted, that king Richard made not all that iourneie from Marceilles to Messina by sea, but sundrie times comming on land, hired horses, and rode forth alongst the coast, appointing with his ships and gallies where to meet him, and sometimes he rested certeine daies togither in one place or other as at Portaelphin, at Naples, and at Salerne, from whence there departed from him Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, and the lord Ranulfe de Glanuille, the which taking vpon them to go before, with prosperous wind and weather in short space landed at Acon, which was then besieged, as you shall heare hereafter.

At Rome the king came not, but being within the streame of the riuer of Tiber, there came to him a cardinall named Octavianus, bishop of Hostia, to whome he spake manie reprochfull words of the couetousnesse vsed in the court of Rome (a vice reputed the common nurse of all mischances, as one verie well noteth,

*ubi auaritia est, habitant ferme omnia ibidem
Flagitia, impietas, periuria, furta, rapinae,
Fraudes atq; doli, insidiae & predationes,
Iurgia & infandae caedes, &c.*)

Bicause they had receiued seauen hundred marks for the consecration of the bishop of Pauns, and 1500. marks for the confirming of the bishop of Elie the popes legat. And againe no small summe of monie they had receiued of the archbishop of Burdeaur, when vpon an accusation brought against him by the cleargie of his prouince he should haue bene deposed. In the meane time whilst king Richard thus passed forthward towards Messina, the naue that was appointed to coast about Spaine and to meet him at Marceilles, was tossed (as before is said) with wind and tempests, and a part thereof, that is to wit, ten ships driuen here and there on the coasts of Spaine, of which number nine arriued at Lisbon and the tenth being a ship of London arriued at the citie of Sylua, which was then the uttermost citie of Spaine,

Polydor.
King Richard
set forward on
his iourneie.
Rog. Houed.

Anno Reg. 2.

The English
fleet staied by
contrarie
winds.

Twentie gal-
lies & twelue
other vessels
other vessels
saith Houed.
Upon the sea-
uenty day of
August saith
Houeden.

Rog. Houed.

King Richard
blameth the
court of Rome
for couetous-
nesse.

Spaine, that was inhabited with christians.

The Saracens at that time made warres against the king of Portingale, so that the Portingales stood in need of aid, in so much that they of Sylua did not onelie intreat the Englishmen to staie with them for a time, but also got grant of them to breake their ship, with the timber whereof they might the better fortifie their towne, promising that their king should recompense them with an other as good as theirs, and also further satisfie them for their seruice, during the time of their abode there in defense of that citie. Likewise of those that arrived at Lisbon there went to the number of five hundred unto saint Frances, where the king of Portingale then was, looking to be assaulted by his enemies: but by the counterfet death of the great k. of the Saracens named Bosac Alnframumoli (who feared these new succours, and doubted the sequel of his doings, to the end he might depart with honour, he fained himselfe dead) the king of Portingale was for that time peacefully deliuered out of danger.

The king of Portingale.

Alnframumoli king of the Saracens.

Robert de Sabuville, Richard de Camuille.

Whereupon he returned to Lisbon, where he found three score and three other ships of king Richards name there noblie arrived, ouer the which were chiefe captains Robert de Sabuville, and Richard de Camuille: which at their comming to land could not so gouerne their people, but that some naughty fellows amongst them fell to breaking and robbing of orchards: some also entring into the citie, behaued themselves verie disorderlie. But yet by the comming of the king, their lewdnesse was staied, so that he seemed not to take reuenge of the pilgrims, but rather with courteous meanes to bydle their lawfull attempts: whereunto the diligence of the English captains not a little preuailed for a while, but yet for daies after, a new tumult was raised betwixt the English pilgrims and the townesmen, and diuerse hurt and killed on either part.

A matine betwixt the Englishmen and the townesmen of Lisbon, Englishmen committed to prison.

Whereupon the king caused the gates of the citie to be shut, and all those that were come from the ships into the citie to eat and drinke (being in number about seauen hundred) were apprehended and committed to ward: and before they could be released, sir Robert Sabuville and sir Richard Camuille were glad to agree with the king, so as all former offenses being remitted, and things taken by either part restored, the Englishmen promised to obserue the peace against the king of Portingale and his people; and he likewise couenanted for him and his subjects, that they should keepe the peace against all pilgrims that went forth in this voiage, and vse them like his friends, and thus the quarell ceased.

The English ships meet together.

Some after, the English nauie departed from Lisbon, and came vnto the mouth of the riuer of Tarte, betwene Capetico and Belem, where the same daie on saint James eue the lord William de Forzoderun arrived also with three and thirtie other ships, and so then they were in all about an hundred and sir sailes verie well furnished and manned, and so from thence taking their course towards Marcellas, finally they arrived there in the octaues of the assumption of our ladie; and staing there an eight daies (till they had repaired such things about their ships as were needfull) they set forward againe, and came to Messina in Sicile in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse. On the sunday following also came the French king thither, hauing lost no small part of his nauie by tempests of weather.

They arrive at Messina.

King Richard as then remained at Salerno, and hearing that his nauie was gone towards Messina, he departed thence on the thirtieth day of September, and hasted forth towards Messina, passing by Pelopi and Cocenza, and so at length comming to

Farro de Messina, he passed the same, and on the 23. day of September arrived at Messina with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, to the wonder of the French king and others that beheld his great puissance and roiall behauiour now at his comming. The same time he went vnto the French kings lodging, to commen with him of their businesse: and immediatlie the French king toke the sea, in purpose to haue passed forward on his iourne but by contrarie wind he was staied and kept backe within the haven, whereupon both the kings determined to winter there, and in the meane time to prouide themselves of all things necessarie for their iourne, against the beginning of the next spring. On the 30. of September he receiued his sister the quene of Sicile, the widow of William late king of that Ile, whom he placed in a strong fortresse, which he toke the same day, and left therein a conuenient garison of men of armes and demulances for the safeguard of the place and of his said sister.

Richard arrived at Messina.

But now for the better understanding of the cause of such quarrelling as fell out betwixt the Englishmen and the Sicilians, ye shall vnderstand that a little before the arrivall of the kings of England and France in those parts, king William of Sicile was departed this life, leaving no issue behind him. Whereupon the lords of the Ile elected one Tancred to their king, a bastard sonne of Roger sometime king of that land, and grandfather to this last deceased king William. This Tancred though he receiued king Richard verie courteously: yet he greatly trusted him not, because he demanded the dowrie of his sister quene Joane, wife to the late king William to be restored, whereas he had not readie monie to discharge it.

Furthermore to depart with the citie of Mount saint Angelo, with all the countrie therunto belonging, which was indeed assigned to hir for hir dowrie, he thought in no wise profitable: but king Richard did not onelie require that citie and countie with a chaire of gold, according to the custome of that kingdom in right of his sister, as due to hir by way of hir dowrie, but also he required to his owne vse a table of gold containing twelue foot in length, and one foot and an halfe in breadth, & two treffels of gold to beare vpon the same table, with 24. silver cups, and as manie dishes of silver, with a rent of silke of such largenesse that two hundred knights might sit at meat within it: also forty thousand measures of wheat, with as manie of barlie, and as manie of wine, beside one hundred armed gallies, with all furniture and vittels sufficient to serue the galliesmen in the same for the terme of two yeares. These things he demanded as due to him being heire to his father king Henrie, accordingly as was deuised by king William in his last will and testament, which demands seemed intollerable to the said Tancred: so that if he could haue shifted the matter, he was loth to haue heard thereof.

A chaire of gold.

Richard demands for his dowrie of his sister to be.

Moreover, because pope Clement in right of the church pretended a title to the reame of Sicile, now that king William was dead without heires, he doubted of some practise that might be made against him betwixt king Richard and the pope. Whereupon he thought to prouide against all attempts that might be made, fortifying his townes & castels with strong garisons, and toke counsell with the citizens of Messina, by what meanes he might best dispatch his countie of that present danger, and procure Richard to get him forward on his iourne.

Whilste these things were in hand, there was ministered to the English men occasion of displeasure: for as it oftentimes chanceth (where an armie is) certaine of the brurle soldiers within Messina used them

Richard assaulted the citie by

The kings of England and France came to a truce

Ordina deuised.

Plate fi den.

themselves somewhat riotouslie, whereupon the citizens offended therewith, got them to armour, and chased all the soldiers out of the citie. King Richard who laie in campe without the walles nere to the citie, was so highlie displeased herewith, that he caused his men to arme themselves, and to prepare ladders and other necessarie things to assault the citie: but by the mediation of the French king & courteous excuse of king Tancred (allegding the fault to rest onelie in a sort of rude citizens, whom he promised to punish) the matter was taken up, and staid for a time, till at length it was perceived, that the Sicilians subtilie went about to sed king Richard with faire words, till he should be readie to set forwards on his iourne, and so should the matter passe without further punishment.

Richard
assaulteth and
entrencheth the
citie by force.

Hereupon king Richard, not minding to be so mocked at their hands, approached one daie to the wals and gates with his armie in good arate of battell to give the assault, which was done so earnestlie, and so well maintained, that finally the citie was entered by force, and manie of the citizens slaine, but the slaughter had bene much greater, if king Richard had not commanded his men to spare the sword, moved with the lamentable noise of poore people crieng to him for mercie and grace. The Englishmen having got possession of the citie pight up the banners with the armes of the king of England round about the wals, wherewith the French king was fore displeased, and required that the same might be taken downe, and his set up: but the king of England would not so agree. Nevertheless to pacifie the French kings mood, he deliuered the citie of Messina into the custodie of the knights Templers and Hospitallers, till he might be satisfied of such things as he demanded of king Tancred.

After this on the 8. daie of October, the two kings of England and France, before a great number of earles, barons, and others, both of the cleargie and temporaltie, took their solemne othes, that the one should defend the other, and also either others armie in this iourne, both coming and going, without fraud or deceit: and the like oth was received by the earles and barons on both parties. Then the two kings by aduise and consent of both their armies deuised these ordinances.

Ordinances
devised.

1 That all pilgrims which chanced to die in this iourne might dispose at their pleasure all their armour, horses, and apparell, and halfe of those things which they had with them, so that they sent nothing home into their countries, and the other halfe should be at the discretion of Walter archbishop of Rouen, Master bishop of Langres, of the master of the temple, and of the master of the Hospitall, of Hugh duke of Burgoigne, of Rafe de Courte, of Dрого de Sparlow, of Robert Sabuill, Andrew de Chauenue, and of Gilbert Walscole, which should implete the same towards the support of the wars in the holie land against the infidels as they thought most expedient.

Plate forbid-
den.

2 That no man should plate at any game within the armie for monie, except knights and chapeins, the which should not lose in one daie and night above 20 shillings, they to forfeit an 100 shillings so oft as they lost above that summe: the persons assigned to haue the same to be distributed as afore is said. The two kings might plate, and command their seruants in their presence likewise to plate, so that they exceeded not the summe of 20 shillings. And also the seruants of archbishops, bishops, earles and barons, by their masters commandement might play, not exceeding that summe: but if any seruants or mariners, or other of like degree, were found to play without licence, the seruants should be whiped na-

ked three daies round about the campe, except they ransomed forth themselves, at the pleasure of the persons above named: and the mariners should be plunged ouer head and eares in the sea three mornings together, after the use of seamen, except they redeemed that punishment, at the discretion likewise of the said persons: and those of other like meane degrees being neither knights nor chapeins should be punished as seruants.

3 That if any pilgrime borrowed any thing of another whilst he was on his iourne, he should be bound to paie it: but if he borrowed it before his setting forth, he was not bound to answer it till his returne home.

Borrowing.

4 That if any mariner or seruant, retained in wages with any man in this iourne, departed from his master without licence, no other person might receiue him, and if he did, he should be punished at the discretion of the forenamed persons.

Soldiers or
mariners de-
parting from
their masters.

5 That no bitteler or other should buy any bread to sell againe, nor any meale within the compass of the campe, except the same were brought by a stranger, neither might they buy any paast or other thing to sell againe in the campe, or within a league of it.

Wittlers.

6 That if any man bought coine wherof to make bread, it was appointed how much he should gaine in one measure beside the bzan.

7 That other occupiers, which used buieng and selling of wares, should gaine one pence in 10 pence, neither should any man refuse any of the kings coine, except it were broken within the circle.

8 That no man should buy any flesh to sell it againe, except a living beast, which he should kill within the campe.

9 That no man should make bread to sell, but after the rate of pence loanes. Wherin the pence English was appointed to go for foure pence Antouine. All these ordinances with other were decreed and ordeined to be obserued and kept by the counsell, consent, and agreement of the kings of England, France, and Sicile.

Polydor.

But to returne now to the dissention betwixt the Englishmen and them of Messina: ye shall vnderstand that the tumult being once ceased, and diuerse of the chiefe offenders in the late commotion put to death, king Tancred shortly after came thither, and sought to add all suspicion out of king Richards head, that he might conceiue of him for being in any wise culpable in that which his subjects of Messina had attempted against him, and therefore having recovered monie of his friends, he resorted vnto king Richard the dowrie of his sister quene Joane, and further offered vnto him to ioin in new alliances with him, offering his daughter in marriage vnto Arthur duke of Britaine, the kings nephew, with a great summe of monie for his dowrie, if it should please him.

King Richard accepted the offer, and so ioined in peace and amitie with the king of Sicile, receiving of him twentie thousand ounces of gold for the same marriage to be had, and an honorable dowrie assigned forth of the lands that belonged to the said Arthur for the said ladie to intop during his life, in case she suruiued his husband. And if it so chanced, that by the death of either of them the marriage could not take place, then should king Richard restore the same twentie thousand ounces of gold againe. But beside these twentie thousand ounces of gold thus given by king Tancred for the marriage of his daughter, he gaue other twentie thousand ounces to king Richard for an acquittance and quite claime of all manner of duties, rights, and demands, which either he or his sister might pretend, either by reason of any bequest, dowrie, or any other manner of waie,

¶.

Here

There is to be noted, that before this celebration of
 order was had, king Richard provided for his shere
 defence, in case that king Lancelot and his people
 would have attempted force against him, in somuch
 that he furnished certayne places, and built a strong
 castle aboue upon the top of an hill fast by Spelma,
 which castle he called Spargaret. Also whereas the
 admirall of Sicilie called Spargaret, and one Jey-
 dene del Boene, man of great authority under king
 Lancelot, fled out of Spelma with all their families
 and riches, which they had either in gold or silver,
 king Richard forced upon their houses, their galleies,
 and possessions, so that he made himselfe as strong
 as he could, to resist all attempts that might be
 made against him by his enemies. But now to pro-
 ceed.

The variance being thus appeared betwixt them,
 great discord chanced to arise betwixt king Richard
 and king Philip, who was much offended with king
 Richard, for that he had thus used violence against
 them of Spelma, and compelled king Lancelot to
 agree with him for money, to the great offence and
 dishonour of the houses of Herbrough, by the which
 houses were liberallie aided and furnished the christi-
 ans arming with vittails and necessarie provisions.
 The Frenchmen also had much cause thereat, that
 should after upon a small occasion they picked a
 quarrell against the Englishmen, and from thence
 fell to strokes on both sides, so that there had bene
 much hurt & slaughter committed, if the two kings
 had not bene there best to appease the strife begun.

Yet this business though it was quiett as then
 taken up and closed, yet had it such dangerous be-
 come the princes and their people, that it turned to
 the great hurt and hindrance of their good proce-
 dings in their whole enterprise, so that the occasion of
 a full and perfect victory could slip out of their
 hands, as you shall here hereafter.

An other also of the chiefest causes of grudge be-
 twixt the two kings was, for that king Richard in
 former tyme conferred unto king Philip, that he
 should marrye the king of Flanders daughter, and
 cleave the sister his sister Marie: which graced king
 Philip not a little, though he understood the matter
 for a want, and rather alleged other causes of sus-
 picion, whereby to defame king Richard to the
 world, as one that sought his shere commodities in
 speaking thus, whom he ought rather to have de-
 fended. And to proceed.

Wherof the English and French armies thus in-
 creased all the winter there in Sicilie, notwithstanding
 the troubles aforesaid, to the hindrance of
 king Richards purposes, for the making of his po-
 sitions ready for his journey, he yet caused requies
 to be framed, his ships to be extolled colled, rigged
 and repaired of such parts as they had received hurt
 in their long tynage which they had made, and also
 by certayne means, the which during the time of
 their being there, had in certayne places gathered
 and taken upon through to the great danger of their
 lives, and utter decay. Whereat at the same time
 he purchased all marchs by sea through all his domi-
 nions, retaining for near all his right to the same, as
 long as he that came profane making march by sea,
 and conveying about to land, should have all his goods
 first and cleave to himselfe. Furthermore he decreed,
 that if he chanced to perish in the ship, then his sons
 and daughters, hereafter as others, that could yeme
 themselves to be next heirs to him, should have the
 same goods, but if he had neither son nor daughter,
 neither nor sister, then should the king have those
 goods by way of herreingment.

This indignation was by king Richard thus con-
 sidered by his charter given at Spelma on the mo-

neth of October and second yeare of his reign. Also
 upon a public repentance before many of his prelate the
 mercifull God to touch his hart, he called all those
 prelates together which were then with him at Spel-
 ma into the chappell of Beignald de Spelma, & there
 in presence of them all falling downe upon his knees
 he confessed the sinfull life which he had in his yeres
 last before that time led, and humble request pe-
 nance intended him by the same bishops, and so be-
 came a new man, fearing God, and dringhting to
 live after his lawes.

Furthermore hearing of the great feast of abbat
 Beadun, he sent for him over into Calabria, who
 came to Spelma, and being asked certayne questions
 by king Richard, he made wonderfull answer ther-
 to: as in Hoveden and other histories it may appeare,
 which by his answer I passe over. About the same
 time he gave unto his nephew Otho, the sonne of his
 sister Beate, somwhat tynage of Somers for coun-
 tie of Poche. But although some were contented to
 receive him as their lord, and to do homage to him,
 yet other refused him, alledging that they would not
 renounce their fealties due to the king, till they
 might see him againe, & talker with him face to face.
 Whereupon the king changing his purpose, gave
 unto the said Otho the countie of Poche in direct of
 the said countie of Poche, as after shall appeare.

The two kings of England and France held their
 Christmasse this yeare at Spelma, and still the king
 of England used great liberallitie in bestowing his
 treasure for his amongst knights and other men of
 honour, so that it was thought he spent more in a mo-
 nth than any of his predecessors ever spent in a
 whole yeare. In the month of February he sent
 his galleies to Naples, there to receive his mother
 and his wife that should be, to wit the lady Mon-
 garia daughter to the king of Flanders, and Philip
 count of Flanders that came with them. But his
 mother quere Chance and the lady Monongaria
 went to Bourges in Bourges, where they were hono-
 rable received of Spargaret king Lancelots ad-
 mirall. Whereat the count of Flanders coming
 to Naples, and finding there the galleies of king Ri-
 chard, went aboard the same, and so came to Spelma,
 at the first saluting the king of England in all
 things, till the French king having cause thereat,
 altered him about, and then he being altogether on
 his leave. The first daie of March the king of Eng-
 land departed from Spelma, to go to the citie of Co-
 stina, there to convene with king Lancelot, who
 came thither to meet him.

Here king Richard understood, that the French
 king had solicited king Lancelot to set upon the
 king of England and his army, to drive them out of
 his realme: and for the more cause accomplishing
 thereof, he had persuaded him his aid, whereunto he
 would give the countie. King Lancelot declared
 also to king Richard such letters as the French king
 had written to him concerning this matter. Where-
 upon at his returne to Spelma, king Richard spee-
 ched his frendship countenance, that he was no
 thing pleased with the French king, but sought pe-
 nance to get him out of his company.

The French king perceiving it, required to know
 the cause of this his shere suspicion: where-
 upon king Richard nothing fearing his person, de-
 clared the truth plainlie unto him by the mouth of
 the count of Flanders: and when the other desired the
 proofe, he for proofe of the thing, showed him the
 same letters which king Lancelot had declared unto
 him. The French king was not a little abashed
 hereat, and held not well what to doe, nor what ar-
 cane to make, the matter was so plain. But yet at
 length he said: Well will I perceive the king of
 England

The names
 of herres
 might.

Englishmen
 and French-
 men fought.

Richard is in
 about the time
 of all his
 French count-
 yles.

John Be-
 dard.

The king
 of England
 and France.

The king
 of Flanders.

The French
 king letter
 sought from
 Spelma to
 wards the
 holie land.

Quene
 Mary
 returne
 by
 Rome.

The king
 of England
 and France.

Richard per-
 ceived.

Marth. Paris
 150. ships at
 53. gallees for
 Rog. Houed

England seeketh to haue some quarell whie he may refuse to marrie with my sister. For these are but forged matters, and no truth resteth in them.

When the king of England vnderstood this manner of answer, he replied in this wise; That as for the French kings sister, he might not marrie, for as much as he was able to produce good witnesse to proue that his father had lien with hir and got a child of hir. And as for his priuie proceeding and practise with Lancelot, he needed no further testimonie than his owne hand and his seale, the partie himselfe being present who receiued them, the messenger also being not far off that carried them betwene both the parties.

When the French king was throughlie informed of the first point, through counsell of the earle of Flanders and others, he pacified himselfe, and was contented to release the king of England of his faith giuen by oth for the contract made with his sister Alice: in consideration of which releasement and deliuerance, the king of England couenanted to giue pearlelie to the French king two thousand marks of sterling coine for the terme of five yeares together: and at his returne home, it was agreed, that he shuld also deliuer vnto the French king his sister the said ladie Alice, with the towne of Gisors, and all other things which the French king had granted to him with his said sister. On the other part, the French king granted, that the dutchie of Britaine should appertene to the dominion of the dutchie of Normandie, so as the duke of Britaine should be accompanied the liege man of the duke of Normandie, and that the duke of Normandie should answer the French king for both the dutchies, as well of Britaine as Normandie. These agreements were ratified and confirmed with solempne oths receiued, and charters giuen vnder their hands and seales, vpon the 30. of March.

The French king letterly forth from Messina towards the holie land.

Queene Elianor returneth by Rome.

March. Paris. 150. ships and 53. galleys saith Rog. Houed.

About this time the French king (now that the season of the yeare was come) set forward toward the holie land, leauing king Richard behind him in Sicile: and the two and twentieth day after his setting forth from Messina, he arrived at the siege of Acres or Acon. The same day also that the French king departed from Messina, queene Elianor the mother of king Richard arrived there, bringing with hir the ladie Berengaria the daughter of Sanctus the king of Nauarre, and the fourth day after queene Elianor toke leaue of hir sonne king Richard, and departed homeward towards England, taking hir iournie by Rome about the businesse of Cestre the elect of Porke, as to intreat the pope that he would confirme and consecrate him archbishop, or to authorize some other to do it in his name. The ladie Berengaria remained behind with the kings sister Joane queene of Sicile.

After this in the moneth of Apill, on the wednesday in the passion weeke, king Richard (after he had finished and made an end of all conclusions with king Lancelot) did also set forward with his sister Joane, who toke with hir the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, affianced to him long before, as aboue is partly mentioned. His nauie consisted in thirtene mightie great ships with triple sailes, an hundred carikes or rather hulkes, and fiftie galleies. He was no longer abroad in the maine sea, but a great tempest arose, wherewith his whole nauie was sore tossed and turmoiled vp and downe the seas, and at length driuen on the coast of Cyprus, where seeking to take harbour, & to come on land, the Cypriots would not suffer him, but they offered countenance to driue him backe, and to resist his landing. Also whereas six of his ships were so driuen by force of tempest from the residue, that three of

them perished, and three being cast vpon the shoare of Cyprus before the kings arrival there, the souldiers and other people in the same were compelled to come on land for sauing their liues, where otherwise they stood in danger of drowning, the people of the Ile assailing them in right cruell sort, slue diuerse, and toke the residue prisoners, and so deteined them for a certeine season.

King Richard then vnderstanding this iniurie to him done by the Cypriots, & perceiuing they would resist his landing, prepared himselfe and his people to enter vpon them by force. The king of Cyprus Jakus or Curach (whome Houeden nameth emperor of Cyprus) had assembled the most part of all the power of men that he might make (though few of them were armed, or had any great skill in feats of warre) and caused them to set bozds, logs of wood, benches, formes, and great chests afore them, as a defence, and as it were in stead of a wall, that by succour thereof they might the better keepe off their enimie from landing.

But king Richard so encouraged his men by his presence, & hartened them with such comfortable wordes as he bittered vnto them, that rowling to the shoare with their galleies and small botes, hauing the archers afore them, they easilie got to land, vpon their enimies backe, and so farre pursued them (being but footmen, weatherbeaten, wearie, and weat) as conuenientlie they might, for the shortnes of time. King Richard hauing thus got foot on land, approached the towne of Limuzun, which he with his souldiers entered, and finding it emptie of people (which were fled awaie) but full of riches and great plentie of victuals, as cozne, wine, oile, and flesh, he seized there vpon.

The same day also the kings sisters and the ladie Berengaria with the residue of the kings nauie entered the haven of Limuzun. In the meane time the king of Cyprus (hauing escaped from the battell) got together his men which were fled and dispersed sundrie waies, and incamped within six miles of king Richard, threatening that the next day he would effectually giue battell: which when king Richard vnderstood, he caused his people to be armed the next morning long before day, and so comming by guides vnto the place where the Cypriots with their king were lodged, suddenly they assailed them yer they had a nie warning of his marching towards them, by reason whereof they were slaine like beasts in great numbers. Whotobest, their king and a few other escaped and fled away naked, hauing no time to put on their apparell, his treasure, horte, armour and standard were taken, which standard king Richard straitwaies determined to send vnto saint Edmunds Spine, and so did.

Hauing thus vanquished his aduersaries, he came backe to Limuzun: and the third day after, Queene king of Ierusalem and his brother Cestre de Luccignan with the prince of Antioch Raimond and his sonne named also Raimond earle of Tripoli, with other noble men, arrived at Limuzun afore said, to visit king Richard, and to offer him their seruices, and so became his men, in swearing fealtie to him against all other persons whatsoeuer.

The same day the king of Cyprus perceiuing himselfe unable to resist the great puissance of king Richards armie, sent ambassadours, and offered to king Richard the summe of twentie thousand marks of gold, in recompente of the monie which his men that were disloned had about them, and also to restore those to libertie which he had taken prisoners, and to make deliuerie to their hands of all their goods. Furthermore, he offered to go with him into the holie land personallie, and to serue him with an hundred

The Englishmen take land & chase their enimies.

King Richard with a cambrado banquetheth the Cypriots & chaseth them out of their campe, Iohn Textor.

The k. of Ierusalem and other noble men do fealtie vnto king Richard.

The offers of the king of Cyprus.

The king of
Cyprus sub-
mitted him-
self.

knights, 400 light horsemen, and 500 well armed footmen, & also to deliver to king Richard his daughter and heir in hostage, and to acknowledge him his sovereign lord, by swearing to him fealty for his kingdom, as for that which he should confesse to hold of him.

King Richard accepted these offers, and so the king of Cyprus came in and swore fealty to king Richard, in presence of the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, and other barons, and promised upon his oath then received, not to depart till all things coucnanted on his part were performed. Then king Richard assigned tents for him and his to lodge in, and appointed certeine knights and other men of warre to haue the custodie of him. But the same day after dinner upon repentance of that which he had done, he deuised his keepers and scale a waie, sending knowledge backe to the king that he would not stand to the conenants, which were concluded upon betwixt them.

King Richard seemed to like the matter well enough, and forthwith deliuered a part of his armie vnto the king of Jerusalem and to the prince of Antioch, appointing them to pursue the king of Cyprus by land, whilst he with one part of his gallies and Robert de Turneham with the other might search about the coast by sea, to prohibit his passage by water. In euery place where they came, such ships and gallies as they found they seized into their hands, and no resistance was made against them, by reason the people fled to the woods and mountains, leauing the cities, towncs and castels void in all fieds, where the king or the said sir Robert de Turneham with their vessels began to appare. When they had taken their pleasure thus alongst the coasts, they returned againe vnto Limuzin. The king of Jerusalem and the other that went forth by land, when they could not speed of their purpose, returned also, in which meane time a great number of Cypriots came in, and submitting themselves to king Richard, were receiued as his subiects.

On the 12. daie of Maie, the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre was married according to a precontract vnto king Richard at Limuzin afore said in the Ile of Cyprus, one of the kings chaplains executing the order of the marriage. The same daie also she was crowned by the bishop of Cures, the archbishops of Apamea and Amur, with the bishop of Baion ministering vnto him. After the solemnitie of this marriage and coronation ended, king Richard set forward with his armie into the countrie of Cyprus, and first took by surrender the citie of Nicosia, and after the strong castell of Chertin, within the which was the daughter of the king of Cyprus, which ladie humbly yielded hir selfe vnto him. Richard, who counting it repoych to be cruell to such as submit themselves, and speciallie the female sex, according to the old saying,

Parcere subiectis nobilis sit traleonis

had pittie of hir case, and sent hir to his wife the neto quene, willing that she might be handmaid vnto him. From thence passing forward, these castels were deliuered into his hands, Basses and Buffierin, Dert, Amur, Candace, and afterwards all the other castles and cities, towncs and places of strength within that Ile one after an other. Finally, hearing that the king of Cyprus was inclosed in an abbey called Cap S. Andreu, he marched thitherward: but when the king of Cyprus heard of his approach, he came forth and submitted himselfe wholly into his hands. The king first appointed him to the keeping of his chamberlaine Rafe Fitz Gessrey, and after sent him vnto the citie of Trigoth, there to be kept in close prison. When he heard he should be committed to

close prison, and remaine in fetters, said, that if he late in irons, he should shortly end his life. Where vnto king Richard when he heard of it, answered: He saith well, and therefore because he is a noble man, and our mind is not to haue him dead, but one lie to be kept safe from starting anie more abate, and doing new hurt, let him be chained in giucs and fetters made of siluer, and so he was.

But to proceed. After the king had set the countrie of Cyprus in good staie, he deliuered the keeping thereof vnto Richard de Camuille and Robert de Turneham. This done, vpon the Wednesday in the Whitsun weeke he took the sea againe, and passed ouer to the citie of Acres, which as then was besieged by the chistian armie, as ye may read in the description of the holie land, onelie giuing pon to understand, that such was the valiancie of king Richard shewed in manfull constringing of the citie, that his passe was greatlie bruted both amongst the chistians and also the Saracens.

Notwith the secret enimitie betwixt him and the French king effsones reuiued, by occasion of such discord as chanced betwixt Guido king of Jerusalem, and Conrad the marques of Tire, so that parties were taken, and whereas both the Pisans and Genenois did offer their seruice vnto king Richard, yet because the Genenois were confederat with the French king, who took part with the marques, he refused them, and receiued the Pisans, joining himselfe with king Guido to support him against his enemies.

Here is to be remembred, that before king Richard arrived at the siege, he incountred on the sea a mightie great ship called a Dommon, which one Saphalbine the brother of Saladine a prince of the Saracens had sent, to refresh them with vittels. This ship king Richard caused fercelie to be assailed with his gallies, and at length botoged hir with all the vittels and prouision within the same, as with fire, barrels of fire serpents, arrowes and weapons of sundrie sorts, besides all the mariners and men of warre, except such as were taken to merete and saued aliuie, being about 200 in the whole, whereas there were aboard the same ship 500 men of warre, as some write, though other haue but 800.

But now to other accidents that chanced this yere. On the thirteenth of Maie there was such an eclipse of the sunne, the more being the same time & dates old, that for the space of three houres (so long it lasted) such darkness came over the face of the earth, that euen in the daie time for this eclipse began about nine of the clocke in the morning the stars appeared plainelie in the element.

In the same month of Maie, Richard de Camuille, whome the king had left as ye haue heard to gouernour in Cyprus, chanced to fall sick, and continuing without helpe to the citie of Acres, there died. After whose death the Cypriots and those called Griottes and Griottes fled from the English obedience, and chose to them a king, and that was a monk of the famous Ile of Rhodus their former king: but Robert de Turneham, who after the decease of Richard Camuille remained fort your four of the Ile, gathered a power of men together, and making battell to the new king (whom he called himselfe to be emperor) vanquished him with his complices, took him prisoner, and hanged him on a peece of gallows. The same month also died Rafe Fitz Gessrey, who had the other king Rafe in custodie, and then king Richard deliuered him to the knights of the hospitall, who sent him to the castell of Margat, there to be kept as prisoner to the use of the king of England.

Now will we returne vnto the affaires of England

Poly

The chan-
celler
pope
EngThe post-
lord
102.
Ran.]A col-
on.Whom
Coul
disple
Poly
Ran.]
Wil.
The
Ran.]

Will

Ran.]
Poly.The
cellozThe
Darl
C.
WineThe
chan-
celler
John

Palin

Robert de
Turneham.

The king of
England mar-
ried the ladie
Berengaria.
She is crow-
ned quene.

Castels deli-
uered to the
king of En-
gland.

The king of
Cyprus again
submitted
himselfe to
the king of
England.
Rafe Fitz
Gessrey.

He arrived
there on the
saturday in
whitsun weeke,
being the sa-
turday also
next before
the feast of
S. Barna-
dic.
Galfridus
Viniant.

Pisans and
Genenois.

Mart. Paris.
Nic. Truet.
Saphalbine,
the brother of
Saladine.

Mart. Paris
N. Truet.

An eclipse of
the sunne.

The scientific
hours of the
daie saith
Mart. Paris.

Richard de
Camuille de-
ceased.

Polydor.

The Lord
chancellor
called the
popes legat in
England.The Statute
port of the
lord chancel-
lor.
Ran. Higd.A communicat-
ion.
Monks of
Couentrie
displaced.
Polydor.
Ran. Higd.
Wil. Parvus.
The occasion.
Ran. Higd.

Wil. Parvus

Ran. Higd.
Polydor.The L. chan-
celors reason.The bishop of
Durham.
The bishop of
Winchester.The lord
chancellor
meaning to
keepe earle
John lowe.

Pain suo cap.

land and make some mention of the doings there:
that the king Richard was
set forward on his journey, William Longchamp
lord chancellor and bishop of Ely, appointed (as he
hath been called) of the realm, began to exer-
cise his authority to the uttermost, taking upon him
the state of a prince, rather than of a subject. He had
at last (as before hath been heard) procured such favour
at the hands of pope Clement, that he was instituted
by him legat of the apostolic see here in England,
so that performing a double duty, the clergy and
temporal lords by reason that he had both the author-
ity of pope and king in his hands, he used the same
to his most advantage, as well in causes ecclesiasti-
cal as temporal, whereby he wrought many oppres-
sions both against them of the clergy and temporal.
He maintained such a port and countenance in
his doings, that he would ride with a thousand hor-
ses, by means whereof when he came to lie at abbeys
and other places (bringing with him such a train) he
was verie burthenous unto them, specially when he
late at their houses any space of time.

This man called a convocation at Westminster,
wherein at the suit of Hugh Pontifex bishop of Che-
ster, it was decreed, that the monks of Couentrie
should be displaced, and secular canons brought into
that house to supplie their rooms. Which was done
by the authority of the said lord chancellor, being
bribed by the foresaid bishop of Chester (as some writ-
ters have recorded) for displeasure which he bare to
the monks, by reason of a frate which they had made
upon the said bishop in their church at Couentrie,
and daunte blood of him before the altar there, as
he alledged.

But some have written, that the bishop of Chester
procured a licence of the pope, to alter the state of
that church in sort above mentioned, which is most
likeliest, furnishing against the monks, that they were
most manifest and stubborne disturbers of that peace
and quietnesse which ought to remaine amongst
churchmen: and yet he himselfe sowed the strife and
dissention amongst them, and namely betwene the
prior and his convent. Moreover, the said lord chan-
cellour deprived such rulers of their administrati-
ons and governments, as the king had appointed
to beare any high authority within the realme,
pretending not onlie the kings commandement,
but also alleading a reason which moved him so
to do, as thus, that he might thereby take awaie
all occasions of grudges from the people, which
otherwise might thinke, and would not sticke to
saie, that they were oppressed by the rule of manie
kings in stead of one king. He did also deprive Hugh
the bishop of Durham of all his honour and dignitie,
and put the bishop of Winchester to great trouble.
Moreover, doubting least the Nobles of the realme
would rise against him, and put him out of his place;
he sought to keepe them lowe, and spoiled them of
their monie and substance. Likewise pretending a
colour of doubt, least earle John the kings brother
should attempt any thing against his brother the
king now in his absence, he sought also to keepe him
under. To be breefe, he played in all points the right
part of a tyrant, and shewed himselfe such a one in all
respects as maintained his title,

*Non disceptando aut subtilibus argumentis
vincere, sed ferro manu sua iura tueri;
Pontifices nunc bella inuicem, sunt cetera nuga,
Nec precepta patrum nec Christi dogmata curant,
Istant se dominos rerum et sibi cuncta licere.*

At length the king receiued aduertisement from
his mother quene Elianor of his demeanour, and
that there was great likelihood of some commotion
to ensue, if speedie remedie were not in time prouid-

ed. Whereupon being then in Sicile, he sent Walter
the archbishop of Rouen into England with
commission, to some administration of the king-
dome with his chancellor the said bishop of Ely. But
the archbishop continuing into England was so den-
derlie interlined of the chancellor, and in effect so
little regarded, that notwithstanding his commission
and instructions brought from the king, he could not
be permitted to beare any rule. But the chancellor
determining the same to be in his hands, ordered all
things at his pleasure, without making the archbish-
op, Rouen, or any other of counsell with him, except
such as it pleased him to aduise for the serving of his
owne turne.

He certifieth beleued (as made ather dith) that
king Richard would neuer retorne with life into
England againe, which caused him to attempt so
manie unlawfull enterprises, and thereto he got in
to his hands all the castles and fortresses belonging
to the crowne, and furnished them with garrisons of
souldiers, as he thought necessarie, supplying such
captains of their comes as he suspected not to fauour
his proceedings.

One Gerard de Camville had bought of the king
the keeping of the castell of Lincolne, unto whom al-
so the shirifftwike of the shire was committed for a
time, but the lord chancellor, perceiving that he bare
more good will vnto earle John the kings brother
than to him (which John he most suspected) he took
from him the shirifftwike, & demanded also to haue
the castell of Lincolne deliuered into his hands, which
Gerard refused to deliuer, and perceiving that the
chancellor would practise to haue it by force, he fled
vnto earle John, requirring him of competent aid
and succour.

The chancellor on the other part, perceiving what
hatred diuerse of the Nobles bare him, thought good
to provide for his owne suertie the best that he could,
and therefore sent for a power of men from beyond
the sea; but because he thought it too long to staie till
they arrived, he came to Lincolne with such power
as he could make, and besieged the castell. Earle John
the kings brother aduertised hereof, raised such num-
bers of men as he might make of his friends, ser-
uants and tenants, and with small aduantage the ca-
stels of Spottingham and Wickhill within two daies
space. This done, he sent to the lord chancellor, com-
manding him either to breake up his siege, or else to
prepare for battell. The chancellor considering with
himselfe that there was small trust to be put in di-
uerse of those lords that were with him, bearing good
will to earle John, and but hollow hearts towards
him, raised his siege and departed with dishonour.

Not long after, one of his horses was broken off
by the death of pope Clement, whereby his power
legantine ceased: wherewith being somewhat aba-
thed, he came to a communication with earle John,
and vpon certaine conditions made peace with him.
Shortly after the souldiers which he had sent for, ar-
riued in England, and then he began to go from the
agreement made with earle John, affirming that he
would either dye the same earle out of England, or
else should earle John doe the like to him: for it was
not of sufficient largenesse to hold them both. How-
beit shortly after, a peace was effones concluded
betwixt them with condition, that if it chanced king
Richard to depart this life before his retorne into
England, not leauing any issue of his bodie begot-
ten, that then the chancellor renouncing the ordi-
nance made by king Richard (who had instituted his
nephew Arthur duke of Britaine to be his heire and
successour) should consent to admit earle John for
king of England, contrarie to the said ordinance.

But in the meane time it was agreed, that earle
John

Walter the
archbishop of
Rouen sent
into England

He is little re-
garded of the
lord chancel-
lor.

The lord
chancellor
besiegeth the
castell of Linc-
colne.
Earle John
winneeth the
castels of Spo-
ttingham and
Wickhill.

The chan-
celor raiseth
his siege with
dishonour.
The lord
chancellor and
earle John are
agreed.

The chancel-
lor breakeeth
the agreement.
The lord
chancellor and
earle John
make another
agreement.

P. 15.

John

that had marded the chancelloz's sister was capteine.

The newes of whose imprisonment was anon bruted thorough the realme, wherewith the Nobles fretted, and the commons curst: finally all men detested such tyrannie in the chancelour. But namely the king's brother earle John stormed at the matter, and with all speed assembled an armie out of those places where he bare rule, increasing the number with a powder of Welshmen. There came to him the bishop of Winchester, with manie earles and barons, also the bishop of Bath and Chester, which latelie before had bene chiefe fauourers of the chancelour in all his doings: but now that the world was changed, they shewed themselves the most earnest enemies he had, as well in words as deeds.

In an assemble of all the bishops of England, all those were excommunicate in solemne wise, with candles light, and other such ceremonies, which had either giuen commandement, or were present as partakers, to pull out of the church the archbishop of Poike, or his people by violence, and had imprisoned them in maner (as before ye haue heard:) but this was after the archbishop was set at libertie, as shuld appeare by Matthew Paris, for the chancelour repenting himselfe (though now too late) of his cruell dealing against the archbishop of Poike, wherewith he had kindled such a bzard against him, commanded the said archbishop (namelie at the instant sute of the bishop of London, or rather at the commandement of earle John, as Houeden saith) to be set at libertie. But the displeasure once kindled in the hearts of the Nobles, could not so easilie be quenched with his deliuerie, as it was speedilie set on fire by his imprisonment, so that they being now in armour, purposed to abate the pride of the chancelour, and to deliuer the common-wealth of such an vglie tyrant. And to begin, they summoned and assigned him a peremptorie day to appeare at Reading, to make answer vnto such injuries as he had done against the archbishop of Poike, and the bishop of Durham, sithens the departure of his souereigne lord the king.

At which day there came to Reading earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, with manie other bishops, earles, and barons, abiding there all that day, to see if the chancelour would appeare or no; but he came not: whereupon they prepared to march forth towards London, and therewithall set forward in like maner. He on the other side being a man of a great courage, had gathered an armie of such strangers and other his friends as he could make, and therewith went forth, and encamped nere to Windsor, there to abide his aduersaries, and to giue them battell, if they came forward and would abide it. But when they approached, and he perceiued also how diuerse of his friends shanke from him, and went to his enemies, he durst not attempt the hazard of a field, but fled backe to London, and there withdrew into the tower, with all his host, because he durst not commit himselfe to the doubtful fellowship of the citizens. Through his great pride and statelie port which he maintained, as partlie ye haue heard, he had procured to himselfe no small hatred amongst all degrees of men, and namely such as by the kings appointment ought to haue bene parteners with him in gouernement of the realme soze repined at his presumptuous proceedings, for that he disdaind (as it seemed) to be their aduise, or to ioine them with him in the administration of things, so that now in time of his trouble he wist not in whome he might put his trust.

After he was thus retired into the tower of London, earle John the archbishop of Rouen, and the other bishops, earles, and barons associated together against him, followed him at the heeles, entered

the citie, and besieged the tower on ech side. On the morrow after, being the fourth day after the octaues of saint Michael, they came together into Paules churchyard, where they publikelie declared the injurious wrongs done and practised by the chancelour; namely against the archbishop of Poike, and the bishop of Durham. Those also that had bene appointed as associats with him, accused him, in that he had taken vpon him to rule and gouerne all things after his owne will, not boughsasing to haue their aduise or counsell in such sort as had bene convenient.

The archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall earle of Pembroke shewed there before all the people the kings letter which he had sent from Messina, appointing that they should be associats with him in gouernment of the kingdome; and that without the counsell and aduise of them and others assigned thereto, he should not meddle with the rule of the land, and that if he should do any thing to the hinderance of the common-wealth, or seeke to meddle with the affaires of the realme, without their good aduise, that then he should be deposed. Whereupon it seemed good to earle John, and to all the bishops, earles and barons of the realme, and to the citizens of London there assembled, that the said chancelour should be deposed, and so they proceeded, and deposed him in deed, appointing the archbishop of Rouen in his place, who would not take vpon him to do anie thing touching the rule of the land, without consent of his associats assigned to him, and the barons of the exchequer.

The same day, earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, and other of the kings iustices, granted to the citizens of London the priuilege of their communalitie; and the said earle and archbishop, and in maner all the bishops, erls and barons of the realme sware to mainteine the said priuilege firme and stable, so long as should please their souereigne lord. And the citizens of London sware to be true, and to do their faithfull seruice vnto king Richard and his heirs, and if he chanced to die without issue, then to receiue earle John the brother of king Richard for their king and souereigne lord, and thereupon sware fealtie to him against all men, sauing that which they owed vnto his brother king Richard.

The chancelour perceiuing the multitude to be such which he had with him in the tower, as the place was not able to hold them any long time, after he had remained within it one night, he came forth vnto earle John, and to the other that were thus entred the citie, and now readie to besiege him, of whome he got licence for them that were inclosed within the tower, to depart without damage, and therewith deliuered by the tower vnto the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, with the castell of Windsor, and certeine other castels, which he held within the realme, but not all: notwithstanding he couenanted to make deliuerie of the residue, which yet remained in the hands of them whome he had appointed to the keeping of the same. And for assurance of that couenant to be perfozmed before he departed the realme, he deliuered his brethren, and one that was his chamberleine, to remaine with the lords as hostages.

This done, he hasted to Canturburie, where he promised to receiue the crosse of a pilgrime to go into the holie land, and to render by the crosse of his legathie, which he had vsurped a yeare and a halfe after the death of pope Clement, to the prejudice of the church of Rome, and to the detriment and great hinderance of the English church. For there was not any church within the realme, which had not bene put to fine and rancome by that crosse, nor any ecclesiasticall person went free, but the print of the crosse appeared in him and his purse. From Canturburie he got

A declaration made against the lord chancelour.

The tenor of this letter shall hereafter appeare.

The citizens of London.

The chancelour yieldeth by the tower.

The print of the legats crosse.

R. Houed.
The chancelour summoned to appeare

The chancelour retreateth to London.

The bishop of
Elie late lord
chancellor
disguiseth
himselfe in
women's
apparell.

He is be-
wyled.

Earle John
not a bishop's
friend.

Ouid. lib. 1. de
rem. am.

Matth. Paris.

got him to Douer to his brother in law, and finally seeking means to passe ouer into France, and doubting to be discovered, he apparelled himselfe in woman's raiment, & got a web of cloth on his arme, as though he had bene some housewife's woman of the countie: but by the vntowardlie folding and vncunning handling of his cloth (or rather by a lewd fisherman that took him for an harlot) he was suspected and searched so narrowlie, that by his priuie members he was proued to be a man, and at length knowne, attached, and committed to prison, after he had bene reprochfullie handled by them that found him, and by the wiuues of the towne, in such vnseemlie apparell.

Earle John would haue had him punished, and put to some open reproche for his passed tyranicall doings; but the bishops, and other of the barons, for reuerence of his order, procured his deliuerance, with licence to passe ouer into Normandie where he was borne. Thus was the bishop of Elie a man full of pride and couetousnesse ouerthowne with shame, and receiued for his hie climbing a reprochfull downefall: for none are moze subiect to ruine and rebuke, than such as be aloft and supereminent ouer others, as the poet noteth well, saying:

*Summa petit linor, perstant altissima venti,
Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Iouis.*

In time he was deposed from his office of being chancellor, and not without warrant, for in vertue deed, king Richard hauing receiued aduertisements from the lords and peeres of the realme, of the chancellor's presumptuous and haucie demeanour, with wrongs offered to diuerse persons, wrote to them againe as followeth.

A letter of king Richard directed to
the States of the land for the deposing of
the bishop of Elie from his office
of lord chancellor.

Richard king of England sendeth greeting to William Marshall, to Gilbert Fitz Peter, and Henrie Berdulse, and to William Brewer, peeres. If it so chance that our chancellor hath not faithfullie handled the affaires and businesse of our realme (committed vnto him) by the aduise and counsell of you, and others to whom we haue also assigned the charge of gouernement of the same realme: we command you, that according to your disposition in all things to be doone concerning the gouernement thereof, you order and dispose as well for eschetes, as all other things, &c.

By force of this commission, the lords were the bolder to proceed against him as ye haue heard. Now after his coming into the parties beyond the seas, he ceased not with letters and messengers to present his complaint to the pope of Rome, and to king Richard of the iniuries receiued at the hands of earle John and his complices. Hereupon pope Celestine wrote in deed to all the archbishops and bishops that were within the realme of England, in behalfe of the said bishop of Elie, declaring, that for so much as the king of England was gone into the holie land to warre against the enemies of our faith, leauing his kingdome vnder the protection of the apostolike see, he could not but haue special regard to see that the state, rights and honour thereof were preserved from all danger of decay.

Wherefore, vnderstanding that there had bene certaine attempts made by John erle of Poitouaigne and others, both against the king and the bishop of

Elie, that was not onelie legat of the apostolike see, but also gouernour of the land appointed by the king, which attempt sounded greatlie to the reproch of the church of Rome, and danger of damage to issue to king Richard, if remedie were not the sooner found: therefore he commanded them by the vertue of their obedience, to excommunicat the earle of Poitouaigne, or any other that was knowne to haue laid any violent hands vpon the said bishop of Elie, or detained him as captiue, or enforced him to any oth, or else had changed the state of rule in the kingdome of England to other forme, than king Richard had ordered at his setting forward towards the holie land: and that not onelie all the counsellours, authors, aiders and complices of those that had committed such outrage, but also their lands should stand interdicted, so that no diuine seruice should be vied within the precinct of the same, except penance and chistening of infants. This to remaine till the said bishop & kingdome were restored into the former estate: and that the parties excommunicated should present themselves with letters from the bishops vnto the apostolike see to be absolved, &c.

Hereupon also the bishop of Elie himselfe wrote vnto the bishop of Lincolne and other, touching this matter: but the bishops did neither any thing in accomplishment of the effect of the popes letters, nor at his owne supplication. And therefore perceiving small helpe to come that waie, he sought to obtaine the fauour and friendship of earle John, and of his mother queene Elianor. In the meane time, the lords, barons and prelates of the realme, after they had depriued him of all authoritie, and banished him out of the land, ordeined the archbishop of Rouen in fauour of the kings commission, to haue the cheefe rule and administration of things touching all the affaires of the common-wealth; but yet so as earle John had the doings in manie points, so that he might seeme in manner an associat with him, whereof sprang much inconuenience. For this John being a man (as he is noted by some writers) of an ambitious nature, was suspected to aspire vnto the kingdome: in somuch that he had ioined with the French king, after the same king was returned forth of the holie land, against his brother king Richard, if his mother queene Elianor had not perswaded him to the contrarie.

Whilste these things were a doing, on the twelfth daie of Iulie, the citie of Acres was surrendered into the christian mens hands, for the Soldan Saladin (being approached nere to the siege of the christians with a puissant armie, in hope to haue raised their siege) when he perceived it laie not in his power to worke any feat to the succour of his people within the citie, and that they were so constrained that they must needs yeld, he holpe to make their composition, and promised to performe certaine couenants on their behalfe. Hereupon, the Saracens within Acres couenanted not onelie to deliuer the citie vnto the christians with five hundred prisoners of christians which they had within the same, but also to procure that the holie crosse should be to them deliuered, with a thousand other christian prisoners, such as the christian princes should appoint out of those numbers which Saladin had in his custodie, and further, to giue them two hundred thousand Besans. And till these couenants were performed, it was agreed, that the Saracens, which were at that present left within the citie, should remaine as pledges, vnder condition, that if the same couenants were not performed within fortie daies, then should they stand at the mercie of the christian princes as touching life and lim.

These things thus concluded, and the citie yelded vnto the christian mens hands, the French king

The French
returneth
home.

Saladine
causeth the
christian pri-
soners to be
beheaded.

The arch-
shop of Rouen
cheefe gou-
ernor of Eng-
land.

R. Houed.
Wil. Parous.
Fistene faith
Functus, but
others agree
with Houed.
as Gerardus
Mercator, the
ting Albericus
a monk.

R. Houed.
Fistene faith
Functus, but
others agree
with Houed.
as Gerardus
Mercator, the
ting Albericus
a monk.

Ge. D. de
Fistene faith
Functus, but
others agree
with Houed.
as Gerardus
Mercator, the
ting Albericus
a monk.

Strife be-
twixt the arch-
bishop of York
and the bishop
of Durham.

The bishop of
Elie complai-
neth of his
wronges re-
ceiued.

The popes
letters vnto
the archbi-
shop and bi-
shops of
England.

Note how the
popes de-
scribeth his
chaplains.

The citie of
Acres.

upon

The French
is. returneth
home.

upon enmie and malice conceived against King Richard (although he pretended sicknesse for excuse) departed homewards, setting from Acres the last day of Iulie. Now then, after the departure of King Philip, when the day approached, in the which the Saracens should performe the covenants; or else stand to the iudgement of life and death at the pleasure of the christian princes: it was perceived that the covenants would not be fulfilled according to the agreement. For Saladine, as it well appeared, meant not to performe that which for the safegard of his men he had undertaken, and did but dally with the christians to prolong the time: whereupon sentence was given forth, that for default in such behalfe, the Saracens remaining as pledges should lose their heads.

Saladine
causeth the
christian pri-
soners to be
beheaded.

Saladine having knowledge thereof, sent word to king Richard and to the whole christian armie, that if his people that were in the christian mens hands lost their heads, he would not fall but cause the heads of all those christians which he had in captivittie to be cut off also. Notwithstanding which answer, on the fourteenth day of August king Richard issued forth of the citie, passing the uttermost ditches, and incamped himselfe nere the armie of Saladine, who the same date sent rich presents unto king Richard, requiring of him a longer day for performance of the covenants, but that would not be granted. Wherefore upon the said dentall, Saladine caused all those christian prisoners which he had in his hands to be beheaded on the eighteenth day of August, on which day king Richard advanced forth towards the lodgings of the Saracens, and skirmished with them verie hotlie, so that manie were wounded and slaine on both parts: and amongst other one of king Richards companions at all exercises named Peter Bignot lost his life there. Furthermore, although king Richard knew that Saladine had put the christian prisoners to death in such wise as you have heard, yet would not he prevent his terme appointed for the execution of the Saracens that were in his custodie, but abiding unto the twentieth day of August, he then caused those Saracens which fell to his lot, at the time of the surrender of Acres, being in number about 2600. to be brought forth of the citie, and nere to the waller in the sight of Saladine and all his host they had their heads chopped off. The duke of Burgoigne caused execution to be done within the citie upon those which fell to the French kings share, the number of the which rose to two thousand and foure hundred, or thereabouts: for the whole number was reckoned to be about five thousand that thus lost their lives through the inconstancie of their prince: yet diverse of the principall had their lives saved. The Saracens themselves also spake much evill of Saladine for this matter, because that refusing to performe the articles of covenants, he had occasioned the enimies to slea those that had to dauntlesse served in defense of the citie, to the uttermost jeopardie of their lives. And here is verified that knowne verie.

R. Houed.

Ger. Dor.

Strife be-
twixt the arch-
bishop of York
and the bishop
of Durham.

But now to leave forein matters, and to returne home into England: we shew, that on the second of December, the monks of Cantuarie chose to their archbishop Beignold bishop of Bath, who within fiftaine daies after his election, departed this life, and was buried at Bath. Also this yeare, or (as Ger. Dor. saith) in the yeare following, the bishop of Durham sought means to withdraw his subiection from the archbishop of York, for which attempt the archbishop of York, upon trust of the popes grant, did not excommunicate the said bishop; notwithstanding that he appealed to the popes consistorie three sever-

all times, putting his owne matter and his churches to be examined and tried by the pope, whereby on he obtined not the excommunication: and signifying the cause unto Rome, obtained such favour, that the pope and his cardinals reversed the sentence, and iudged the excommunication to be of none effect. And further they decreed, that if the archbishop of York had broken the altars and chalices, as information was given, in which the bishop of Durham had celebrated after his appeal made to the court of Rome, that then should the said bishop of Durham be acquitted from owing any subiection to the said archbishop for so long as they two should live together.

True it is, that the archbishop had not onely broken the altars and chalices which the bishop had used indeed for the celebration of masse, but also held his owne brother John earle of Mortaigne for excommunicate, because he had eat and dronke in compaignie of the said bishop, and would not communicate with him, till he came to receive absolution, and to make satisfaction for his fault. In the end the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, with the abbat of Peterburie, were appointed by the pope to have the hearing of this matter, as iudges authorized by his bulls, who sat thereupon at Portsmouth, upon St. Calixt his day, where after they had heard both parties argue what they could in either of their cases, they gave a longer day, to wit, untill the feast of the nativittie of saint John Baptist next after, to see if by any meane god means there might some agreement have bene had betwixt them, or (if that could not be) that then the popes letters should stand in force as before, & the helpees of either part saved, as though no delay had bene used. And to this, both parties were agreeable, speciallie at the motion of the bishop of Lincoln.

This yeare also, Roger de Lacie constable of Chester took Alan de Lec and Peter de Bouencourt, and upon despite hanged them, for that being put in trust amongst other with the keeping of the castles of Potingham and Tickhill, which he had received into his custodie of the bishop of Ely, whom said lord chancellor, they had consented to the treason of Robert de Crokesson, & Guido de Dunelm, which delinered the same castles unto John earle of Mortaigne. The same earle of Mortaigne was highly offended for the death of those two persons, and therefore wasted the lands of the said Roger within the compasse of his iurisdiction.

But now touching the departure of the French king from Acres, diverse occasions are remembered by writers of the emulation and discord which he should beare towards King Richard, and beside other already touched, one was for entrebating and relieving the earle of Champagne in such beautifull wise in his necessitie, that he was ready to forsake the French kings service, and cleave to king Richard. But howsoever it came to passe, partlie through envie (as hath bene thought) concluded at the great needs of king Richard, whose mightie power and valiantnesse he could not well abide, and partlie for other respects him moving, he took the sea with three galleies of the Genoises, and returned into Italie, and thence into France, having promised first unto king Richard at his departure out of the holie land, and after to pope Celestine at Rome, that he would not attempt any hurtfull enterprise against the English dominions, till king Richard should be returned forth of the holie land. But this promise was not kept, for after that he was returned into France, he first sought to procure the foresaid erle John, king Richards brother, to rebell against him, promising him not onely aid to reduce all his brothers dominions

Roger Lacie
constable
of Chester.

The enill dea-
ling & breach
of promise
of the French
king.

ons into his hands, but also to giue his sister Adela in marriage, whom king Richard vpon suspicion of vnchaste living: had forsaken, as before ye haue heard. But when earle John was dissuaded by his mother, from accepting this offer (which otherwise as it is said he would willingly haue receiued) king Philip still retained a malicious rancor in his hart, and in reuenge of old displeasures, would haue attempted the warre against the subjects of king Richard, if his lordes would haue loined with him: but they considering that slander would rebound hereby both to him and them for the inturie done to the christian common-wealth, in making warre against him that was occupied in defense of the faith against the common enemies of christendome, would not giue their consent thereto, and so the matter rested, till king Richard was taken prisoner in Almaine, and then what followed, it shall after appeare.

Wil. Paruus.
Enuious discord among
the christians.

R. Richard
discomfitteth
the Saracens
nere to Port
Japh.

Rog. Houed.

1192

The names
of such noble
men as were
famous for
their valiant
doings in
this voyage.

In the meane while, the christian armie atchined some worthy enterprises in the holie land, though not manie, by reason of such enuious discord as reigned amongst the cheefe gouernours. It chanced yet on the eue of the Natistie of our ladie next after the departure of king Philip, as king Richard marched forth towards Japh ancientlie called Joppa, that the Soldan Saladine taking aduantage of the place, did set vpon the reereward of the christians: but his Saracens (after they had fought right fiercely from none till sunne setting) were so beaten backe at length, and repelled with such losse and disadvantage, that in 40. yeares before they had not suffered at one time greater damage. Amongst other of the christians slaine at that encounter, was one James Dauenes, a man of high prowesse and valiance.

Moreouer, king Richard won diuerse towines and castles out of the enemies hands, as Ascalon, Darus, and diuerse other, and some he fortified, as Ascalon aforesaid, and Port Japh, otherwise called Joppa. There were sundrie encounters also betwixt the Saracens and christians, wherein king Richard and his people bare themselves so manfully, that the victorie for the most part continuallie rested on their side. At one time also, hearing of a great conuie of bitfels, munitions, and other things which came from Babylon towards Jerusalem to furnish Saladine and his armie (which conueis they call carauannes) king Richard with a competent power of men met them on the way, and distressed those that were attendant vpon the safeguard of that carriage, being in number about two thousand horsemen, besides a great multitude of footmen, and therewith toke the carriages with foure thousand and six hundred camels and dromedaries, besides an innumerable sort of mules, asses, and other beasts of burthen.

But to speake of all the worthy exploits atchined by king Richard and his valiant capteins there in the holie land against the infidels, it would requite a long treatise, and therefore here we passe them ouer. This is to be noted, that amongst other of whom we find honorable mention made by writers for their high valiance shewed in those exploits, these are named as these, Robert earle of Leicester, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, with the earles of S. Paule and Hereur, beside diuerse other, as Hugh de Courney, William de Borez, Matheine de Fexers, Roger de Lonic, James de Auencs, the bishop of Beauuois, William de Barres, William de Garland, Diego de Merlo, Robert de Bealle, Henrie Fitz Nicholas, Robert de Beiburg, Rafe de S. Marie, Arnold de Bois, Henrie de Mailoc, William & Haule de Bzul, Andrew de Chaignie, Henrie de Grate, Peter de Batellis, Stephan de Turneham, Baldwin Carron, Clarenbald de Mount Cha-

blon, Gantier de Lille, Richard de Maques and Theodorike, Philip, Ferrike de Blenne, Gilbert, Palemaine, Alexander d'Artie, Stephan de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Clannille, Raimond Fitz Prince, Bartholomeu de Portimer, Gerard Furnuall, Rafe de Halleon, Roger de Sorie, William de Poie, Hugh de Beull, Henrie Tautch or (if ye will) Leonicus the kings standardbearer, with diuerse others, as well Englishmen, Frenchmen, Normans, Poitouins, Antouines, Britans, Gascoignes, as other nations, of whome partlie mention is already made before in this booke, and partlie for breuenesse diuerse are omitted.

But now to returne, sure it is, that king Richard meant to haue recovered the citie of Jerusalem, and all the holie land out of the Saracens hands, by the assistance of almighty God: if the doubt which he had of his brother the earle of Portaigns practices, & the French kings doings, which were brought to him with a greuous report, had not reuoked him home. For diuerse messengers were sent dailie into the holie land, to aduertise him of such dangers as were like to insue, if by his speedie returne the same were not prevented. And first after Easter, there came to him the prior of Hereford with letters from the bishop of Elie, containing a soze information against his brother earle John, for hauing expelled those whom he had appointed rulers ouer the realme of England, and altered the state of things there contrary to the ordinances by him deuised afore his setting forward vpon his iournie (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Vpon receipt of which letters, he meant immediately at the first to haue returned, and to haue left behind him a conuenient power of men, to wit, three hundred knights or men of armes, and two thousand chosen footmen, to abide vpon the defense of the holie land, with other christians at his costs and charges. But yet at length he was perswaded to tarrie, specially till things were set in some better state, which then were out of order by the death of the marques of Montferrato, lord of Tire, whom two traitorous Saracens of the kind which they name Assassini had murdered. After whose death Henrie earle of Champagne nephew to king Richard married his wife, and was made king of Jerusalem, Guido resigning to him his title, vnto whome as it were in recompense king Richard gaue the Ile of Cyprus: although some write, that the knights Templers had bought it of him before. Thus king Richard remaining still in the holie land, shortly after Whitsuntide, there came an other messenger to him, one John de Alanson a clerk, bringing woofle newes out of England than the prior of Hereford had brought before, which in effect contained, that his brother earle John was allied as a confederat with the French king, and meant through his setting on, to seize into his possession the whole realme of England, notwithstanding the perswasion of his mother queene Eleanor, and other his friends to the contrary.

Herevpon king Richard was fullie perswaded to returne home, but yet through the admonition of certeine persons, and namelie of one William de Poitiers, a chapleine of his, he estimes: altered his purpose, and so remained there, till at length through enuie and malice still increasing amongst the christians, he perceiued how no good purpose could go forward, since that which seemed good to some, was disliked of other; and specially our writers put great blame in the French men, who either vpon disdain or other displeasure would not be perswaded to follow their aduise, which were knowne best to understand the state of things in those parties. And here vpon, when the armie was aduanced to Betenoble,

De Poite
de Hagnon.

Galf. Winif.

Wil. Par.

R. Rich.
rescueth
Japh.

Rad. Nig
Martha. P.

Cephas,
R. Rich.
and Siche.

Earle John
purposed to
seize vpon
the kingdom
in his brother
s absence.

William de
Poitiers R.
Richards
chaplain.

William de
Poitiers R.
Richards
chaplain.

a place not past foure leagues distant from Ierusalem, because their mind might not be fulfilled for the besieging of Ierusalem, which they had intended to take in hand (whereas the residue would rather that they should haue gone to besiege Babylon in Egypt, and that upon sundrie great respects) the Frenchmen raised their field, and returned againe to Acres in great despite, putting the rest of the armie also (so much as in them laie) in danger of vtter ruine and distresse.

Aano Reg. 4.

Then king Richard and the other christian captiues perceiving how the matter inclined, and giuing ouer all hope of any more good successe, followed them. So that after they were thus returned to Acres, king Richard still doubting least his long absence from home might put him in danger of more losse here, than he saw hope of present gaine to be had there, in such diuersitie of humours and priue malice which reigned among them, he determined fullie to depart homewards, with no lesse purpose to returne thither againe after he had settled things at home in such sure stay as was expedient for the suretie of his owne estate and quietnesse of his people. Hereupon being readie to enter into his ships at Acres [or as some haue, being on his iournie homewards in Cyprus] he was aduertised that the Souldane Saladine had taken the towne of Japh, slaine a great number of the christians within it, and besieged the residue within the castell, the which (constrained through feare) had compounded to yield, if within three daies there came no succour.

Wil. Paruus.

King Richard being hereof aduertised, and turning greif into valiancie, with all speed sailed backe vnto Japh, and landing there with his people, caused his enemies to forsake the towne: but anon assembling themselves againe together, they turned once more to besiege it, whereupon he issued forth into the fields, and fought with them sundrie daies together, till finally they were content to forsake their enterprise, and to depart thence for a litle together. In these conflicts the valiant courage of king Richard, and the worthie manhood of his souldiers right well appeared: for he brought not with him at that time vnto Japh about 80 men of armes, and foure hundred other souldiers with crossbowes, and yet with that small bandfull of men, and some also of them that he found there in the castell, he did not onely bid battell to the enemies, which were numbered to 62 thousand, but also put them to the worse, and caused them to flee backe, to their great shame and confusion.

R. Richard
rescueth Doct
Japh.Rad. Niger.
Math. Paris.

Thus Japh being deliuered out of the enemies hands, king Richard fell sicke at a castell called Cesphas, and so remained there certaine daies, till he had recovered his health. In which meane time the Souldane Saladine seeming to lament his case, sent vnto him certaine of his counsellors to conuene with him of peace, declaring that although he well understood that king Richard ment thence to returne into his countrie, and that after his departure out of the east parts, he could with small aduantage all that the christians yet held within the holie land, he would neuertheless in respect of king Richards high prizes, and noble valancie, grant a peace for a certaine time, so that not onely Acalon, but also all other such townes and places as the christians had fortified, or whiche since the conquest of Acres should be raised, as touching their walles, bulwarks, gates, and other fortifications.

Cenbas.
R. Richard
fell sicke.

King Richard (though he perceived that this offer of peace tended vnto this point chafelle, that Saladine would thereby aduillate whatsoever the christians at this had done in the holie land since his & the French kings arrivall, so that by the said peace he should gaine more than by the edge of his sword) did

somewhat staie at this offer and demand, as a thing greatlie dishonourable to the christians, to lose by treatie of peace so much, or rather more than they got by force of warres (a mere token of faint and feeble courage) yet considering that in such necessitie both of his departure from thence, and also of lacke of other succours to resist the puissance of the enemies, after his comming awaie, he iudged it best to take the offer at the enemies hands in auoiding of some

greater euill. Hereupon therefore was a peace concluded to endure for three yeares, three moneths, three weeks, three daies, and three houres, to begin at Easter next ensuing. And among other articles, it was covenanted, that the christians should haue free passage to come and go vnto the citie of Ierusalem, to visit the holie sepulchre there, which was granted; so that amongst a great number of christians that presentlie vpon this conclusion went thither, Hubert bishop of Salisburie was one, who had continued about the king during the time of all his iournie till this time.

A peace concluded be-
twixt the
Christians
& Saracens.Hubert bishop
of Salisburie.

King Richard hauing thus concluded with Saladine, toke the sea, and comming againe into Cyprus, sent his wife queene Berengaria with his sister Joane (late queene of Sicile) into England by the long seas, but he himselfe not minding to lie long on the seas, determined to take his course into Grecia, and so by land to passe homewards with all speed possible. Howbeit per he could attaine his purpose, his chance was to be diuined by tempest into the coast of Africa, not farre from Aquilia, where he stood in some doubt of his life. For if he had bene knowne and taken, they would surely haue killed him, because of the slander that went of him, as guiltie of the death of Conrade the marquisse of Montferrato, who indeed was slaine by two of the Assassini in the citie of Cyprus, whilst king Richard was in the holie land (as before ye haue heard.)

R. Richard
taketh his
iourne home-
wards.R. Richard
slandered for
the death of
a marquisse of
Montferrato.

He therefore hauing here made shipwacke, and doubting to fall into the hands of any person in those parts that bare god will vnto the marquisse (against whom he had indeed shewed himselfe not friendlie in a quarrell betwixt the said marquisse and Guido the king of Ierusalem) made the best shift he could to get away, yet knowledge being had of him, and serch made after him by one Meinard of Cozejein, he lost eight of his seruants, and so came to a towne within the bishopricke of Saltzburge called Frisake, where he was sometimes in danger to haue bene taken, a

W. Paruus.
Crie of Cozeje
Saltzburge.

gaine by one Frederike de saint Some, who notwithstanding toke six of his men, but yet he himselfe with three other of his companions made shift to get away. Finally comming to Vienna in Austria, and there causing his seruants to prouide meat for him, more sumptuous and fine than was thought requisite for so meane a person as he counterfeited then to beare out in countenance, it was freightwaies suspected that he was some other manner of man than he pretended, and in fine, those that marked more diligently the manner of him, perceived what he was, and gaue knowledge to the duke of Austria named Leopold, being then in the citie of Vienna, what they had done. His page that had the Dutch long going about the towne to change gold, and buy vittels, bewaied him, hauing by chance the kings gloves vnder his girdle: whereupon comming to be examined for feare of tortures confessed the truth.

R. Richard
commeth to
Vienna.

Polydor.

The duke freightwaies caused the house where he was lodged, to be set about with armed men, and sent other into the house to apprehend him. He being warie that he was descried, got him to his weapon: but they aduising him to be contented, and alledging the dukes commandement, he boldly answered, that sith he must be taken, he being a king, would yield him

Ra. Niger.

R. Richard
submitteþ
himselſe to
the duke of
Austrich.

N.Triuer.

Polychron.

The cause of
the diſpleaſure
betwixt the
duke of Au-
ſtrich & king
Richard.

Ger.Dor.

Reg.Houed.

“ himſelſe to none of the companie but to the duke
“ alone, and therefore if it would pleaſe him to come,
“ he would yeeld himſelſe into his hands. The duke
hearing of this, ſpedilie came vnto him, whom he
meeting, deliuered vp his ſword, and committed him
vnto his cuſtodie. The duke reioyiſing of ſuch a prete,
brought him vnto his palace, and with gentle words
entertained him, though he meant no great good to-
wards him, as well inough appeared in that he com-
mitted him to the keeping of certeine gentlemen,
which without much courtelie looked ſtreightlie i-
nough to him for ſtaring aſwaie, in ſomuch that
they kept him in cold irons (as ſome authours do
write.) He was taken after the maner aforeſaid in
December vpon S. Thomas eue, in the yere of our
Lord 1192. and in the fourth yere of his reigne.

The duke of Auſtrich owgth the king no good will,
bicauſe he had caſt downe his enſignes pitcht vp in
a turret at Acres, which he had wone at the verie
time when that citie was deliuered by the Sara-
cens: for while they were in trette on the one ſide, the
duke on the other, not knowing anie thing thereof,
gaue the aſſault vnto that part of the towne which
was appointed vnto him to beſiege. And ſo being
entred the towne, and perceiuing that by treatie it
was to be deliuered, he retired into the turret which
he had firſt wone and entred, and there ſet vp his
ſtandard and enſignes, which king Richard (as the
Dutch writers affirme) comming thither, threw
downe and trode vnder his feet.

But Geruafius Dorobornenſis declareth this mat-
ter ſomewhat otherwiſe, as thus. After that the ſaid
citie of Acres was rendred into the chriſtian mens
hands (ſaith he) diuerſe lordes tooke their lodgings as
they thought good, and hanged ſwizh their enſignes.
And as it chanced, the duke of Auſtrich placing him-
ſelſe in one of the faireſt palaces of all the citie, put
ſwizh his enſigne, whereof king Richard being wa-
rie, came thither with a companie of hardie ſouldiers
about him, and threw downe the dukes enſigne, ſo
diſplacing him out of that ſo pleaſant and beautifull
a lodging. For this cauſe, and alſo ſurmizing that
king Richard ſhould be guiltie of the death of the
marques, Contrade the duke of Auſtrich ſhewed ſuch
diſcourteſie towards him. But concerning the mui-
ther of the marques, the cheſe gouernour of thoſe
Saracens called Aſſalini cleared king Richard by a
letter wriſſten and directed vnto the duke of Auſtrich
in manner as followeth.

A letter directed to the duke of Au-
ſtrich, wherein king Richard is cleared of the
death of the markeſſe of Mountferrat,
whereof he was vehementlie ſuſpected.

Epoldo duci Austrie, Vetus de Mon-
te salutem. Cum plurimi reges & prin-
cipes ultra mare Richardum regem
Anglia & dominum de monte mar-
chisi inculpant, auro per dominum qui regnat in
aeternum, & per legem quam tenemus; quod in di-
uis mortem nullam culpam habuit. Est siquidem
causa mortis ipsius marchisi talis. Vnus ex fratri-
bus nostris in unam nauem de Satalci, ad partes
nostras veniebat, & tempestas illum forte ad Ty-
rum appulit, & marchisus fecit illum capere &
occidere, & magnam pecuniam eius rapuit. Nos
vero marchiso nuncios nostros misimus, mandan-
tes ut pecuniam fratris nostri nobis redderet, & de
morte fratris nostri nobiscum se concordaret, &
noluit.

Nec non & nuncios nostros spreuit, & mortem

fratris nostri super Reginaldum dominum de Si-
donis posuit, & nos tantum fecimus per amicos no-
stros, quod in veritate scimus, quod ille fecit illum
occidere & pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium
nuncium nostrum nomine Edrisum misimus ad
eum, quem in mare mergere voluit, sed amici no-
stri illum a Tyro festinanter fecerunt recedere,
qui ad nos peruenit, & ista nobis nuntiavit. Nos
quoque ex illa hora marchisum desiderauimus oc-
cidere. Tuncque duos fratres misimus ad Tyrum,
qui eum aperte & fere coram omni populo Tyri oc-
ciderunt.

Hac ergo fuit causa mortis marchisi, & bene
dicimus vobis in veritate, quod dominus Richar-
dus rex Anglia in hac marchisi morte nullam cul-
pam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi An-
glia malum fecerunt, iniuste fecerunt, & sine cau-
sa. Sciat pro certo, quod nullum hominem huius
mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus,
nisi prius nobis malum fecerit. Et sciat quod has
litteras fecimus in domo nostra ad castellum no-
strum Mesiat in dimidio Septembri, anno ab A-
lexandro 1505.

The same in English.



Etus de Monte to Lupold duke of
Austrich sendeth greeting. Where
manie kings and princes beyond the
seas blame Richard king of England
of the marques his death, I sweare by the lord
that reigneth euerlastingly, and by the law
which we hold, that he was not in fault for his
death. For the verie cause of the marques his
death was such as followeth. One of our bre-
thren in a ship of Satalie came towards our
parties, and chanced by tempest to be driuen
vnto Tyre, and the marques caused him to be
taken and slaine, and tooke a great portion of
monie that he had in the ship with him. Where-
upon we sent our messengers to the marques,
commanding him to restore vnto vs the mo-
nie of our Brother, and to compoſind with vs
for our said brothers death, and he would not.

Moreouer, he also contemned our mes-
sengers, & laid the fault of our brothers death vp-
on Reginald lord of Sidon, and we did so much
through our freinds, that we got full vnder-
standing that the marques himſelſe caused him
to be slaine, and tooke his monie. And there-
fore we sent vnto him againe an other mes-
ſenger named Edrius, whome he would haue
drowned in the ſea, but our freinds made ſuch
ſhift, that they procured him to depart with
ſpeed from Tyre, who returned to vs, and ſigni-
fied theſe things to vs for certeine. And from
that houre euer after we had a deſire to ſee the
marques, and ſo then we ſent two of our bre-
thren vnto Tyre, who openlie, & in a manner
in preſence of all the people of Tyre ſlue him.

This therefore was the verie cause of the
death of the marques; & we ſay to you in good
ſooth, that the lord Richard king of England,
in this death of the marques was nothing cul-
pable; and they that haue doone anie diſplea-
ſure vnto the king of England for this cauſe,
they haue doone it wrongfullie, and without a-
nie iuſt occaſion. Know ye for certeine, that we
doe not vſe to kill anie man of this world for a-
nie

The hi
deliuer
the emp
March.

Ouid.lib.

Rog.Ho

Two
from

Rome
interdu

The ca
Dierg
others
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lands

his bribe, or for monie, except he haue done to vs some harme afore time. And know ye that we haue made these letters in our house at our castell of Messuat, in the midd of September, in the year from Alexander the great,

Thus we haue how king Richard was cleared of that crime concerning the marques his death by the tenour of this letter. And verelie it is most like that king Richard would haue bene loth to haue communicated his purpose vnto such a wicked kind of pagans as the Almain were, if he had pretended any such matter, but rather would haue sought his reuenge by some other meanes. Now therefore to our purpose.

The newes of the taking of king Richard was anon bruted and blowne ouer all Germanie, whereupon the emperor Henrie the first, the sonne of Frederike the first, sent in all hast vnto the duke, perswading him to deliuer the king into his hands, being able to susteine and abide the malice of all them that would be offended with the taking and detaining of him prisoner, as the pope and others. The emperor well vnderstood the wealth and riches of England, and therefore hoped to make some good purchase by ransoming the king, if he might get him out of the dukes hands. The duke perceiuing also the emperours meaning, durst not well denie his request, and therefore he deliuered the king vnto them that were sent from the emperor, who couenanted to giue vnto the said duke the summe of 6000. pounds of Cullen weight for the hauing of the said king. The emperor thus receiuing the king at the hands of the duke of Austrich, commanded that he should be committed to close prison, and would not do so much as once speake with him. This he did, to cause the king vpon an indignation and wearinesse of that manner of life, to make speed in offering some large masse of monie for his libertie & deliuerance. Thus we haue how couetousnesse infected the hearts of the mightie, and what occasion the emperor and duke did take, to enrich themselves by the meanes of the king, whome they forced not to impouerish, so their owne greedie woyme were serued. But this hath bene a discase not so generall as ancient, according to his words that said,

*Vix ego Saturno quenquam regnante videbam,
Cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent.*

Here is to be remembred by the waie, that about the same time, or some what before, in the peare of our Lord 1192. the pope sent two legats (namelie, Adanian bishop of Hostia, and Jordan de Fossanova) into Normandie, to reconcile the bishop of Ely and the archbishop of Rouen: but comming vnto Cisors, they were staied from entring any further into the countrie, whereupon they did interdict the whole duchie of Normandie, together with William Fitz Radulfe lord steward of that countrie, because he was the man that had so staied them. Immediatlie hereupon, queene Elianor, and the archbishop of Rouen sent vnto those legats Hugh bishop of Durham, requiring them to release that sentence of interdiction so pronounced against the steward and countrie of Normandie in the kings absence, but they would not, except they might be receiued vnto Normandie: howbeit, the pope beting sent vnto, released it, and caused the legats to release it also, and yet they entred not into Normandie at all.

This peare, whilste the seneschall of Gascoigne laie sicke, the earle of Heregort, and the vicount of March, and almost all the lords and barons of Gascoigne, began to waite and despoile the lands of king Richard. And though the seneschall manie times by

messengers required a peace, or at the least some truce, yet could he not haue any grant thereof: wherefore vpon his recouerie of health he inuaded the lands of the said earle, toke the castels and fortresses and some of them he fortified, and kept to the kings vse, and some of them he rased downe to the ground. He also inuaded the vicounts countrie, and subdued it to the kings gouernement. Shortly after came the brother of the king of Spauarre, with eight hundred knights or men of armes to the seneschalls aid, and so they two together entring into the lands of the earle of Holouise, toke diuerse castels and fortresses within the same, of the which some they fortified, and some they rased, and rode euen to the gates of Holouise, and lodged in maner vnder the walles of the cite.

A little before Christmas also, diuerse of those that had bene in the holie land with king Richard, came home into England, not knowing but that king Richard had bene at home before them, and being asked where they thought he was become, they could say no more but that they had seene the ship wherein he first went aboard, arriuing at Wembise in Puglia. At length, when newes came that he was taken and staied as prisoner, the archbishop of Rouen and other the rulers of the realme of England, sent the abbat of Woreley and the abbat of Roberts-bridge with all speed into Almaine to speake with him, and to vnderstand his state, and what his pleasure was in all things. Who comming to Germanie, passed through the countie into Waterland, where at a place called Drefer they found the king as then on his iourne towards the emperor, to whom (as ye haue heard) the duke of Austrich did send him. The said abbats attended him to the emperours court, and remained there with him till the emperor and he were accorded, in manner as after shall be shewed: and then after Easter they returned with the newes into England.

Vpon report hereof order was taken for manie things, but chæfelic for the state: in which dealings, forsomuch as those which had the rule of the land stood in great doubt of things (for the inconstant nature of earle John was of them much suspected) first they caused a new oath of allegiance to be made to king Richard, and receiued of the people. They fortified also such towne and castels as were of importance, both with repairing the walles and other defenses about the same, and furnishing them with men, munition and vittels. Thus was the land brought into some order.

In the meane while, the French king being aduertised that king Richard was detained as prisoner, reioiced not a little thereat, and with all speed by secret messages did send for his brother earle John, who was readie to come at his call. And being come, he exhorted him not to suffer so conuenient an occasion to passe, but to take the gouernement of the realme of England now into his hands, promising him all such aid as he could of him reasonable requite: with other like talke still tending to the prouocation of the earle to forsake his allegiance vnto his brother. And to say the truth, earle John was easilie perswaded so to do, and therefore vpon his immediate returne into England, assembled an armie, and with the same (and such strangers as he brought with him) began to proue matters, first winning the castels of Windsoze, Wallingford, Potingham, and diuerse other, and fortifying the same to his owne vse and defense.

The barons of the land, iudging such vnlawfull doings not to be anie longer suffered, first besieged the castell of Windsoze, and after preparing to leue a greater force, did put them within in such feare, that they yielded by the same, seeking to escape by

The seneschall of Gascoigne reuengeth iniurie.

The king of Spauarre brother.

The abbats of Woreley and Roberts-bridge.

Ger. Dor.

The French king counsaileth earle John to vsurge against his brother.

1193

The king is deliuered to the emperor. Marth. Paris.

Onid. lib. Fast. 1.

Rog. Houed.

Two legats from the pope.

Normandie interdicted.

The earle of Heregort & others waite the lands of Eng.

Ger. Dor.

flight, some into one place, and some into an other, the which yet being apprehended were put to worthy execution. But this was not done without continuance of time, & without great trouble & charges to the realme: for whereas there was a practise betwixt the French king and earle John, that a great power of strangers, & namelie Flemings should haue come into the realme (for whose transporting a great number of ships were brought together at Wiltland) yet the high providence and goodnesse of God disappointed their purpose. For their messengers being taken which were sent hither into England, the treason was reuealed, and by the quene mothers appointment (who chafelie then ruled the land) a great companie of knights, men of armes, and commons of the countrie, watched the sea coasts ouer against Flanders, to keepe the enimies from landing. They began thus to watch in the passion weeke, and so continued till a certeine time after Easter. Howbeit earle John came secretly ouer, in hope to haue not onelie the assistance of the Welshmen and of manie other his frends in England, but also of the Scots, howbeit, the king of Scots would not meddle. He therefore with such Welshmen and other as he had brought ouer, and such Englishmen as he could get to take his part, began such attempts (as before ye haue heard) to the disquieting of the whole realme, and great displeasure of the king.

Howeuer, beside that power of the barons which laid siege to Windsor castell, there were noble men also in other parts of the realme that were ready to resist him. And amongst other, Geoffrey the archbishop of York, with Hugh Bardolfe one of the kings iustices, and William de Stuteuile, assembled an armie, and comming to Doncaster, fortified the towne: but when the archbishop would haue gone forward to besiege the castell of Lichill, which earle John had in possession, the other two his associates would not consent to go with him, because they were seruants, and retained with earle John. Here with the archbishop being sore offended, departed from them, calling them traitors to their king, and enimies to the realme.

About the same time did the French king enter into Normandie with an armie, & comming to the towne of Cisors, besieged it, the which one Gilbert de Clascoll or Qualcoll captiue thereof (to his high respect) yielded by unto him, with an other castell also called Hesse, which he had likewise in keeping. After this, the French king entring into the countrie of Acurine or Aulquessine, van diuers towne and fortresses in the same, and passing for ward, toke Al de Kuel, and Deurburge, and finally comming before the cite of Rouen he laid siege thereto: but the earle of Leicester being gotten into the cite before the French kings comming thither, so encouraged the citizens, that they stoutlie standing to their defense, caused the French king to his great dishonour to raise his field, having lost there more than he won. Yet to saue other towne and castells from taking, and the countrie from destruction, the rulers of the same procured a truce for a great summe of monie, which they covenanted to giue, deliuering by foure notable castells by waie of engagement, till the summe agreed upon should be to him contented and duly paid.

In the meane time, earle John as head of all the conspirators, perceiuing himselfe not able to achieve his purpose as then, nor to resist the lords and barons of the realme, being by in armour against him, and now growen to greater stomach, because they understood by the bishop of Salisburie lachie arrived, of the kings welfare, and hope of deliuerance; and furthermore, considering that he was

disappointed both of Scots and Flemings as he had well hoped should haue come to his aid: he toke a truce with the lords of the kings side, by the earnest frauell of the bishop of Salisburie, till the feast of All Saints, so as the castells of Windsor, Wallingford, and the Beake, should remaine in the hands of his mother quene Elianor; but the castells of Nottingham and Lichill remained still in his owne possession, the which with such other castells as he held within the land, he furnished with garrisons of his owne men and frends, and then went againe ouer into France to the French king, to purchase some new aid at his hands according to his promise.

Here will we leaue earle John conferring with the French king, and returne to the king of England. Upon Palmesundaie after that he was dekinred (or rather betrayed) into the emperours hands, he was brought before the princes and lords of the empire, in whose presence the emperour charged him with diuerse vnlawfull doings: and namelie picked a quarell at him for the wrongs and hurts done to the Sicilians in time of his sojourning in their Ile, as he went towards the holie land. For albeit the said emperour had nothing as then to doe in the countrie, yet for so much as he had lately recovered the Ile of Sicile out of king Tancred's hands, and was now intituled king thereof by the pope, in right of his wife Constance, the daughter of Roger king of Sicile, and so by reason thereof seemed to be grieuouly offended with him for his doings about the recovering of the monie from Tancred, which neuertheless was iustlie due unto his sister for his dowrie, as in the proccesse aforesaid I haue already declared. King Richard notwithstanding these vaine and other frivolous objections laid to his charge, made his answeres alwaies so pithilie and directlie to all that could be laid against him, and excused himselfe in euerie point so throughlie, that the emperour much marvelled at his high wisdom and prudence, and not onelie greatly commended him for the same, but from thenceforth vsed him more courteously, and suffered that his frends might haue access to him more freely than before they could be permitted.

The Pope also being aduertised of the taking of king Richard, was much offended, that any christi an prince, having taken vpon him the defense of the christi an faith against the infidels, should be so vsed in his returne from so goodlie an enterprise: and therefore sent both to the duke of Austring, and to the emperour, requiring them to set him at libertie. But the emperour declared plainlie that he would be answered for such summones of monie as king Richard had taken out of Sicile before he would release him or set him at libertie.

When king Richard perceiued that no excuses would serue, though neuer so iust, but that he must needs paie to his conctous host some great summe of monie for his hard intertainment, he sent the bishop of Salisburie into England, to take order with the barons of the realme to provide for the payment of his ransom, which bishop as ye haue heard after the peace concluded with Saladine, went unto Jerusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and now comming into Sicile, as he returned homeward, had knowledge there how king Richard was taken prisoner in Austring, and remained in the emperours hands: whereupon he turned that waie forth, and comming to him, was now sent into England with commission (as I haue said) to leaue monie for the kings ransom. He landed here the twentieth day of Aprill, by whose comming the land to us the sooner brought in quiet: for the agreement which earle John toke (as before ye haue heard) was chafelie procured by his means. For till his comming, the castell of Windsor

The archbishop of York.
Hugh Bardolfe.
William de Stuteuile.

W. Parvus.

Rouen besieged.
The earle of Leicester.

Polydor.

Archbishop of York.
Ger. Dor.

Rog. Hou.
The bish.
The com.
to the kir

The emperour charged him with inuities done to the Sicilians.

R. Houe.
Lands a.
ned to hi.
Richard.

W. Parvus.
Marth. West.
The kings wisdom in making his answer.

Polydor.

Polydor.

Rog. Hou.
Order t.
for leuie.
monie to
the king
ransome

The bishop of Salisburie sent into England.

The handling
sacres in
collection

Ger. Dor.

fo:z

for was not wone, the siege being but slacke fol-
lowed by the archbishop of Rouen, who had diuerse
of his friends within it, and therefore was not verie
carnell against them.

Rog. Houed.
The bishop of
Elie cometh
to the king.

The emperor
agreeth with
king Richard
for his ran-
some.
N. Triuet,
Matt. Paris.

When the bishop of Salisburie was departed to-
wards England, the bishop of Elie came to the king
and trauelled so earnestlie betwixt the emperor and
him, that finally the emperor (partlie through his
suit, & partlie for that he had bene verie much called
vpon by the pope and other for his deliuerie) took
der with him for the redeming of his libertie, and ap-
pointed what summe he should pay for his ransome,
which (as some write) was two hundred thousand
markes: other saie that it was but 140 thousand
marks of the poise of Cullen weight. But William
Paruus, who liued in those daies, affirmeth it was one
hundred thousand pounds, and Roger Houeden saith
an hundred thousand marks of Cullen poise, to be
paid presentlie at the kings first comming into Eng-
land, and fiftie thousand marks afterwards, that is
to say, thirtie thousand to the emperor, and twentie
thousand to the duke of Austrich, as it were in re-
compense of the iniurie done to him in the holie land;
where king Richard ouerthrew his ensignes: and for
the same to deliuer sufficient suerties.

R. Houed.
Lands assign-
ed to king
Richard.

Moreover, we find in Roger Houeden that the em-
peror amongst other the articles of this agreement
thus concluded betwixt him and king Richard, gaue
and granted, and by his letters patents confirmed
vnto him these lands hereafter mentioned, that is to
saie: Poynance with the citie of Mienne, and Mien-
nois, the citie of Marcellis, Parbon, Arles and Lion
vpon the Rhone, with the countrie vnto the Alps, and
all those possessions which belonged to the empire in
Burgoine, with the homages of the king of Aragon
and of the earle of Sicily: wherein is to be noted,
that with the precinct of the premises thus granted
to king Richard, siue archbishops sees, and thirtie
thre bishops sees are included. Howbeit the truth
is, that the emperor neuer had possession of these
countries, cities, and towne himselfe, neither would
the inhabitants receiue any person so by him appoin-
ted to their lord and gouernour, therefore the king
made small account of that his so large grant. But
after he once vnderstood the certaintie of the summe
that he should paie for his ransome (which businesse he
most attended) he sent one with letters by and by
and in great hast into England to his treasurers,
requiring them with all conuenient speed to poude
monie, and to send it to him by a day, that he might
be set at libertie with speed.

Polydor.

Rog. Houed.
Order taken
for leuieng
monie to paie
the kings
ransome.

These letters being come to the quene mother, and
other that had charge in gouernance of the realme,
toke order that all manner of persons as well spiritu-
all as tempozall, should giue the fourth part of their
whole reuenues to them for that yeare accreuing,
and as much more of their moueable goods, and that
of euerie knights fee there should be leuied the sum
of twentie shillings. Also that the religious houses of
the orders of the Cisterciens and Sempringham should
giue all their wools for that yeare towards the kings
ransome.

The hard
dealing of of-
ficers in the
collection.

Adm those that had commission to leuie this mo-
nie, being poisoned with couetousnesse, and incensed
with a greedie desire (than the which as the poet saith,

— nulla est hac maior Erinnyis,

Hanc memorant Acheronte (atam, per tristia Divis

Regna truces agitare faces, &c.)

bled much strenghtnesse in exacting it, not onelie le-
uied it to the bittermost value and extent of mens
lands, goods, and possessions, but after their owne
willes and pleasures: so that vnder colour of the
kings commission, and letters to them directed, there
sawed not a tribute or subsidie to be raised, but by

some publike proclamation all the goods and sub-
stance of the people to be appointed as a prey to the
kings officers, whereby it came to passe, that not
onelie priuac mens goods, but also the chalices, jew-
els, and vessels belonging to the church were tur-
ned into monie, and a farre greater summe made
than was at the first commanded, a great part of the
ouerplus being conuerted to the vse of those, through
whose hands the receipt passed. There was no priui-
lege nor freedom allowed to exempt any person or
place for being contributozie towards the payment
of this monie. The order of Cisterciens that were neuer
charged with any payment before, were now assessed
more deepe than the rest.

Church
schools.

The bishop of Norwich lamenting the iniurious
dealings of the pettie officers, and pittieing the peo-
ple of the church, collected halfe the value of all the
chalices within his diocesse himselfe, and to make
vp the other halfe of the whole summe, he spared not
to giue a great portio of his owne treasure. The ab-
bat of S. Albons acquitted all those churches with-
in the compasse of his iurisdiction, by the gift of an
hundred marks. But the bishop of Chester had verie
ill lucke with his collections; for hauing gathered a
great summe of monie to the kings vse, he was spoi-
led thereof in one night, as he lodged nere vnto
Canturburie, being vpon his iourne towards the
king. And because Matthew de Clere that laie in
the castell of Dover was knowne to aid those that
robbed the said bishop, the archbishop of Canturburie
pronounced him accursed.

The bishop of
Norwich.

The abbat of
Saint Albons.

The bishop of
Chester.

Matthew de
Clere.

About this time, and on the morrow after the na-
tiuitie of saint John Baptist, the bishop of Elie lord
chancellor arriued in England, not shewing him-
selfe in any statelie port (for he toke vpon him nei-
ther the dignitie of chancellor nor legat, nor yet of
iustice) but onelie as a simple bishop and messenger
sent from the king. The quene mother, the archbishop
of Rouen, and such other as had gouernment of the
land, hearing of his comming, met him at saint Al-
bons, where he shewed to them the emperors let-
ters, containing the agreement made betwixt him
and king Richard, and wisthall appointed certaine
lords & barons to go with him at his returne backe
to the king, as Gilbert bishop of Rochester, Sistris
bishop of Winchester, Bennet abbat of Peterborough,
Richard earle of Clare, Roger Wigot earle of Nor-
folke, Geoffrey de Saie, and diuerse other. It was
also ordeined at this same time, that the monie ga-
thered towards the payment of the kings ransome
should remaine in custodie of Hubert bishop of Sa-
lisburie, Richard bishop of London, William earle
of Arundell, Hameline earle of Warren, and of
the Prior of London, vnder the seales of the quene
mother, and of the archbishop of Rouen.

R. Houed.
The bishop
of Elie.

¶ But see the hap of things, whilst ech one was thus
occupied about the aforesaid monie; it chanced that
king Richard was at the point to haue bene deliue-
red into the hands of his deadlie aduersarie the
French king, as hereafter you shall heare, noting by
the waie the dangerous estate of princes, the mani-
fold distresses whereinto by sinister fate (as well as
the inferiour & rascall rout of common drudges) they
be diuen. For what greater calamitie, what gre-
uouler hartach, what more miserable casualtie could
haue happened vnto a bondman, than to be deliuered
to and fro from the hand of one enimie to another, to
be bought and sold for monie, to stand to the courtes-
ies of forren foes, of a king to become a captiue:
ther vnto the poet did right well allude, when he said,

Anno Reg. 5.
Wil. Paruus.

Sapius ventis agitur ingens
Primo, & celsa grauiore casu
Decidunt turres, frumta summos
Fulmina montes.

Hor. lib. car. 1.
ode. 10.

The bishop of
Liege mur-
thered.

The emperor vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of Liege, which lathelie had attained to that benefice contrarie to the emperours pleasure, who wished the same rather to an other person, hired certeine naughtie fellows to go into France, where the bishop remained for feare of the emperours malice, and there to find meanes traitorously to slea him, which they accordingly did, by reason whereof the duke of Louaigne that was brother to the bishop, and other of his kintmen, vpon knowledge had thereof, meant to haue made the emperor warre, in reuenge of that murder: insomuch that the emperor, to haue the French kings aid against them, was minded to haue deliuered h. Richard vnto him.

Wherupon after that the matter was taken vp, and a concord made betwixt the emperor and his nobles, he changed his purpose also touching the deliuering ouer of king Richard, who perceluing that till his ransome were paid (which would amount to the summe of an hundred & fiftie thousand marks) he should not get libertie: and putting great confidence in the vertutie and diligence of Hubert bishop of Salisburie (whome he sent as ye haue heard into England to deale for the leuieng of the same) he thought good to aduance the same bishop to the metropolitane see of Canturburie, which had bene vacant euer sithence the decease of archbishop Baldwine, that died (as ye haue heard) in the holie land.

Wil. Paruus.

Hubert bishop
of Salisburie
elected arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.

Herevpon writing to the bishops of the realme, and to the monks of Canturburie, he required them to proceed to the election of an archbishop for that see, and withall commended vnto them the foresaid Hubert, as a man most sufficient and meet for that come. He wrote likewise to the queene to further that matter, and easilie hereby obtained his desire. For shortly after, the same Hubert was elected by the bishops and monks, which assembled togither for that purpose. He was the 41 archbishop that gouerned that see: for although Reginald bishop of Bath was elected before him, yet because he died yer he was installed, he is not put in the number.

Hubert arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie, lord
chefe iustice.

The king being now put in god hope of his speedie deliuerance, sent into England, willing his mother queene Elianor, the archbishop of Rouen and others, to come ouer vnto him into Almaine, and in the meane time he ordeined Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie to remaine at home as lord chefe iustice. After this, the emperor with the aduice of the princes of the empire, assigned a day to king Richard, in which he should be deliuered out of captiuitie, which was the mondaie next after the twentieth day of Christmase. Wherevpon king Richard wrote vnto Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in forme as followeth.

The tenour of king Richards letters to the said archbishop.

Richardus Dei gratia rex Anglie, & dux Normania & Aquitania, & comes Andegania, venerabili patri nostro in Christo, & amico charissimo Huberto eadem gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo salutem & sincere dilectionis plenitudinem. Quoniam certiores sumus, quod liberationem nostram plurimum desideratis, & quod liberatio nostra admodum vos letificat, scripto volumus quod letitia nostra participes sitis. Inde est quod dilectioni vestrae dignum duximus significare, dominum imperatorem certum diem liberationis nostre nobis prefuisse, in die lune proxima post vicesimum diem natiuitatis Domini, & die dominica proxi-

ma sequenti coronabimur de regno prouincia, quod nobis dedit. Vnde mittimus in Angliam literas domini imperatoris super hijs patentes, vobis & ceteris amicis nostris beneuolis. Vos autem interim pro omni posse vestro quos scitis nos diligere, consolari velitis, & quos scitis promotionem nostram desiderare. Teste meipso apud Spiram 22. die Septembris.

The emperor also signified by his letters to the lords of England his resolute determination in this matter, as followeth.

The tenour of the emperours letters to the States of England touching king Richard, and the day of his deliuerance, &c.

Enricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & semper Augustus, dilectis suis archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, & vniuersis alijs fidelibus Richardi illustris regis Anglorum gratiam suam & omne bonum. Vniuersitati vestra duximus intimandum, quod dilecto amico nostro Richardo illustri regi Anglorum domino vestro certum diem liberationis sue statuimus, a secunda feria post diem natiuitatis domini in tres septimanas apud Spiram siue apud Berenatiam, & inde in septem dies posuimus ei diem coronationis sue de regno Prouincia, quod ei promissimus: & hoc certum habecatis, & indubitatum, nostri siquidem propositi est, & voluntatis, prefatum dominum vestrum specialem promouere sicut amicum nostrum, & magnificentius honorare. Datum apud Theallusam vigilia beati Thome Apostoli.

Before this king Richard had sent the bishop of Elie into France vnto his brother earle John, who preuailed so much with him, that he returned into Normandie, and there sware fealtie vnto his brother king Richard, and so was contented to forsake the French king. But whereas king Richard commanded that all such castels and honours as he had giuen to him afore time, should now be restozed to him againe, as well those in England, as the other on the further side the sea: such as had the same castels in keeping would not obeye the kings commandement herein, refusing to make restitution of those places, according to the tenour & purport of the kings writ, vnto the said earle of Mortaigne, by reason of which refusall, he returned againe to the French king, and stucke to him. Wherevpon the French king gaue vnto him the castels of Dreincourt, and Arques, the which ought to haue bene deliuered vnto the archbishop of Reims as in pledge, who had trauelled as a meane betwixt the French king to whom he was uncle, and the king of England to whom he was cousin, procuring a meeting for agreement to be had betwixt them at a certeine place betwixt Gaucolour and Tulle in the borders of Lorraine. But notwithstanding all that he could do, matters were so farre out of frame, and such mistrust was entred into the minds of the parties, that no conclusion held. So that all the hope which king Richard had, was by payment of his ransome to redeme his libertie, and then to shifft with things as he might. And so shortly when the monie was once readie, or rather a sufficient portion thereof, the same was conueied ower into Germanie, and payment made to the emperor of the more part of the kings ransome, and sufficient pledges left with him for the rest, as the archbishop

R. Houed.
King Ri-
chard relea-
sed out of ca-
stilitie.

R. Houed.
The offers
the French
and erle John
to haue the
of England
kept still in
prison.

The prince
that had in-
dertaken for
the emperor
performe the
covenant.

The kings
commande-
ment not
obeyed.

Robert de
Bouam,

Robert de
Bouam,

R. Houed.
King Richard releas-
ed out of capti-
uitie.

of Rouen, the bishop of Bath [Waldwin Mac] and other which were of late come out of England to see and salute the king.

Hereupon king Richard, after he had bene prisoner one yeare, six weekes, and thre daies, was set at libertie on Candlemasse day (as most writers agree) and then with long and hastie iournies, not keeping the high waies, he hasted forth towards England. It is reported that if he had linged by the way, he had bene estones apprehended. For the emperor being incensed against him by ambassadours that came from the French king, immediatlie after he was set forthward, began to repent himselfe in that he had suffered him so sone to depart from him, and hereupon sent men after him with all speed to bring him backe if they could by any meanes ouertake him, meaning as then to haue kept him in perpetuall prison.

R. Houed.
The offers of
the French king
and earle John
to haue the king
of England kept still in
prison.

Some write that those ambassadours sent from the French king, with other from earle John, came to the emperor before king Richard was deliuered, offering in the French kings name fiftie thousand marks of siluer, and in the name of earle John thirtie thousand, upon condition that k. Richard might remaine still in captiuitie vntill the feast of S. Michael next ensuing; or else if it might so please him, he should receiue a thousand pounds of siluer for euerie moneth, whilst king Richard should be detained in his prison, or otherwise fiftie thousand marks of siluer more than the first offer, at one entire paiement, if he would deliuer him into their hands, or at the leastwise to keepe him prisoner by the terme of one whole yeare.

The emperor hearing of such large offers, and yet hoping for more, contrarie to his promise and letters patents therfore granted, prologed the day in which king Richard should haue bene set at libertie, till Candlemasse after, at which day he was brought from Haguenaw to Spiers, where the emperor had called a councell to intreat further of the matter touching his redemption. Here the emperor shewed the letters which he had receiued from the French king and earle John vnto king Richard, who vpon sight and perusing of the same, was maruelously amazed, and began to despaire of all speedie deliuerance.

The princes
that had vnder-
taken for
the emperor to
performe the
covenants.

Indeede the emperor sought delaies vpon a courteous desire of the monie offered by the French king and earle John, but yet such princes and great lords as had undertaken for the emperor, that the covenants and articles on his part agreed vpon in the accord passed betwixt him and king Richard, should be in eche behalfe performed [that is to saie, the archbishops of Mentz, Cullen, and Saltzburge, the bishops of Wormes, Spiers, and Liege, the dukes of Suaben, Aufrich, & Louain, the Palgrave of the Rhine, and others] came to the emperor, and reproving him for his courteous mind, in that he deferred the restoring of king Richard to his libertie, contrarie to the composition, did so much preuaile, that the emperor receiuing pledges for the paiement of the monie yet behind (as before ye haue heard) released king Richard out of captiuitie on the second or (as Roger Houeden saith) the fourth day of Februarie, being a dismall day and an infortunate (as they note them in kalendars.) And where the king would haue left Robert de Bouant the bishop of Couentries brother for a pledge amongst the other, he refused to be one of the number, alleging that he was seruant to earle John. King Richard greuouslie offended herewith, commanded that he should be apprehended, and committed to prison, & so he was. This Robert was one of those that came with the letters from the French king and earle John to the emperor, about the staying of king Richards deliuerance.

Robert de
Bouant.

Furthermore, king Richard the same day in which he was restored to libertie, summoned by his letters Hugh Bouant bishop of Couentrie, to appeare in his court, to answer such things as were to be objected against him, both before spirituall iudges in that he was a bishop, and also before temporall in that he had holden and exercised a temporall office. On the berie same day also the emperor and the princes of the empire, sent letters vnder their hands and scales to the French king, and to John erle of Fougaigne, commanding them immediatlie vpon sight of the same letters, to restore vnto king Richard all those castles, cities, towne, lands, and other things, which they had taken from him during the time of his remaining in captiuitie, and if they refused thus to do, then they gaue them to vnderstand by the same letters, that they would aid king Richard to recouer that by force, which had bene wrongfullie taken from him.

Moreover king Richard gaue and by his deed confirmed vnto sundrie princes of the empire for their homage and fealtie, certeine yeavelie pensions, as to the archbishop of Mentz and Cullen, to the bishop of Liege, to the dukes of Aufrich and Louaine, to the marquisse of Mountferrat, to the duke of Spenglenburge, to the duke of Suaben the emperors brother, to the earle of Wins, to the earle of Holland, and to the sonne of the earle of Henault, of all the which, and other mo, he receiued homage, or rather had their promise by oth to aid him against the French king, which French king, now that he sawe no hope nor likelihood remaining to bring the emperor to the bent of his bowe for the detaining of k. Richard still in captiuitie, raised a power forthwith, & entring into Normandie (the truce notwithstanding) took the towne of Carent, with diuerse other fortresses thereabouts, and after he had done mischefe enough, as it were wearied with euill doing, he granted effionces to stand to the truce, and so returned home.

Yeavelie pen-
sions giuen by
the king to
certeine prin-
ces of the em-
pire.
Spenglenburge.

Wil. Parton.
The French
king inuadeth
Normandie.

Finallie after king Richard had dispatched his businesse with the emperor, and the princes of Almaine, he set forthward on his iourne towards England, and hauing the emperors passport, came to Cullen, where he was iusticellie receiued of the archbishop, the which archbishop attended on him till he came to Antwerpe, where king Richard took the water in a galie that belonged to Alane de Trechmere, but in the night he went into a ship of Rie, being a berie faire vessel, and so laie aboard in hir all the night, and in the morning returned to the galie, and so sailed about the coast, till he came to the haven of Swin in Flanders, and there staying fve daies, on the first day he set forth againe, and at length in good safetie landed at Sandwich the twelue daie of March, and the morrow after came to Canturburie, where he was receiued with procession, as Ger. Dor. saith. From thence he went to Rochester, and on the Wednesday being the sixteenth of March, he came vnto London, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladnesse of the people, giuing heartie thanks to almightie God for his safe returne and deliuerance.

R. Houed.

He landed the
20. of March
being sundae
as R. Houeden
and Rafe de
Diceto write.

¶ It is recorded by writers, that when such lords of Almaine as came ouer with him, saw the great riches which the Londoners shewed in that triumphant receiuing of their souereigne lord and king, they marvelled greatlie thereat, insomuch that one of them said vnto him; Surelie oh king, your people are wise and subtile, which do nothing doubt to shew the beautifull shine of their riches now that they haue receiued you home, whereas before they seemed to betwaille their need and pouertie, whilst you remained in captiuitie. For verelie if the emperor had vnderstood that the riches of the realme had bin

such,

such, neither would he haue bene persuaded that England could haue bene made bare of wealth, neither yet should you so lightlie haue escaped his hands without the payment of a moze huge and intollerable ranfome.

The same yeare that king Richard was taken (as before is mentioned) by the duke of Austrich, one night in the moneth of Januarie about the first watch of the same night, the north-west side of the element appeared of such a ruddie colour as though it had burned, without any clouds or other darknesse to couer it, so that the stars shined through that rednesse, and might be verie well discerned. Diuerse bright strakes appeared to flash upwards now and then, diuiding the rednesse, though the which the stars seemed to be of a bright sanguine colour. In Februarie next ensuing, one night after midnight the like wonder was scene, and shortly after newes came that the king was taken in Almaine.

On the second daie of Nouember also a little before the brake of the daie, the like thing appeared againe with lesse feare and wonder to the people (than before) being now better accustomed to the like sight againe. And now the same daie and selfe houre that the king arrived at Sandwich, being the second houre of that daie, whilst the sunne shone verie bright and cleare, there appeared a most brightsome and vnaccustomed clearnesse, not farre distant from the sunne, as it were to the length and breadth of a mans personage, hauing a red shining brightnesse within, like to the rainbowl, which strange sight when manie beheld, there were that prognosticated the king already to be arrived.

In this meane while the bishop of Durham with a great armie besieged the castell of Tickhill; and earle David brother to the king of Scots, with Ranulfe earle of Chester, and earle Ferrers, besieged the castell of Spotham, whilst at the same present the archbishop of Canturburie with a great power besieged Warleburgh castell, the which within a few daies was rendred into his hands, the lines and lims of them within saued. Also the castell of Lancaster was deliuered to him, the which the same archbishops brother had in keeping vnder earle John, and likewise the abbete of S. Michaels mount in Cornwall, the which abbete Henrie de la Pomerey chaling out the monks, had fortified against the king, and hearing newes of the kings returne home, died (as it was thought) for mere græse and feare. These three places were surrendered to the archbishop before the kings returne, but Tickhill & Spotham held out.

King Richard being returned into England, and vnderstanding both how the French king made warre against him in Normandie, and that the state of England was not a little disquieted, by the practise of his brother earle John and his complices, specially by reason that diuerse castles were defended by such as he had placed in them, he thought good with all speed to cut off such occasions as might breed a further mischæse. Whereupon he first went to Spotham, and within thre daies after his comming thither (which was on the daie of the Annunciation of our ladie) he constrained them that kept the castell there in his brothers name, to yeld themselves simple vnto his mercie, after they had abidden diuerse assaults, by the which even the first daie the utter gates were burnt, and certeine defenses destroyed, which they had made before the same.

The cheefe of them that were within this castell to defend it were these, William de Mendenall conestable there, Roger de Mountbegun, Rafe Spurdac, Philip de Worcester and Ranulfe de Worcester brethren. The moztow after the surrender was made, the king went to Clifstone, and rode into the forest

of Shirewood, where he had neuer bene before, the bieto thereof pleased him greatlie. The castell of Tickhill was likewise at the same time yelded vnto the bishop of Durham, who receiued it to the kings vse, and them that kept it as prisoners, without anie composition, but standing simple to the kings mercie. For although those that had these castles in keeping, were sufficientlie prouided of all necessarie things for defense, yet the sudden comming of the king (whom they thought verelie would neuer haue returned) put them in such feare, that they wist not what to make of the matter, and so (as men amazed) they yelded without anie further exception. The bishop of Durham bringing those prisoners with him which had yelded by this castell of Tickhill, came to the king the 27 daie of March, the verie daie before that Spotham castell was giuen ouer.

Moreover, this is to be remembered, that during the siege of Spotham, contention arose betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, about the carriage of their crosses. For Hubert archbishop of Canturburie comming thither, had his crosse borne before him; the archbishop of Poike (hauing no crosse there at all) was verie soze offended, that anie other should go with crosse borne before him in his diocesse, and therefore complained hereof to the king. But the archbishop of Canturburie maintained that he had not done anie thing but that which was lawfull for him to doe, and thereupon made his appeale to Rome, that the pope might haue the hearing and iudging of that controuersie betwixt them.

In the meane time, after the king had got the castles of Spotham and Tickhill into his hands (as ye haue heard) he called a parlement at Spotham, where the quene mother sat on the right hand of him, and the archbishops of Canturburie & Poike on the left, with other bishops, earles and barons according to their places. On the first daie of their session was Gerard de Camille discharged of the office which he had borne of Shire of Lincolne, and dispossessed both of the castell & countie. And so likewise was Hugh Bardolfe of the castell and countie of Poike, and of the castell of Scarborough, and of the custodie and keeping of the countie of Westmerland, the which offices being now in the kings hands, he set them on sale to him that would giue most. Hereof it came to passe, that where the lord chancellor offered to giue fiftene hundred markes before hand, for the counties of Poike, Lincolne and Northampton, and an hundred markes of increase of rent for euerie of the same counties, Geoffrey archbishop of Poike offered to the king thre thousand markes aforehand, onelie for the countie of Poike, and an hundred markes yearelie of increase, and so had the same committed to his regiment.

Moreover in this parlement, the king demanded iudgement against his brother John, and Hugh Spoutant the bishop of Conentrie and Chester, for such traitorous and most disloiall attempts as they had made against him and his countries, and iudgement was giuen that both the said earle and bishop should haue summons giuen them peremptorie to appeare, and if within fortie daies after, they came not to answer such plaints as might be laid against them, then should earle John forfeit all that he had within the realme, and the bishop should stand to the iudgement of the bishops, in that he was a bishop, and to the tempozall lords in that he had bene the kings Shire.

In this parlement also, in the kalends of Aprill, the king procured a subdite to be granted to him, to wit, two shillings of euerie plough land through England, which manner of subdite by an old name is called Teemen toll, or Theyme toll. He also com-

Rog. Houed.
Diuerse
sieges held at
one time.

S. Michaels
mount.

The king go-
eth to Spoth-
am and win-
neth the castell.

Rog. Houed.

The fourth
Shirewood.

The castell of
Tickhill yel-
ded.

Rog. Houed.

Strife be-
twixt the arch-
bishops for the
rieng of their
crosses.

The kin-
g Scots c-
meth to li-
ue the king
England

parlem

Officer ar-
rived.

Lieutenants
ships set on
sale.

grant n-
to the king
Scots sol-
lowance
should ha-
uen he c-
to Englan

The arch-
bishop of Poike
offer.

The bishop
of Chester.

A subdite.

manded that euerie man should make for him the third part of knights seruice, accordinglie as euerie for might beare, to furnissh him forth into Normandie. He demanded of the monks Cister, all their wolles for the same yeare. But because that seemed an ouer greuous burthen vnto them, they fined with him, as after shall appeare. The fourth day of this parlement, by the kings permission manie greuous complaints were exhibited against the archbishop of Poike, for extortion and other vntuill veracions, which he had practised: but he passed so little thereof, that he made no answer vnto their billes.

The archbishop of Poike accused.

Gerard de Camuille charged with felonie and treason.

Moreouer through the procurement of the lord chancellor, Gerard de Camuille was arraigned for receiuing theues, and robbers, which had robbed certaine merchants of their goods, that were going to the faire of Stamford; also they appealed him of treason for refusing to stand to his trial by order of the kings lawes at commandement of the kings iustices, bearing himselfe to be earle Johns man, and adding the same earle against the king. But all these accusations he flatlie denied, and so his aduersaries put in pledges to followe their suit, and he put in the like to defend himselfe by one of his freholders.

The king of Scots cometh to see the king of England.

The same daie king Richard receiued the king of Scots at Clifton, comming now to visit him, and to reioice with him for his safe returne home after so long a iournie, and so manie passed perils. After they had spent the time a certaine space in ioy and mirth, the fourth of Aprill at their being together at Spalton, the king of Scots required of king Richard to haue restored to him the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, with the countie of Lancaster also, the which in right of his predecessors belonged to him (as he alledged).

Parlement.

King Richard assembling a parlement of the Nobles of his realme at Northampton, about sixtene daies after that the Scottish king had made this request, gaue him answer that by no means he might as then satisfie his petition: for if he should so do, his aduersaries in France would report that he did it for feare, and not for any loue or hartie friendship. But yet king Richard in the presence of his mother queene Elianor, and the lords spirituall and temporall of his realme together at that present assembled, granted and by his deed confirmed vnto the said king of Scots, and to his heires for euer, that whensoever he or any of them should come by summons of the king of England vnto his court, the bishop of Durham, and the shiriffe of Northumberland should receiue him at the water of Tweed, and safe conduct him vnto the water of Thesse, and there should the archbishop of Poike, and the shiriffe of Poike be ready to receiue him of them, and from thence giue their attendance vpon him vnto the borders of the next shire.

A grant made to the king of Scots what allowance he should haue when he came to England.

It was also granted to the said king, that he should be attended from shire to shire by prelates and shiriffes, till he came to the kings court; also from the time that the king of Scotland should enter this realme of England, he should haue daillie out of the kings purse for his liuerie an hundred shillings, and after he came to the court, he should haue in allowance daillie for his liuerie, so long as he there remained, thirtie shillings and twelue manchet waffels, twelue manchet smitels, foure gallons of the best wine, and eight gallons of household wine, two pound of pepper, foure pound of cummin, two stone of wax, or else foure links, and fortie great and long colpons of such candels as are serued before the king, and foure and twentie colpons of other candels that serue for the household. And when he should returne into his countrie againe, then should he be conueied with the bishops and shiriffes from countie to coun-

ty, till he come to the water of Tweed, hauing an hundred shillings a day of liuerie, &c: as is before appointed. The charter of this grant was deliuered vnto William king of Scots in the towne of Northampton in Easter weeke, by the hands of William bishop of Ebie lord chancellor, in the yeare of our lord 1194, and in the fift yeare of king Richard his reigne.

After this, on the fiftenth day of Aprill, king Richard hauing the said king of Scots in his companie came to Winchester, where he called a councell, and there in open assemble he highlie commended all those of the Nobilitie, that in his absence had shewed themselves faithfull, and resisted his brother, and such other his complices, which had as disloyall persons rebelled against him. Here he also proclaimed his said brother, and all those that took his part, traitours to the crowne, and took order for the punishment of them, that (being of their faction) could by any means be apprehended.

A councell holden at Winchester.

Furthermore, to put a waie as it were the reproche of his captiuitie and imprisonment by the reuincing of his noblenesse, which he had in high estimation,

pretio nam dignior omni est

Nobilitas, hac non emitur nec venditur auro

he caused himselfe to be effrones crowned by the archbishop Hubert, on the 18 of Aprill, at Winchester, and so shewed himselfe as a new crowned king: in hope of god successe and better lucke to followe in the presence of the said king of Scots, who bare one of the three swords before him, going in the middle betwixt two earles, that is to saie, Hamelin earle of Warren going on his right hand, and Hamulle earle of Chester on his left. The canopy vnder the which he went was borne vp also by foure earles, Northfolke, Lislewight, Salisburie, and Ferrers. The bishop of Ebie lord chancellor went on the right hand of the king, and the bishop of London on the left. At dinner also the citizens of London serued him in the buttrie by reason of two hundred marks which they had giuen the king that they might so do, notwithstanding the claime and challenge made by the citizens of Winchester, the which serued him in the kitchen.

The king crowned as new.

R. Houed. The king of Scots beareth one of the swords before the king of England.

The citizens of London.

The archbishop of Poike was commanded that he should not be present at the coronation, least some tumult might arise about the hauing of his crosse borne afore him, to the displeasure of the archbishop of Canturburie, who stood in it, that no prelat within his prouince ought to haue any crosse borne before him himselfe excepted.

After this, he called a parlement, by vertue whereof he reuoked backe and returned into his hands all patents, annuities, fees, and other grants (before his voiage into the holic land) by him made, or otherwise granted or alienated. And because it should not seeme that he used a more violent extortion herein, he treated with euerie one of them in most courteous wise, bearing them in hand, that he knew well they ment not to let forth their monie to him vpon vsurie, but would be contented with such reasonable gaine and profit, as had bene raised to their vse in time of his absence of those things which they held of him by assignation in way of lone, so that now the same might be restored to him againe, sith he ment not to sell them, but to let them forth as it were to farme for the time, as all men might well vnderstand, considering that he could not mainteine the port of a king without receipt of those profits which he had so let forth. With these gentle words therefore mixed with some by adfull allegations, he brought them all into such perplexitie, that not one of them durst withstand his request, nor alledge that he had wrong done to him, except Hugh the bishop of Lincoln, who sticke not

A parlement called.

The bold courage of the bishop of Lincoln.

The bishop of
Durham lost
his earldome.

to saie, that the king in this demand did them and the rest open iniurie. The bishop of Durham lost his earldome, and was constrained to content himselfe with his old bishopricke, and to leaue the dignitie of an earle, or at the leastwise the possessions which he had bought of the king before his setting forward into the holic land.

R. Richards
practises.

The monks
Cisteraux.

Thus the king recovered those things for the which he had receiued great summes of monie, without making any recompense, where the most part of the occupiers had not receiued scarce a third part of the principall which they had laid forth. For no sufficiency of grant, patent, or other writing to any of them before made, did any thing auail them. Moreover, where he had borrowed a great summe of monie of the merchants of the Staple, he wrought a feat with the monks of the Cisteraux order to discharge that debt. He told these monks that being constrained with urgent necessitie, he had borrowed that monie of the merchants beyond the sea, upon confidence of their good beneuolence, and therefore he requiried them to extend their liberalitie so farre toward him, as to deliuer so much woad in value, as should discharge that debt. To be short, the monks being overcome with the kings words, threatening kindness upon them, fulfilled his request. Moreover not satisfied herewith, he leuied a taske throughout the realme, exacting of euerie hide of land two shillings, according to the grant made to him at Pottingham: and the same was generallie gathered, as well of the spirituall mens lands as of the temporall.

Rog.Houed.
The king of
Scots maketh
suit for
Northumber-
land.

The king of Scots understanding that the bishop of Durham had given ouer and resigned the earldome of Northumberland into the kings hands, thought good once againe to assaie if he might compass his desire, and herewith he began his former suit afresh, offering to king Richard sixtene thousand markes of siluer for the whole earldome of Northumberland with the appurtenances, as his father earle Henrie did hold the same before. The king taking counsell in the matter, agreed that he should haue it for that monie, excepting the castles: but the king of Scots would haue castles and all, or else he would not bargain.

Malapprise.

Finallie, after he had sundrie times moued his suit for the hauing of the lands vnto which he pretended a title, and could get nothing of king Richard but faire words, putting him as it were in hope to obtaine that he required at his next returne out of France, vpon the 22 daie of Aprill being fridaie, he took leaue of the king, and returned towards his countrie, not verie ioyfull, in that he could not obtaine his suit. King Richard in this meane while caused all those prisoners that were taken in the castles of Pottingham, Tickhill, Warleburgh, Lancaster, and St. Michaels mount, which were of any wealth to be put in prison, that they might fine for their ransoms. The residue he suffered to depart vpon sureties, that were bound for them in an hundred marks a peece, to be forth comming when they should be called.

Rog.Houed.

Now the king (after he had gathered a great portion of monie, and ordeined diuerse things for the behoofe of the common-wealth, thereby to satisfie the hart of the people) prepared himselfe to saile into Normandie. But first he reconciled the archbishop of Poike, and the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, as well for the apprehension & imprisoning of the archbishop at Douer, as for the dishonourable expulsion of the chancellor out of England, in such wise that the chancellor should vpon reasonable summons given to him by the archbishop, sweare with the hands of an hundred preests with him, that he neither commanded nor willed that the archbishop should be

apprehended. The controuersie betwixt the two archbishops about the bearing of their crosses, the king would not meddle withall, for (as he said) that pertained to the pope. Yet the archbishop of Canturburie complained to king Richard of the iniurie done to him at that present by the archbishop of Poike, presuming within his prouince to haue his crosse borne before him. At length when the kings prouision was once readie for his voyage into Normandie, he came to Douer, and hearing that the French king had besieged the towne of Wernueil, and that the same was in danger to be taken, he took the sea together with his mother queene Elia: nor on the ninth daie of Aprill, and transporting ouer into Normandie, arrived at Harfleur with an hundred great ships fraught with men, horses and armour.

The French king hearing of king Richards arrival, and that he was comming with a great power to the succour of them within Wernueil, and was already incamped nere to the towne of the Eagle, he plucked vp his tents in the night before Whitsondaie, and leauing the siege, departed from thence, and took a certaine small fortresse by the waie as he marched, wherein he left a few souldiers to keepe it to his vse. King Richard herewith entring into the French dominions, sent three bands of souldiers towards Male de Ruell, and went himselfe vnto Loches, and besieging that castell wane it within a short time. The Normans also recovered the citie of Cereur out of the French mens hands, but those that were sent vnto Ruell, and had besieged the castell there an eight daies without anie gaine, hearing that the French king was comming towards them, departed thence, & came backe to the kings campe, whereupon the French king comming to Ruell, raised it to the ground, because his enimie should not at anie time in winning it nestle there to the further damage of the countrie.

About the same time, Robert earle of Leicester following south of Rouen in hope to worke some feat to the damage of the Frenchmen, as he rode somewhat vnaduisable in the lands of Hugh Gournay, fell within danger of his enimies, who took him prisoner, and a few other that were in his companie. The French king after this came with his armie into the coasts of Touraine, and marched nere Wandosme, and there incamped, whereof king Richard being aduertised, drew nere to Wandosme, meaning to assault the French king in his campe, who hauing knowledge thereof dislodged with his armie earlie in the morning, and fled apace (to his great dishonour) in all hast possible. The king of England with his people following in chase of the French men a great while, and took a great number of prisoners, amongst whom was the French kings chiefe treasurer. Also the Englishmen took many wagons and sumpters laden with croasseboies, armour, plate, apparel, and the furniture of the French kings chapell. This chanced about 37 daies after his fleeing in the night from Wernueil, of which two sights of the French king (in manner as ye haue heard) we find these verses written:

*Gallia fugisti bis, & hoc sub rege Philippo,
Nec sunt sub modio facta pendenda tuo.
Vernulium sumit restem fuga prima, secunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima, secunda diem.
Nocte fugam primam rapuisti, mane secundam,
Prima metus vitio, vix secunda fur.*

France, twice thou fledst, while Philip reignd,
The world dooth know thy shame,
For Vernueil witness beares of th'one,
Next Vandosme knowes the same.

Thy

Gregory
Rancon.
The earle
Engolelm
The king
Hauers
ther.

The king
transporteth
ouer into
France.

Anno Reg.

Engolelm
Iuone.

Polydor.
Wil. Paruu

Polydor.

Great ex-
tions.

The colour
pretended
in
leuing of
a
nile.

Rog.Houed.
Inquisition
taken by a
rie of sundry
masters.

The first by night, the next by day,
thy heart and force doe shewe,
That first through feare, and next by force,
was wrought thine ouerthrowe.

Geffrey de
Kancin.
The earle of
Engolesme.
The king of
Pauarte byo-
ther.

Anno Reg. 6.

Engolesme
sworne.

Polydor.
Wil. Paruus.

Polydor.

Great exac-
tions.

The colour
pretended in
levying of mo-
nie.

Rog. Houed.
Inquisitions
taken by a tri-
e of sandzie
matters.

In this meane while certeine rebels in Guen,
as the lord Geffrey de Kancin or Kancin, and the
earle of Engolesme with their complices, vpon con-
fidence of the French kings assistance, soe disquiete
ted the countrie. Howbeit, the sonne of the king of
Pauarte, and brother to Berengaria the queene of
England, entering into Guen with an armie, wa-
sted the lands of both those rebels, till he was called
home by reason of his fathers death which chanced a-
bout the same time. Shortly after Geffrey Kancin
died, and king Richard comming into his countrie,
toan the strong castell of Tailleburge by surrender,
which appertained to the same Geffrey with others,
and then going against the other rebels, he toan the
cittie of Engolesme from him by force of assault. All
which time the French king stirred not, by reason
that there was some communication in hand for a
truce to be taken betwixt him and king Richard,
which by mediation of certeine bishops was shortly
after concluded, to endure for twelue moneths. The
bishop of Cle was chiefe commissioner for the king
of England, and this truce was accorded about
Lammis, and serued to little purpose, except to giue
libertie to either prince to breathe a little, and in the
meane time to prouide themselves of men, munition,
ships & monie, that immediatlie after the terme
was expired, they might with greater force returne
to the field againe, for they had not onelie a like de-
sire to follow the warres, but also vsed a like meane
and practise to leuie monie.

For whereas they had already made the tempo-
ralie bare with often payments, and calling them forth
to serue personallie in the warres, they thought best
now to fetch a fleece from the spiritualie and church-
men, considering also that they had bene by reason
of their immunitie more gentlie dealt with, and not
appointed to serue themselves in any manner of wise.
To colour this exaction which they knew would be
euill taken of manie, they bated abroad, that they le-
nied this monie vpon purpose, to send it into the ho-
lie land, towards the payment of the christian souldi-
ers, which remained there vpon the defense of those
townes, which yet the Saracens had not conquered.
King Richard therfore comming to Colours in Cou-
raine, required a great summe of monie of the clea-
gie in those parts, and the like request he made
throughout all those his dominions, on that further
side of the sea. King Philip for his part demanded
likewise intollerable tithes and duties of all the
churchmen in his territories, and those that had the
gathering of that monie serued their owne turne, in
dealing most straightlie with illie priests, making
them to paie what they thought good, though some-
time beyond the bounds of equitie and reason.

In September, the iustices itinerants made their
circuits thorough euerie shire and countie of this
realme, causing inquisitions to be taken by substan-
tiall iuries of ples of the crowne both old and new,
of recognisances, of escheats, of wards, of marriages,
of all manner of offenders against the lawes and or-
dinances of the relme, and of all other transgressors,
falsifiers, and murderers of Jewes; of the pledges,
goods, lands, debts, and writings of Jewes that were
slaine, and of other circumstances touching that
matter. Likewise of the accompts of shiriffes, as to
vnderstand what had bene giuen towards the kings
ransome, how much had bene receiued, and what re-
mained behind to receiue. Also of the lands that be-
longed to erle John, and what goods he had, and what

he held in demaine, in wards, escheats, and in gifts,
and for what cause they were giuen. Furthermore,
of his fautors and partakers, which had made fines
with the king, and which not, with manie other arti-
cles touching the same earle. Also of vsurers, and of
their goods being seized, of wines sold contrarie to
the assise, of false measures, and of such as hauing re-
ceiued the crosse to go into the holie land, died before
they set forward. Also of grand assises that were of
an hundred shillings land or vnder, and of defaults,
and of diuerse other things, the iurats were charged
to inquire, and present the same.

The iustices also were appointed to cause the ma-
nours, farmes and lands which the king held in de-
maine, or by wards and escheats, to be surveyed by a
substantiall iurie, and to take order for the conuer-
ting of them to such vse, as the king might be answer-
ed of the gaines rising by the same at the farmers
hands. Also, the Jewes were appointed to inroll all
their debts, pledges, lands, houses, rents and posses-
sions. Moreover, inquisition was taken of iustices,
shiriffes, bailiffes, constables, foresters and other
officers belonging to the king, to vnderstand in what
manner they had behaued themselves in taking and
seizing of things into their hands, and of all such
goods, gifts and promises had and receiued by occasi-
on of leasure made of the lands of earle John and his
fautors, and who receiued the same, and what delat-
was granted by commandement of Hubert archb-
shop of Canturburie, then lord chiefe iustice.

In this meane time, whilst these inquisitions were
thus taken in England, king Richard comming
forth of Poitou into Anion, caused all the bailiffes
and officers of that countrie, and also of Spaine, to
fine with him for their offices. After this, when he
came downe into Normandie, he seemed in hew to
be offended with his chancellour the bishop of Cle,
about concluding of the truce with the French king
(where as ye haue heard he was chiefe commis-
sioner) mistaking greatlie all that was done therein,
and therfore he toke the seale from him, and caused
a new seale to be made, commanding to be procla-
med thorough all his dominions, that whatsoeuer
had bene sealed with the old seale, should stand in no
force, both for that his chancellour had wrought more
vndiscreetlie than was conuenient; and againe, be-
cause the same seale was lost, when Roger Spalus
Catalus his vicechancellour was drowned, who per-
ished among other by shipwacke, nere to the Ile
of Cypres, before the king arrived there, bring as
then on his iourne into the holie land. Therfore all
men had commandement to come to this new seale,
that they might haue their charters and writings
confirmed.

Furthermore, whilst the truce yet lasted, king
Richard sailed ouer into England, where he caused
tunnels to be exercised in diuerse places, for the bet-
ter training vp of souldiers in feats of warre, that
they might growe more skilfull and perfect in the
same, when they should come to the triall of their
forces, whereby he raised no small summes of monie
for granting license to his subjects to toourne. Ce-
lerie earle that would toourne, paid to him for his li-
cence twentie marks, euerie baron ten marks, and
euerie knight hauing lands, did giue foure marks,
and those that had no lands two marks, to the great
damnieng of the people; hauing learned the com-
mon lesson, and receiued the ordinarie rule follow-
ed of all, and neglected of none; namely,

—opus est nummis vel morte relicto,
Vel sorte iuuentis, vel quavis arte paratis,
Quippe inopem mala multa pati contingit vbiq;
Nec sine diuitijs fas cuiquam ducere vitam
Felicem, &c.

Mal. Pal. in
suo cap.

The

Marth. Paris.
The king re-
turneth into
England.
He granteth
the English
men licence
to toourne.

Rog. Houed.
Fines paid
for licence to
exercise iura-
ments.

A new scale.

Iustices, shi-
riffes and o-
ther officers.

Hubert arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie lord
chiefe iustice.

Officers dis-
tinct to fine for
their offices.
The king of-
fended with
the lord chan-
celloz.

The charter of this grant was delivered by the king unto William earle of Salisburie, to haue the keeping thereof: but Hubert Walter the archbishop of Canturburie, and lord chiefe iustice, made his brother Theobald Walter collector of the monie, for the scraping and raking together whereof, in huge summs, he put the former shifts of extortion and exaction in practice.

The tenour of the charter concerning the turnements before remembred.

Richard by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou, to the reuerend father in Christ, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and primat of all England, sendeth greeting. Know ye that we haue granted turnaments to be kept in England in hie steeds, to wit, betwixt Sarisburie and Wilton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixt Stanford and Warmesford, betwixt Brackeley and Nixburgh, betwixt Blie & Tickhill, so that the peace of our land be not broken, nor yet our iustices authoritie diminished, nor any damage doone to our forrests. Provided that what earle sooner will turney there, shall giue to vs twentie markes, a baron ten markes, a knight that hath lands foure markes and he that hath no lands shall giue two markes.

Moreover, no stranger shall be admitted to turney there, wherevpon we command you, that at the daie of the turnieng, ye haue there two clarkes, and two of our knights to receiue the oth of the earles and barons, which shall satisfie vs of the said summes of monie, before the turnieng begin, & that they suffer none to turney, till (before) they haue made paiement, and haue caused to be entred how much & of whom they haue receiued: and ye shall take ten markes for this charter to our vse, whereof the earle of Salisburie, and the earle of Clare, and the earle of Warren are pledges. Witnesse my selfe, at Ville Leuefche, the two and twentieth of August.

Bishops
towne.

Furthermore, ordinaunces were made and set forth for the safe keeping of the peace, so that such as would turney, neither by the way in comming or going, or whilst the turnieng lasted, should violently take any thing to serue their necessarie vses, without paiement therefore to the owner according to the worth, nor should do iniurie to any man in any manner of wise. But now to the other doings of king Richard, who made no long abode in England at this time, but shortly returned into Normandie, because he heard that king Philip had an armie readie leuied. Therefore meaning to buckle with him upon occasion offered, he made the more hast, and being landed there, approached vnto the borders of the French dominions, incamping himselfe with his armie in the field, to wait for the time that the truce should be expired, least the enemie should in any exploit preuent him. In like manner king Philip hauing with him earle John king Richards brother, kept his souldiers and men of warre in a readines with him, to worke any feat that should be thought expedient allone as the truce should end.

Whilst both these kings were thus bent to powze out their malice, and to ease their stomachs with

dint of sword, there came messengers from the pope, exhorting him vnto peace and quietnes, but his exhortation little auailed. For they regarding it little or nothing, immediatlie as the truce was expired, got them abroad into the field, & king Richard drey towards Faldone, a towne situate in the confines of Berrie, whither it was reported that the French king meant to come: and there staid for him a whole day together. But the French king hearing that king Richard was there to loke for him, thought it best not to come there at all. Wherefore king Richard went the next daie vnto a castell called Bysion, and toke it vpon his first approach. Then went he to a towne called Pouencourt, and perceiuing the same to be strong and well manned, toke not in hand to assaile it till the third daie after his comming thither, at that time he so inclosed the same round about with diligent watch and ward, that a cat could not haue escaped out of the place, neither by daie nor night, but that they should haue bene espied. They within being put in feare herewith, yelded by the towne the daie next following, in which meane time the French king besieged Albemarle.

Herevpon king Richard, hauing left a garrison of souldiers in Pouencourt, came to raise the enemie from his siege, & setting vpon the Frenchmen, there began a sharpe fight: but the Englishmen being wearie with trauell of their passed iourne, and hauing rashlie entred into the battell, were not able to indure the Frenchmens violence, so that (not without great losse) they were constrained to retire with swift flight, or (to save the truth) to run a wate a maine pafe. The French king hauing thus chased his enimies, returned to assault Albemarle, wone the castell by force, and the towne by composition, permitting the garrison there to depart with all their armour. This done, he ruinated the castell flat to the ground. Robert earle of Leicester offered to the French king a thousand markes sterling for his ransom, and to quite claime to him and his heires for ever all the right which he had to the castell of Walsie, with the appurtenances, and to get a confirmation thereof for him both of the pope, and of the king of England: but for that the warre still lasted, the French king toke a respite in answering this offer, neuertheless afterwarde in the yeare next ensuing, he toke it, and so the earle was set at libertie.

Not long after this foresaid repulse, the king of England hauing refreshed his souldiers with some rest after their great trauell, went to Spillion, and giuing assault to the towne wane it at the first bunt, and made it plaine with the earth. Then was a motion made for peace betwixt the two kings, being now wearied with long wars: whereof when earle John was aduertised, who (as it should seme by some letters) hauing tarried with the French king till this present, began now to doubt least if any agreement were made, he might happlie be betrayed of the French king by conenants that should passe betwixt them: he determined therefore with himselfe to commit his whole safetie to his naturall brother, and to no man else, perceiuing that the French king made not so great accompt of him after the losse of his castells in England, as he had done before.

Herevpon comming to his brother king Richard, he besought him to pardon his offense, and though he had not dealt brotherlie towards him, yet that he would brotherlie forgive him his rebellious trespasses, adding furthermore, that whereas he had not heretofore bene thankefull for his manifold benefites which he had receiued at his hands, yet he was now most sozie therefore, and was willing to make amends: wherewith he acknowledged the safeguard of his life to rest in him, for the which he was bound to giue him thanks

Pouencourt
yelded to
Richard.
Albemarle
besieged,
Matt. West.
Polydor.

Rog. Houed.

R. Houed.

Rog. Houed.
Wil. Paruus.
Math. Paris.
Polychron.

Rog. Houed.
The earle of
Leicester
offer for his
ransome.

Baldwin de
Serun.

William was
and raled.
A motion for
peace.

Duke Leo-
pold catcheth
a fall beside
his horse
and dieth of
the hurt.

I thinke he
came not ouer
at all into En-
gland at this
time, but ra-
ther sent his
mind vnto
the archbi-
shop.

Earle John
returneth to
the king his
brother, and is
pardoned.

thanks, if he would grant thereto. The king moved
with his words, made this answer (as it is said) that
he pardoned him indeed, but yet wished that he might
forget such iniuries as he had received at his hands,
which he doubted least he should not easilie doe. There-
with earle John being yet put in good hope of forgiv-
nesse, swaie to be trueer after unto him; and that
he would endeavour himselfe to make amends for
his misdeeds past, and so was thortlie after restored
unto his former degree, honour and estimation in
all respects.

Wil. Parvus.
R. Houed.
March. Paris.

But by some writers it should appeare, that earle
John, immediatlie upon conclusion of the first truce,
came from the French king, and submitted himselfe
to his brother, and by mediation of the queene their
mother was pardoned, received againe into favour,
and served after against the French king verie
doutfullie; seeking by new atchieved enterprises
brought about (to the contentation of his brother) to
make a recompense for his former misdeemeanors, re-
puting it mere madnesse to make means to further
mischiefe; for

*Stultum est hostem irritare potentem,
Atq. malum maius tumidis, sibi querere verbis.*

R. Houed.

But at what time soeuer he returned thus to his bro-
ther, this yeare (as Roger Houeden saith) he was re-
stored to the earledoms of Poitouaigne in Normandy,
and Gloucester in England, with the honour of
Cie (the castels onelie excepted) and in recompense
of the residue of the earledoms which he had befoze
intied, together with certeine other lands, his bro-
ther king Richard gaue unto him a yerelie pension
amounting to the summe of eight thousand pound of
Ainoloun monie. ¶ Now here to staie a while at mat-
ters chancing here about home, I will speake some-
what of the doings of Leopold duke of Austrich, who
as one nothing moved with the pestilence and fa-
mine that oppressed his countrie in this season, but
rather hauing his hart hardened, began to threaten
the English hostages that they shuld lose their liues,
if king Richard kept not the covenants which he had
undertaken to performe by a day appointed. Where-
upon Baldwin Betun one of the hostages was sent
by common agrément of the residue unto king Ri-
chard, to signifie to him their estate. King Richard
willing to deliuer them out of further danger, sent
with the same Baldwin his cosen, the sister of Ar-
thur duke of Britaine, and the daughter of the em-
perour of Cypres, to be conueied unto the said duke
of Austrich, the one, namelie the sister of Arthur
to be ioined in marriage with the dukes sonne, and the
other to continue in the dukes hands to bestow at
his pleasure.

Duke Leo-
pold catcheth
a fall beside
his horse
and dieth of
the hurt.

But in the meane time, on saint Stephens day,
duke Leopold chanced to haue a fall beside his horse,
and hurt his leg in such wise, that all the surgeons in
the countrie could not helpe him, whereupon in ex-
tream anguish he ended his life. And whereas be-
foze his death he required to be absolved of the sen-
tence of excommunication pronounced against him
by the pope (for apprehending of king Richard in
his returning from his iournie made into the holie
land) he was answered by the cleargie, that except he
would receiue an oth to stand to the iudgement of
the church for the iniurie done to king Richard, and
that unlesse other of the nobilitie would receiue the
like oth with him if he chanced to die (whereby he
might not fulfill that which the church heretofore
decree that yet they should see the same performed, he
might not otherwise be absolved.

Wherefore he toke the oth, and the nobles of his
countrie with him, and therewithall released the
English pledges, remitted the monie that yet remai-
ned behind of his portion aforesaid, and immediatlie

therewith died. After his decesse, because certeine
peeces of the countrie withheld the performance of
the premises, his bodie laye eight daies longer aboue
ground than otherwise it should haue done, for till
such time as all the pledges were perfectlie released,
it might not be buried. Also Baldwin de Betun ap-
proching nere to the confines of Austrich; when he
heard that the duke was dead, returned with the kin-
dies, unto his soueraine lord king Richard. This
(as ye haue heard) for feare of the censures of the
church were the pledges released, and the residue of
the monie befoze released.

All this was both pleasant and profitable for king
Richards soules helth (as may be thought) because he
toke occasion therof to amend his former life;
by considering how much he might be recompensed
for his sundrie faults committed both against God
and man. A marvellous matter to heare, how much
fro that time forward he reformed his former trade
of lining into a better forme of liuing. ¶ Moreover,
the emperour gaue to the Cistercian monks 3000 marks
of silver, parcell of king Richards ransome, to make
silver censers in euerie church throughout where they
had any houses; but the abbats of the same order re-
fused the gift, being a portion of so longfull and un-
godlie a gaine. At which thing, when it came to the
knowledge of R. Richard, he greatlie marvelled at
the first, but after commended the abbats in their
doings, and chaslie for shewing that they were bold
of the accustomed grauidesse of hauing, which most
men supposed them to be much infected withall.

King Richard this yeare pardoned Hugh Pouant
bishop of Couencie of all his wrath and displeasure
conceiued toward him, and restored to him his bi-
shoprike for five thousand marks of silver. But Ro-
bert Pouant the same bishops brother died in the
kings prison at Douer. Also whereas the archbishop
of Porke had offended king Richard, he pardoned
him, and receiued him againe into favour, with the
hille of peace. Whereupon the archbishop waxed so
proud, that vsing the king reprochfullie, he lost his
archbishoprike, the rule of Porke which he had
in gouernment as thirifte, the fauour of his soue-
reigne, and (which was the greatest losse of all) the
loue of God. For

*Nemo superbus amittit superos, nec amittit ab illis,
Vult humiles Deus ac mitis, habitans libenter
at anictos animos procul ambitione remotos,
Inflatos vero ac ventosos deprimit idem,
Nec paritur secum puro consistere olympo.*

M. Pal. in
suo sag.

Moreover, through the kings request, pope Cele-
stine this yeare made the archbishop of Canturbu-
rie legat of all England by his bulls directed to him,
bearing date at his palace in Rome called Lateran
the fifteenth kalends of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of
his papacie. Furthermore, the pope wrote to the
English cleargie, giuing them to vnderstand that
he had created the said archbishop of Canturburie
his legat, commanding them so to accept him: by
vertue of which letters, the archbishop Hubert being
now both archbishop of Canturburie, legat of the
apostolike see, and lord chiefe iustice of England,
appointed to hold a councell at Porke, and therefore
gaue knowledge by the abbat of Winham in Porke
folke, and one maister Geruise, unto the canons of
Porke, and to the archbishops officials of his purpo-
sed intention.

Pope Cele-
stine.
The archbsh.
of Canturbu-
rie is made
popes legat.

The said canons and officials well considering of
the popes letters, which were deliuered unto them by
the messengers, signified for answer, that they would
gladlie receiue him as legat of the apostolike see, but
not as archbishop of Canturburie, nor as their pri-
mat. Herewith he came to Porke upon saint Bar-
nabies daie being sundae, and was receiued with
procession.

A trinitie of
offices in uni-
tie of person.

Rog. Houed.
Hugh Pouant
bishop of Co-
uencie restor-
ed to his see.

The archbsh.
of Porke.

A synod holden at York.

procession. On the morrow after, he held a court of pleas of the crowne, of assises, and such other matters touching the king. On the next day being Tuesday, he entered into the monastorie of saint Spares in Poike, and deposed the abbat, because of his infirmitie of body, at the request of the monks. And the abbat appeared to the popes consistorie. Then he assembled the cleargie in the church of saint Peter at Poike, and there held a synod for reformation of things amiss in the church, and amendment of manners in the cleargie, so that diverse decrees were made, the which for byesnesse he wold to speake of in parliament. This yeare also, the said archbishop of Cantuarie was throughout the realme of England to reformation of observing the kinges precept, and to sweare that they should not be robbers, nor abettors of robbers, nor in any wise consenting unto them, but should do what in them might to apprehend and punish offenders, and to discover them to the kings officers to be apprehended, and to punish them upon helth and relie to the uttermost of their powers, and that they withshew themselves from such pursuit; should be apprehended as partakers with the offenders.

The emperor sendeth to the king.

Anno Reg. 7.

The bishop of Elie is sent to the emperor.

The kings talke together.

About this time the emperor sent to king Richard, requiring him in no wise to conclude any peace with the French king, but rather to invade his dominions, promising to aid him all that he might. But king Richard, to understand further of the emperours mind hereint, sent over his chancellor the bishop of Elie unto him in ambassage. In the meane time the warre was still continued betwixt him and the French, by the which they were continually put to the worse, and king Richard invading their borders, did much hurt in waisting the countreies on each side. The French king was at one time so narrowly chased, that as he would have passed a bridge that lay over the water of Saine, he was in danger of drowning by the fall of the same under him, but yet at the length he escaped, and got to the further side.

After this, the two kings came to a communication together, in the which a motion was made, that heloves the French king his sonne and heire should have the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine in marriage, and that king Richard in consideration thereof should surrender unto them and to their heires the townes of Gisors, Bademont, with the countreie of Menquesme or Meurine le Romant, Vernon, Juerie and Palsie; and further should give unto them twenty thousand marks of silver. On the other side it was moved, that the French king should resigne unto king Richard all that he could demand in the countie of Engenlesme, and should resigne unto him the countie of Albemarle and Augie, with the castell of Arches, and all other castles which he had taken in Normandie, or in any partie during these last warres. But there was a respite taken for the full concluding and assuring of these conditions, till the octaves of All saints, that king Richard might understand the emperours pleasure, without whose consent he might not conclude any thing concerning that matter, because he had sent such word unto him by the lord chancellor, who at this time was attendant in his court.

In the meane time, the emperor being advertised of the whole matter, and of the articles afore mentioned, gave knowledge to king Richard by the bishop of Elie at his returning backe, that this forme of peace nothing liked him, but rather made directie to his discontentment: the which least he might seeme to take without sufficient ground of reason, he alledged, that it should sound to king Richards dishonour, if he surrendered and gave up any thing

that he had not in possession. And so encourage him to recover those things which had bene taken from him. The emperor pardoned him of the severall tene shillings and marks of silver which yet remained behind due to him for the which he was bound. And so the matter passed by the two kings met not in the octaves of All saints, according to the appointment, although they were come, and approached thereto were to the place where they should have communicated together: but through the multiplication of the French men, they departed, without seeing one another, and thus at last began the warres which ended as at this time before.

The French king took the towne of Diep, which king Richard had lately repaired, and burned it, with the ships that harbored in the haven: after this, coming to Gloubin, he won the towne and besieged the castell. But king Richard advertized thereof, came with quick speed (making of three dayes journey but one) and entered into the castell of Gloubin to defend the same against his adversaries: and forthwith there resorted such numbers of men unto him, when they heard how he was besieged, that the French king doubting how to retire from thence in safetie, made suit first to have licence to depart, and after when that would not be granted, he required at the least to talke with the king of England about some agreement.

Whereunto king Richard consented, and so coming together, they concluded upon a truce to endure from that date, being saturday next after the feast of saint Nicholas, unto the feast of saint Illarie next ensuing, and then to meet againe nere unto Louiers with their counsels, that they might grow by some reasonable way unto a final peace and concord. And according to this article, shortly after the same feast of saint Illarie, they met at Louiers, where finally they were accorded to conclude a peace on these conditions, that the French king should release to the king of England Gloubin, with the countreie about, won by him sith the beginning of these wars; likewise, all the right which he had in Berrie, Auvergne, and Gascoigne, and the countie of Albemarle. On the other part, the king of England should resigne Gisors, and certaine other places, and namelie Meurine or Menquesme unto the king of France.

Hereupon were suerties also bound for performance, and the forfeiture of fifteen thousand marks assigned to be paid by the partie that first brake the peace. Shortly after, the French king repenting him selfe of the agreement, began to make a warre anew, so that king Richard seized into his hands all the goods and possessions which belonged to the abbats of the order of the great monastrie of Clunie, and of saint Denise & la Charitie, which had become suertie for the French king in the summe of 1500 marks afore said. This yeare died William de Forz earle of Albemarle, in whose place succeeded Baldwin de Betun by the kings gift, and married the countesse of Albemarle.

There was a motion also made for a marriage betwixt the lord Dhu, sonne to Henrie duke of Savoy, king Richards nephew by his sister, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Scots; so as they should have inioined the countreies of Lothian, Northumberland, and the countie of Caerleith with the castles. For the conclusion of which marriage, the archbishop of Cantuarie was sent about Chrismas to commune with the king of Scots: but because the Scottish quene was then conceived of child, her husband (in hope that God would send him a sonne) refused to stand unto the above mentioned covenants.

About

The emperor dissuadeth the king from agreeing to the peace.

Franklin dealing in acres.

The warre begun afresh.

The half which king Richard made.

The kings againe talke together of peace.

1196

The conditions of peace concluded betwixt the two kings.

March, Paris.

March, West.

Rog. Houed. The earle of Albemarle departed this life.

Who formerly the duke of Savoy.

Lawes.

An. Wil. Paru. Ran. Hig. The abb. Caen sen to Engla.

Fabian. Wil. Paru. Mat. Paris. Ran. Hig. William of Oibert.

The foule disorder in the citizens of London.

The brutish rail ingratitude of Fitz Oibert.

Why he soare his long berd.

Mat. Paris.

Wil. Parvus.
Ran. Higd.
The abbat of
Caen sent in-
to England.

Fraudulent
dealing in
eccles.

At this time king Richard sent the abbat of Caen (who was also the elect of Durham) into England, to take an accompts of those that had the receipts of the kings monie: for this abbat had informed the king, that his receivers and officers here in the realme dealt not iustlie in making their accompts, but both deceived the king, and oppressed his people, in exacting more than was due, and concealing that which they ought to stand accomptable for. The king supposing his words to be true, or at least likeli so to be, and that in reforming such untruth in his officers, it should be both profitable to him, and well liked of the people, sent this abbat ouer with commission, to be as it were his generall auditour.

Holobert, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, which was gouernour of the realme in causes both temporall and spirituall (by reason he had the kings authoritie as his vicegerent, & therefore sufficientlie countenanced, & also the popes as his legat authorisied) did somewhat stomach the matter, in that it should be thought he did suffer such abuses in the kings officers, and not reforme them. But he held him content and said little, sith the abbat shewed him the kings commission to do that which he went about, although he brought it not to passe. For where as he came ouer in lent, and gaue out commandements, that all such as had any thing to do in receipt of the kings monie, should appeare before him after Easter, he tarried not to see Easter himselfe, but was called into another world by the stroke of death, there to render accompts for his owne aqs here in this life committed.

At the same time there was another person in London called William with the long beard (alias Fitz Albert) which had likewise informed the king of certaine great oppressions and excessive outrages used by rich men against the poore (namely the workshopfull of the citie, the Mercer and Aldermen) who in their housings, when any tallage was to be gathered, burdened the poore further than was thought reason, to ease themselves; whereupon the said William being a seditious person, and of a busie nature, ceased not to make complaints. Now because the king gaue eare vnto him at the first, he took a boldnesse thereof, & drawing vnto him great routs of the powerfull of people, would take vpon him to defend the causes of those that found themselves grieved with the heauie yoke of richmen and gentlemen. He was somewhat learned, and vext eloquent: he had also a verie good wit, but he applied it rather to set dissention betwixt the high estates and the low, than to anie other good purpose. He accused also his owne brother of treason, who in his youth had kept him to schole, & bene verie good and beneficiall brother vnto him, because now he would not fill matutine him with monie to beare out his riotous port. Whereouer, he declared to the king, that by extortion and bytherie of certaine men of great wealth, he lost manie forfeits and escheats.

Manie gentlemen of honour sore hated him for his presumptuous attempts to the hindring of their purposes: but he had such comfort of the king, that he little passed for their malice, but kept on his intent, till the king being aduertised of the assemblies which he made, commanded him to cease from such doings, that the people might fall againe to their sciences and occupations, which they had for the more part left off at the instigation of this William with the long beard. So named of the long beare of his beard, which he nourished of purpose to some the more graue and manlike, and also as it were in despite of them which counterfetted the Normans (that were for the most part shaven) and because he would resemble the ancient blage of the English

nation. The kings commandement in restraint of the peoples resort vnto him, was well kept a while, but it was not long yer they began to follow him againe as they had done before.

Then he took vpon him to make vnto them certeine collations or sermons, taking for his theme, *Haurietis aquam in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris*, that is to saie: Ye shall draw in gladnesse waters out of the founteins of your sautour. And hereto he added, I am (said he) the sautour of poore men; ye be the poore, and haue assailed the hard hands and heauie burdens of the rich: now draw ye therefore the healthfull waters of vnderstanding out of my welles and springes, and that with ioy. For the time of your visitation is come: I shall part waters from waters, by waters I vnderstand the people, and I shall part the people which are good and meke, from the people that are wicked and proud, and I shall disseuer the good and euill, euen as light is diuided from darkenesse.

By these and such persuasions and means as he used, he had gotten two and fiftie thousand persons, readie to haue taken his part, as appeared after by a roll of their names found in his keeping, besides diuerse instruments of iron to breake vp houses, and other things seruing to such like purposes. So that he brought the commoners into a great liking of him: but the rich and wealthie citizens stood in much feare, so that they kept their houses, in armes, in doubt to be robbed and murthred by him in the night season.

The archbishop of Canturburie (vnto whom the rule of the realme chiefele belonged) being aduertised hereof, sent for the greatest number of the citizens, and vsing them with gentle words, perswaded them to deliuer pledges, the better to assure him, that no such thing should chance, which was suspected of manie, though he was loth to conceiue any such opinion of them. They being overcome with his courteous words, gaue vnto him pledges.

After this, when the foresaid William ceased not to make congregations of the people, at length the archbishop sent a commandement vnto him, that he should appeare before him and other of the councell, at a certeine prescribed date, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. To be short, he did so at the time appointed, but with such a rout of the common people about him, that the archbishop durst not pronounce against him, but licenced him to depart for that time, giuing him soft and gentle words. Holobert, certeine persons were then appointed by the said archbishop and other of the councell to watch him sometime, when he should haue no great compaignie about him, and then to apprehend him.

Amongst those that were thus commanded to watch him, were two burgesses of the citie, who hauing espied a conuenient time for the execution of their purpose, set vpon him to haue taken him, but he getting an ar, defended himselfe manfully: and in resisting slue one of them, and after that fled into the church of S. Marie Bow, keeping the same not as a place of sanctuary, but as a fortrell: in souch that by the helpe of such as resorted vnto him, he defended it against his aduersaries, till with age and weake they constrained him to come forth, with all those that were there with him: amongst them also was his concubine, who neuer left him for any day, get that might becom him.

The people regarding the danger of their pledges, came not out to aid him, as it was much doubted they would haue done. Wherefore being thus attached, he was brought forth, and coming out of the church, the sonne of that burgesse whome he had slaine (as you haue heard) strake him verie sore into the bellie with a knife, in reuenge of his fathers death.

Fabian.

This oration
to the people.

Ger. Dor.

He is called
before the
archbishop of
Canturburie
lord chiefe iu-
stice or pres-
ident of the
realme.

He is called
before the
archbishop of
Canturburie
lord chiefe iu-
stice or pres-
ident of the
realme.

He is called
before the
archbishop of
Canturburie
lord chiefe iu-
stice or pres-
ident of the
realme.

His concu-
bine.

Fabian.
Wil. Parvus.
Matt. Paris.
Ran. Higd.
William Fitz
Albert.

The foule dis-
order in the
citizens of
London.

The bunnat-
rall ingrati-
tude of Fitz
Albert.

why he wace
his long beard.
March. Paris.

He is executed.

Wil. Parvus.
Marth. Paris.

The archbisch.
of Canturbu-
rie emil spoke
of, for death
of William
Fitz Osbert.

An old whor-
monger, and a
new saint.

draff. After this, he was had to his arraignment be-
fore the archbishop, sitting within the towe, and be-
ing condemned, was from thence drawn with horse
to the place of execution called the Elmes, and
there hanged on a gibet, with nine of his adherents,
which had defended the church against the kings
power: and yet for all this, the grudge ceased not,
but the common people raised a great slander upon
the archbishop, both for causing him to be taken out
of the church, where he claimed privilege of sanctu-
arie, and also for putting him to death, who was inno-
cent (as they alledged) and not guilty of those crimes
that were laid against him: who sought onelie the de-
fence of poore people against extortioners, and such
as were wrong doers.

This rumour rose so fast, that at length (by byting
abroad, that certaine miracles should be wrought by
a chaine, wherein he was bound in time of his im-
prisonment) he was taken for a saint. The place also
where he suffered, was visited by women, and other
superstitious folks, as a plot of great holiness, till at
length the archbishop caused it to be watched, to the
end that no such foolishness should be used there. In
fine, the opinion which the people had thus fondlie
conceiued of his vertue and innocencie, was by lit-
tle and little removed out of their heads, when his
acts were more certeinlie published: as the slaing
of a man with his owne hands, and the using of his
concubine within Bowe church, during the time of
his being there. Also the archbishop accused a priest,
which had first brought by the false report and famed
fable of the miracle wrought by the chaine, whereby
the occasion of idolatrie was first giuen, and might
easilie haue bene continued, if the archbishop had not
bene the wisser man, and by such means repelled the
rumour. So that we are to note by this example
the force of counterfeit holiness and feigned harme-
lessness in hypocrites.

*qui pelle sub agni
viperarum celant virm morsu luporum,
Et solidos ficta virtutis imagine fallunt.*

But now to returne vnto the doings of king Ri-
chard in France. We haue heard how a peace was
concluded (as some haue written) but the same con-
tinued not long: for the French king seeming to re-
pent himselfe of that he had done (as is aforesaid)
broke the peace, and raising a power, besieged Albe-
marle, at length won it, and rased it double to the
ground, then king Richard came vnto him with pow-
er and marks of iller for the ransom of his knights
and yeomen, or demerances (as I may call them) that
were taken in that towne. After this, the French
king wan Pouencomet, and earle John toke the ca-
stell of Camages.

The earldome
of Poitou.

John Won-
get his dote.

About the same time also king Richard came vnto
his nephew who the earldome of Poitou. Which
I haue thought good to note out of Roger Hoveden,
to remoue the doubt of John Bouchet, who in the
third part of his annales of Aquitaine, maruelled
at an old parchment or record which he had seen by
the tenour whereof it appeared, that this who had
ruled himselfe duke of Aquitaine and earle of Poit-
ou, being in his castell of Montreuilbonnet next
to Poitiers, in the yeare a thousand one hundred
thirtie nine, in presence of Gestepe de Lusignan and
others, and granted vnto a certein person the office
of cutting the monie in the mint of that towne.
By the same parchment it further appeared,

The sight whereof brought the said Bouchet into
a great perplexitie, considering that no countie
with he had either seen, or heard of, made mention
of any who that should be duke of Aquitaine, or earle
of Poitou, either before that time, or after. Where
again it was euident to him, that quene Elanor

the mother of king Richard, as then liuing, named
hir selfe dutchesse of Aquitaine, and countesse of
Poitou; & likewise king Richard intituled himselfe
duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poitou, euer after
he had fianced the earle of Barcelons daughter, as
by diuerse records both of the mother and the sonne
he had sene perfect notice. At length yet he getteth
(and that trulie) that it should be this who, to whom
the mother and sonne had assigned the dutchie of A-
quitaine and countie of Poitou, for the mainte-
nance of his estate, he holding the same till the yeare
1199, in the which he was made emperor by king
Richards good helpe, as after shall be shewed moze
at large.

About this time also as the countesse of Britaine,
the mother of duke Arthur came into Normandie to
haue spoken with king Richard, Ranulph earle of
Chester his husband meeting hir at Montforton,
toke hir as prisoner, and shut hir by within his cas-
tell at St. James de Beumeron: and when hir sonne
Arthur could not find means to deliuer hir out of
captiuitie, he ioined with the king of France, and
made great haucke in the lands of his vnckle king
Richard, whereupon the king gathered a nightie ar-
mie, and inuading Britaine with great force, cruel-
lie wasted and destroyed the countie.

Here is also to be noted, that in this seventh yeare
of king Richard, a great death chanced through this
realeine of England, and in the coast about the same.
Also about the same time died William earle of Sal-
isbury, the sonne of earle Matthe, whose daughter
and heire king Richard gaue in marriage, together
with the earldome of Salisbury, vnto his base bro-
ther, surnamed Long Espé.

It chanced moreover about the same time, that
earle John the kings brother, with certein cap-
tains of such hired soldiers as some call Babance-
ni, others the Routs, and the French histories name
them Cossereaux, or Cossels, went abroad to at-
taine some enterprise against the bishop of Beau-
nois, and other Frenchmen, which had done much
hurt to king Richards subjects in those parties. The
these leaders of those Routs or Cossereaux, which
went forth with earle John, and serued vnder him at
that tyme, were two Brenganois, Marchades & Lu-
pescaro. These riding forth into the countie about
Beaunois, made haucke in robbing and spoiling
all afoze them.

Among as Philip the bishop of Beaunois, a man
more giuen to the campe than to the church, had
knowledge hereof, thinking them to be a great prete
for him, with sir William de Berbow and his sonne,
and a great number of other valliant men of warre,
came forth into the field, and encountering with the
enimies, fought verie stoutlie. But yet in the end
the bishop, the archdeacon, and all the these capitains
were taken: the residue slaine and chased. After this,
earle John and the foresaid capitains passed forth, and
wan the towne of Millie, and so returned.

Earle John and Marchades presented the two
prelats with great triumph vnto king Richard chiefe
in the morning, lying yet in his bed, as those that
were knowne to be his great enemies, sateng to him
in French. Kise Richard rise, we haue gotten the
great champion of Beaunois, and a good quier man
(as we take it) to answer him in the same note, and
here we deliuer them vnto you to use at your discre-
tion. The king seeing them smiled, and was verie
glad for the taking of this bishop, for that he had better
found him his great enemy, than he had before. Being
thus taken fighting in the field with armour on his
backe, thought he might be bold in tempoall toke to
challenge him, for he (not regarding his calling) was
used to more than tempoall weapons: where-
upon

Ranulph earle
of Chester
toke his wife
the dutchesse
of Britaine
prisoner.

A death,
The death of
the earle of
Salisbury.

R. Houed.
Marth. Paris.

Marchades &
Lupescaro.

The bishop of
Beaunois the
ken prisoner.

Genel.

Anno R

Norman
interdict
& archb.
of Rouen

upon he committed him to close prison all armed as he was.

It chanced some after, that two of his chaplains came unto the king to Rouen, where this bishop was detained, beseeching the king of licence to attend upon their master now in captiuitie: unto whom (as it is of some reported) the king made this answer: I am content to make you iudges in the cause betwixt me and your master, as for the evils which he hath either done, either else gone about to do vnto me, let the same be forgotten. This is true, that I being taken as I returned from my iournie made into the holie land, and deliuered into the emperours hands, was in respect of my kinglie state, vsed accordingly thereto verie frendlie and honourable, till your master comming thither (for what purpose he himselke best knoweth) had long conference with the emperour. After which, I for my part in the next morning tasted the fruit of their ouernights talke, being then lodet with as manie irones as a good alle might not verie easilie haue borne. Iudge you therefore, what manner of imprisonment your master deserued at my hands, that procured such ease for me at the emperours hands.

The two chaplains had their mouths stopped with these words thus by the king vttered, and so departed their waies. The bishop being still detained in prison, procured suit to be made to the pope for his deliuerance: but the pope, being truelie informed of the matter, and wiselie considering that the king had not taken the bishop preaching, but fighting, and kept him prisoner rather as a rough entime, than as a peaceable prelat, would not be earnest with the king for his deliuerance, but rather reprobued the bishop, in that he had preferred secular warfare before the spirituall, and had taken upon him the vse of a speare in stead of a crozier, an helmet in stead of a mitre, an herbergeon in stead of a white rochet, a target for a shoale, and an iron sword in lieu of the spirituall sword: and therefore he refused to vse any commandement to king Richard for the setting of him at libertie. But yet he promised to do what he could by waie of intreating, that he might be released.

It is reported by some writers, that the pope at first, not vnderstanding the truth of the whole circumstance, should send to king Richard, commanding him by force of the canons of the church to deliuer his sons the bishop and archdeacon out of their captiuitie. To whom the king sent their armour with this message written in Latine, *Vide an tunica filij tue sit an non*, that is, See whether these are the garments of thy sonnes or not: alluding to the saying of those that caried Iosephs coate to Jacob. Which when the pope saw, he said: I pray by S. Peter, it is neither the apparell of my sonnes, nor yet of my brethren: but rather they are the vestures of the children of Mars: and so he left them still to be ransomed at the kings pleasure. The bishop thus seeing no hope to be deliuered without some agreement had betwixt the two kings, became now through irkesomnesse of his bonds, an earnest mediatur for peace, whereas before he had bene an extreme stirrer vp of war. Such a scholeraaster is imprisonment, & plucker downe of lottie courages. But to proceed.

Anno Reg. 8.

Normandie
interdicted by
the archbishop
of Rouen.

About the same time the archbishop of Rouen put all the countie of Normandie vnder sentence of interdiction, because king Richard had begun to fortifie a castell at Lisle Wandellie, vpon a peece of ground which the archbishop claimed to appertene vnto his see. The matter was brought before the pope, who perceiuing the intent of king Richard was not otherwise grounded vpon any couetous purpose to defraud the church of hir right, but onelie to build a fortresse in such place as was most expedient for de-

fence of the countie about, to preserve it from inuasion of the enemies; he counselled the archbishop not to stand against the king in it, but to exchange with him for some other lands: which was done, and the interdiction by the pope released. The bishop of Ely lord chancellor, being sent about this businesse towards Rome, departed this life by the way at Poitiers, in Iannarie.

The bishop of
Ely departed
this life.

But the bishops of Durham & Lincen that were sent with him, passed forward, and comming to Rome, informed the pope of the matter, who took order with the bishops (as before is mentioned.) The king gaue to the church in Rouen in recompense, his milles which he had in Rouen, so that the said church should paie the almes of old time appointed to be giuen for the same. He gaue to the said church likewise the towne of Diepe, and the towne of Bussels, so that the church should likewise paie the almes assigned forth of the same, being the summe of 372 pounds of Antouaine monie: also the manour of Louers, and the forrest of Alermound with the dore and the appurtenances. But now to other doings.

About the same time, or not long before, whereas there had bene long contention betwixt the kings of England, and the earles of Sicile for the earldome of Tholouse, king Richard by waie of alliance fell now at an appointment with the earle Raimond that held those lands: for whereas the countesse Constance wife to the said Raimond earle of Tholouse and aunt to king Philip was now departed this life, king Richard concluded a marriage betwene the said earle and his sister Joane queene of Sicile; sometime wife to William king of Sicile, so that being thus ioined in alliance with the said earle of Tholouse on the one side, he procured a league also with Baldwin earle of Flanders on the other, vnto whom he gaue five thousand markes in rewarde, vpon condition, that he should covenant not to grow to any agreement with the French king without his consent. Likewise Reginald the earle of Bolongne, that was come to the earle of Chateau Martine, allied himselfe with them against the French king, and so did Baldwin earle of Guines with diuerse other.

Rog. Houed.
The king and
the earle of
Tholouse as-
gred.

Matt. Paris.
The earle of
Flanders al-
lied with R.
Richard.

Iacob. Meir.
Les annales
de France.

Thus king Richard by such alliance hauing his part greatlie strengthened, prepared himselfe to the warre more earnestlie than before, and took order with the earle of Flanders, that they should inuade the French dominions in two seuerall quarters both at one time, as the earle by Flanders, & he himselfe by Normandie, according to the appointment betwixt them deuised. The earle preparing an armie, first wan the towne of Dowae, and then besieged saint Omers, and wan it after five weekes siege: whereupon they of Aire yelded to him; thortie after he entred into Artois, & besieged the citie of Arras.

Iacob. Meir.
Wil. Paruus.

Towns won
by the earle of
Flanders.

At the same time king Richard marching towards Gisors, wan in his waie the castell of Cozelles, & destroyed it; that done, he came to Gisors, and besieged the towne, waisting all the countie round about him where he came. The French king being thus troubled with the inuasion of his enemies in two seuerall places at one present time, sent certeine bands of his souldiours towards Arras to keepe the earle of Flanders plaie, whilste he himselfe went against king Richard: and comming vnto Gisors, found it streitlie besieged of the same king, so that he wist not well how to enter the towne. But yet at length fainting to giue battell to king Richard (who vpon desire to receiue it, came abroad into the field) the French king rushed forth with all his whole force to make towards the towne, & so got into it, though not without great losse and damage of his people.

Gisors be-
sieged.

The French
king entred
into Gisors.

King Richard not meaning to breake vp his siege from before the towne, notwithstanding the French king

D.ij.

R. Richard
raileth his
siege.

Hugh de
Chaumont
taken prisoner

Onid in 3. Ar
an. ep. 16.

Robert Rosse
put to his fine
for an escape.

Matth. Paris.

Nic. Treuet.
The French
kings request
for a combat.

R. Richards
answer.

1197

Matth. Paris.

Ships burnt,
and mariners
hanged.

Les annales
de France.

Anno Reg. 9.

R. Houed.

One yeare & 4
months lasty
Wl. Paruus.

king had entred it) staid a certeine time of purpose to win it, knowing the gaine to be the greater, and his name moze famous, if he might atchieve his purpose, now that his auersarie was within it. But when he saw it would not be, he raised his siege, and departed towards Cleremont, spoiling all the countrie by his forrais as he went, so that he wan great pillage, wherewith his souldiers were loden and made verie rich.

It chanced, that in a skirmish Hugh de Chaumont was taken prisoner, one that was of the French kings priue counsell, and king Richard appointed him to the keeping of Robert Ros, who charged one of his seruants named William de Spinie with the custodie of him. But the said Hugh corrupting his keeper the foresaid William with rewards, (whereof it is said,

— acceptissima semper

Munera sunt, author quæ pretiosa facit)

escaped out of the castell of Bonneville, where he was within ward, to the great displeasure of king Richard, who caused Robert Ros to paie for a fine, the summe of twelue hundred marks, which the prisoner should haue paid for his ransome: and further, commanded William de Spinie to be hanged for his disloyal dealing.

King Philip, after that the king of England was remoued from Gisors (as before yee haue heard) assembled a great host, and with banner displayed, entered into Normandie, and wasted the countrie from Spewburge to Beaumont le Rogier, and that done, returned into France, licencing his men to returne vnto their homes. About the same time, he sent vnto king Richard, requiring him to appoint five champions, and he would appoint other five for his part, which might fight in lists, for triall of all matters in controuersie betwixt them, so to auoid the shedding of moze gittlesse blood. King Richard accepted the offer, with condition, that either king might be of the number, that is, the French king one of the five vpon the French part; & R. Richard one of the five vpon the English part. But this condition would not be granted. Whereupon, when shortly after it was signified to king Richard, that ships vied to come out of England to saint Valeris with victuals, which were sold and conueied awaie vnto the French &c. and other his enemies, he rode to saint Valeris, and set the towne on fire, and such ships of England as he found there he also burnt, and hanged the mariners by the necke, diuiding the graine and other victuals which were found in the same ships amongst his owne souldiers.

About the same time he got the fauour of them of Champaigne and of the Britons, and William Crespine also was constrained to deliuer vnto him the castell of Auge, but the French king recovered it by siege, whilst king Richard entring into Aluergne wan diuerse castles there, to the number of ten out of king Philips hands. In the meane time the earle of Flanders made soze warre against the French king for his part, and training the same king within streits, so that he was almost inclosed on eche side, he constrained him to agree to such composition as pleased the same earle to appoint, but afterwards the French king refused to stand to the covenants of that agreement, and so the warre continued betwixt them as before.

At length king Richard and the French king concluded vpon an abstinence of warre to indure from the feast of S. Hilarie for one whole yere, purposing in the meane time to make a finall peace and agreement. In which season Baldwin earle of Flanders came into England to do his deuotions vnto the thyrine where Thomas the archbishop late buried at

Canturburie. The same yeare also some what before this time, Rife ap Griffin king of Wales departed this life, after whose death there fell discord betwixt his sones for the succession, till the archbishop Hubert went to the marches of that countrie and made an agreement betwixt them. Not long after, Roger the brother of Robert earle of Leicester, elected bishop of saint Andrews in Scotland, receiued the order of priesthood, and was consecrated bishop by the hands of the bishop of Aberdine.

This yeare it was ordeined that measures of all manner of graine should containe one quantitie throughout the realme, that is to saie, one resonable hoxselode, and that the measures of wine and ale with all maner of liquors should be of one iust quantie according to the diuersitie of the liquor: also that weights should be of like rate throughout the realme, and that cloth should containe two yards in breadth within the lists, of perfect goodnesse throughout, as well in the middell as by the sides, and that one manner of yard should be vied through the realme. It was also ordeined that no merchants within the realme should hang any red or blacke clothes before their windowes, nor set vp any pentises or other thing whereby to darken the light from those that come to buy their cloth, so as they might be deceiued in choosing thereof.

Also it was enacted that there should be foure or six substantiall honest men chosen in euerie towne, and likewise in thires, with the head officers of cities and boroughes, which had a corporation, to see that the assises aforesaid were truelie kept, and that if any were found to be offending in the premises, to cause their bodie to be attached and committed to prison, and their goods to be seized to the kings vse: and if those that were chosen to haue regard thereto, were tried to be negligent, so that by others, and not by them any offenders chanced to be conuicted before the iustices, then should the regarders be put to their fines, for the negligent looking to their offices.

King Richard held his Christmasse this yeare at Roan, and Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie legat of the apostolike see, named lord chiefe iustice of England, was about the same time in the marches of Wales at Hereford, and there receiued into his hands the castles of Hereford, Bridgenorth and Ludlow, remouing those that had the same in keeping, and appointing others in their comes. Afterwards comming by Couentrie, he placed the monks againe in the cathedrall church of that cite, by commandement of pope Celestine, and chased out the secular canons, which the bishop Hugh Fouant had brought into the same church when he remoued the monks.

In the Christmasse weeke also there came messengers to Rouen from the archbishops of Cullen and Wentz, and from other states of the empire, which declared vnto king Richard, that all the princes of Germanie were appointed to assemble at Cullen, the two & twentieth of February, about the choosing of a new emperor, in place of the late deceased Henrie: and therefore they commanded him by force of the oth and league in which he was bound to the emperor and empire, that all excuse of deniall or occasions to the contrarie ceasing and set apart, he should make his repaire vnto Cullen at the aforesaid day, to helpe them in choosing of some worthy personage that might and was able to haue the empire. King Richard doubting to put himselfe in danger, because he had not discharged all the debts due for his ransome, staid at home, but yet he sent diuerse noble men thither, and did so much in fauour of his nephue Edmo, that by the helpe of the foresaid two archbishops of Cullen and Wentz, the same Edmo was

Griffin king
of Wales de-
parted this
life.

Weights and
measures.

These bi-
shed king
of spein
marries to
found.

The bish-
Lincolne

The mon-
of Christ
church sen
to the pop-
complaint
of their ar-
bishop.

The pope
death to the
king.

Monks plac-
ed againe in
the church of
Couentrie.

Messengers
from the state
of Germanie.

Anno Reg.

There hunt-
red knights
of men of
armies to be
found.

The bishop of
Lincolne.

The monks
of Chyffes
church send
to the pope,
complaining
of their arch-
bishop.

The pope sent
word to the
king.

Anno Reg. 10.

was elected emperor. But of this matter more shall be said hereafter.

Moreover, about the same time king Richard required by the archbishop of Canturburie his chiefe iustice, an aid of 300 knights to be found by his subjects of England, to remaine with him in his seruice for one whole yeare, or else that they would giue him so much monie, as might serue to reteine that number after the rate of three shillings a date of English monie for euerie knight. Whereas all other were contented to be contributois herein, onelie Hugh bishop of Lincolne refused, and spake soe against the archbishop that moued the matter. But how soeuer that request toke place, king Richard (as we find) leuied this yeare a subsidie of five shillings of euerie hide of land within the realme, two commissiouners in euerie shire, with the assistance of the shiriffe, and others, to see the same assessed & rated after an hundred acres of land to the hide of land, according to the custome.

The same yeare also the monks of the house of the holie Trinitie, otherwise called Chyffes church in Canturburie, exhibited their complaint vnto pope Innocent, that their archbishop Hubert (contrarie to his order and dignitie) exercised the office of high iustice, and sate in iudgement of bloud, being so incumbered in temporall matters, that he could not haue time to discharge his office touching spirituall causes: whereupon the pope sent vnto king Richard, admonishing him not to suffer the said archbishop to be any longer troubled with temporall affaires, but to discharge him thereof, and not to admit any spirituall person from thenceforth vnto any temporall administration.

He further prohibited by vertue of their obedience, all manner of prelates and men of the church, that they should not presume rashlie to take vpon them any maner of secular function or office. Whereupon the archbishop was discharged of his office of chiefe iustice, and Geoffrey Fitz Peter succeeded in gouernement of the realme in his stead. ¶ Geruasiu Dorobernensis saith, that the archbishop resigned that office of his owne accord, and that not till after his returne from the marches of Wales, where he had ouerthrowne the Welchmen, and slaine five thousand of them. Which victorie other ascribeth vnto Geoffrey Fitz Peter, which Geoffrey (as the said Dorobernensis saith) succeeded the archbishop in the office of lord chiefe iustice, but not vntill August, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne.

In this yeare, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce which was taken till haruest might be ended, the warre betwixt the two kings of England & France began effionnes to be pursued with like earnestnesse as before: whereupon manie encounters chanced betwixt the parties, with taking of townes and fortresses, as commonlie in such cases it happeneth. While the French king was put to the worlde, once in September betwixt Camages and Mer-non, where he was dyuen to saue himselfe by flight, losing twentie knights, and threescore seruitors or peomen, which were taken, besides those that were slaine: and againe, in the same moneth on Michaelmasse euen betwixt Curseilles and Gisors, at what time he came to succour Curseilles, bringing with him 400 knights, besides seruitors, and a great multitude of commons. But the castell was twone before he could approach it.

King Richard being aduertised of his coming, hastened forth to meet him, and giuing the onfet vpon him, forced him to flee vnto Gisors, where at the entering of the bridge there was such preece, that

the bridge brake, so that amongst other, the king himselfe with his horse and all fell into the river of Ceth, and with much adoe was releued, and got out of the water, no small number of right hardie and valiant gentlemen being taken at the same time, which put themselves forward to staie the Englishmen, till the king was recovered out of that present danger. To conclude, there were taken to the number of an hundred knights, and two hundred barbed horses, besides seruitors on horsebacke, and footmen with crossebowes. Amongst other prisoners these are named, Mattheu de Montmorancie, Gales de Poite, Jollen de Bazay, and manie other also innumerable. King Richard hauing got this victorie, wrote letters thereof vnto the archbishops, bishops, abbats earles and barons of his realme, that they might praise God for his good successe.

¶ A notable example to all princes that haue the conquest ouer their enemies, to referre the happie getting thereof to God, and to giue praise vnto him who giueth victorie vnto whom it pleaseth him. Which the Psalmograph saith verie well, and therefore ascribed all the issue of his prosperous affaires to God, as may well be noted by his words, saleng expresselie,

ab illo

Munior hic instar turris & arcis erat,

Dura manus in bella meos qui format & armat,

Ad fera qui digitos instruit arma meos.

How will we staie the proceedings of the king of France at this time, and make no further relation thereof for a while, till we haue touched other things that happened in England at the same season. And first ye shall vnderstand, that Hugh Wardolfe, Roger Arundell, and Geoffrey Hachet, to whom as iustices, the counties of Lincolne, Nottingham, Dorke, Derby, Northumberland, Westmerland, Cumber-land, and Lancaster were appointed for circuits, held not onelie places of assises, and of the crowne, but also toke inquisitions of elcheats, and forfeitures of all maner of transgressions, and of donations of benefices, of marriages of widowes and maids, and other such like things as appertained to the king, whereby any aduantages grew to his vse, the which for seditionnesse we passe over. These things were streightlie looked vnto, not without the disquieting of manie.

Herewith came an other trouble in the necke of this former, to diuerse persons within the realme, through inquiries taken by the iustices of the forests: for Hugh Penill, Hugh Maley, and Iheruissus Penill, appointed iustices itinerants in that case, were commanded by the king to call before them archbishops, bishops, earles, barons, knights, and freeholders, with the reue, and soure of the substantiall men of euerie towne or village, to heare and take knowledge of the kings commandement, touching the ordinances of forests, the which were verie straight in sundrie points, so that whereas before those that offended in killing of the kings deere were punished by the purse, now they should lose their eyes and genitals, as the lawe was in the daies of king Henrie his grandfather: and those that offended in cutting downe woods or bushes, or in digging and deluing by of turcs and clods, or by any other maner of waie made waste and destruction in woods or grassie, or spoile of venison, within the precinct of the forests, contrarie to order, they should be put to their fines.

He gaue commandement also, that it should be lawfull to the foresters to take and put vnder arrest, as well preests and those of the cleargie, as temporall men, being found offenders in forest grounds and chases. Manie other ordinances were decreed touching the preservation of forests, and the kings pre-

dict,

rogative,

King Philip
almost brow-
ned.

Seven score
saith R. Houed.

Marth. Paris.
R. Houed.

Eob. Hessin
Psal. 144.

Inquisitions
taken.

Ordinances
of forests.

Preests to be
arrested offend-
ing in for-
ests.

rogative, advantages and profits rising and growing by the same, as well for saving of his woods and waits, as in pannage and agistments, greatlie to the restraint of them that might usurpe or inroch upon the grounds within the compasse of his forreists.

He haue heard before, how the monks of Canturburie did send to exhibit a complaint to the pope, for that their archbishop take upon him to deale in exercise of matters belonging to a tempozall man, and not to such a one as had rule over the spiritualtie: but this was not the cause that did grieve them so much, as that he went forward with the erection of that church at Lamech, which his predecessor archbishop Baldwine had first begun at Haketon, now called S. Stephans (as before ye haue heard) and after was broken through the importunate suit of the monks to leaue off, and race that which he had there begun, to obeye the popes pleasure: and after laid a new foundation at Lamech.

The monks of Canturburie therefore still fearing least that church should greatlie prejudice such rights and liberties, as they pretended, namlie in the election of their archbishop, would neuer rest, but still complained and followed their suit in most obstinate manner in the court of Rome, as well in the daies of the said Baldwine, as now against Hubert, (when he took in hand to continue the worke according to the purpose of his predecessor the said Baldwine, which was to haue instituted a colledge there, and to haue placed secular canons in the same) and such was the earnest travell of the monks herein, that in the end now after the deceasse of pope Celestine, they found such fauour at the hands of pope Innocent his successor, that the same Innocent directed his letters of comandement to the archbishop, and other bishops of this land, to destroye and race the same foundation, as a peece of worke derogatorie to the see of Canturburie, and verie prejudiciall to the estate of holie church.

The archbishop at the first trusted to be bozne out by the king (who was highlie offended with the monks for their presumptuous dealing) and therefore refused to obeye the popes comandement. The king in deed stomached the matter so highlie, that he sent letters vnto the monks by no worse messengers than by Gessrey Fitz Peter, and Hugh Fitz War-dolfe his iustices, signifieng to them not onelie his high displeasure for their presumptuous proceedings in their suit without his consent, but also commanding them to surceasse, and not to proceed further in the matter by vertue of any such the popes letters, which they had purchased contrarie to the honour and dignitie of his crowne and realme. Whereupon, he wrote to the bishops, commanding them to appeale; and to the archbishop, forbidding him in any wise to breake downe the church which he had so builded at Lamech.

The shiriffe of Kent also was commanded to setze into his hands all the tenements and possessions that belonged to the monks (a frie of satan, and as one saith verie well of them and the like leuen of lewdnesse,

*— sentina malorum,
Agnorum sub pelle lupi, mercede colentes
Non pietate Deum, &c.)*

who neuertheless were so stout in that quarell, that they would not prolong one daie of the time appointed by the pope for the racing of that church. Whereupon the king for his part and the bishops in their owne behalves wrote to the pope. Likewise the abbats of Boreley, Foud, Stratford, Roberts-bridge, Stan-leie, and Wasing Marke, wrote the matter to him: and againe the pope and the cardinals wrote to the

king, to the archbishops, and bishops: and so letters passed to and fro, till at length the pope sent a Nuncio of purpose, to signifie his full determination, as in the next yeare it shall be shewed at full.

About the same time Gessrey Fitz Peter, lord chiefe iustice of England, raised a power of men, and went into Wales to succour the tenants of William de Brause, which were besieged of the king, or rather prince of that countrie, named Owen, the brother of Cadwalaine, in Rhodys castell: but the lord chiefe iustice coming to the rescue of them within, gaue battell to the aduersaries, and vanquishing them, slew three thousand of them, and seauen hundred of those that were taken prisoners and wounded. And all the while the warres continued in France, the losse for the most part still redounded to the Frenchmen. Earle John burnt Meliburg, and took eightene knights of such as were sent to the rescue.

The earle of Leicester with a small compaignie came before the castell of Bascie, which (although the Frenchmen held it) did yet of right belong vnto the said earle. The souldiours within issued forth, and being too strong for the earle, caused him to flee, for otherwise he had bene taken. But returning on the morrow after with more compaignie about him, and laying ambushes for the entrie, he approached the said castell, and trained the Frenchmen forth till he had them within his danger, and then causing his men to breake out upon them took an eightene knights, and a great multitude of other people. Also Marchades with his rout of Babanders did the Frenchmen much hurt, in robbing and spoiling the countries.

About this season the archbishop of Canturburie went over into Normandie to speake with king Richard, and at the French kings request he passed into France, to common with him of peace, which the French king offered to conclude, in restoring all the towncs and castels which he had taken (excepted) and touching the possession and title thereof, he was contented to put the matter in compromise, to the order and award of six barons in Normandie to be named by him; and of six barons in France which king Richard should name. But king Richard would not thus agree, except the earle of Flanders and others which had forsaken the French king to take his part, might be compassed in the same peace. At length yet in November, there was truce taken betwixt the two kings till the feast of S. Hilarie next ensuing.

In the meane time pope Innocent the third, understanding in what present danger things stood in the holie land, and on the other side, considering what a weakening it was vnto christendome, to haue these two kings thus to warre with mortall hatred one against the other: he thought it stood him upon to travell betwixt them, to bring them vnto some peace and agreement. Whereupon he dispatched one Peter the cardinal of Capua into France, as legat from the see of Rome, vnto the two foresaid kings, to instruct them in what present danger the state of the christians in Asia presentlie stood, so that without the aid of them and of other christian princes, it could not be holpen, but needs it must come to utter ruine, and the Saracens ver long to be possessed of the whole. Therefore both in respect hereof, and also for the avoiding of the further wilfull spilling of christians blood in such cruell and vngodlie war, he brought them to stae their hands, and to ioine in some standlie band of concord, whereby they might with mutual consent bestow their service in that necessarie and most godlie warre, wherein by overcoming the enemies of Christ, they might loke for worthie reward

Ger. Dor.

The church of Lamech.

The pope commandeth the church of Lamech to be rased.

The presumptuous stoutnesse of the monks.

welshmen banquished. Ger. Dor. alcribeth this victory vnto Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and saith there were some 500 of the enemies. Rhodys castell

The earle of Leicester.

Marchades.

Conte about the king of perour.

Richard. The pop letters to king for church of Lamech.

The mon bozne out the pope.

A truce taken betwixt the two kings.

M. Pal. in suo seg.

A tax. Five shilling of euerie plough land as saith Ma Westminster.

reward at his hands, which is the freer giuer of all bribes.

1199

R. Houed.

A truce concluded for five peares.

The cardinall comming into France, and doing his message in most earnest wise, was present at the enteriue appointed betwixt the two kings in the feast of S. Hilarie, but yet could not he bring his purpose to full effect: onelie he procured them to take truce for the terme of five peares, further he could not get them to agree. ¶ The fault by authors is ascribed aswell to king Richard, as to king Philip: for king Richard being first euill used, and put to hindrance, determined either to vanquish, or neuer to giue place.

Contention about the choosing of the emperor.

This forbearance from warre was concluded and taken in the yeare 1199 after the incarnation, and tenth of king Richards reigne. But immediatlie after, there arose matter of new displeasure betwixt these two kings to keepe their minds in the with secret grudges, though by reason of the truce they outwardlie abstained from declaring it by force of armes. It chanced that in the election of a new emperor, the electors could not agree, one part of them choosing Adolphe duke of Saxonie, nephew to king Richard by his sister Maude, and another part of them naming Philip duke of Flandre, and brother to the last emperor Henrie.

King Richard (as reason was) did procure what fauour he could to the furtherance of his nephew Adolphe: and king Philip on the contrarie part, did what he could in fauour of the foresaid Philip. At length Adolphe was admitted by the pope to end the strife: but yet the grudge remained in the hearts of the two kings; Philip finding himselfe much grieved in that he had missed his purpose, and Richard being as little pleased, for that he had wonne his so hardlie, and with so much adu. And thus matters passed for that yeare.

R. Houed. The popes letters to the king for the church of Lamech.

In the beginning of the next, the popes Nuncio came with letters, not onlie to the archbishop and bishops of England, but also to the king himselfe, signifying the popes resolute decree touching the church and colledge of Lamech to be broken downe and suppressed. Whereupon the king and archbishop (though sore against their willes) when they saw no waie longer to shift off the matter, yielded to the popes pleasure: and so the archbishop sent his letters to Lamech, where the 21 daie of Januarie they were read, and the 27 daie of the same moneth was the church cast downe, & the canons which were already there placed, had commandement to depart from thence without further delaie. Thus the monks in despite of the king and archbishop had their willes, but yet their vocation ceased not, for the king and archbishop bearing them no small euill will, for that they had so obtained their purpose contrarie to their minds and intents, molested them diuerse waies, although the monks still upon complaint to the pope, were verie much releued, and found great friendship both with him and likewise with his court. ¶ So that it may be obserued that these disbelouers of the popes kitchen haue in all ages, since their first quickening bene troublesome and mutinous, satiric and insolent, proud and malapert. But

M. Pal. in Is. 56.

*Proh pudor! hos tolerare potest ecclesia porcos,
Cum sint lacuius nimium, nimiumq; superbi,
Duntaxat ventri, veneri somnôq; vacantes?*

A. tar. Fuchillings of euerie ploughland, as saith Matt. Westm.

In this meane time, king Richard being now at rest from troubles of warre, studied busilie to provide monie, meaning to make a new voyage into the holie land. Therefore finding himselfe bare of treasure, by reason the French warres had emptied his cofers, he set a great tax upon his subjects, and by that means, hauing recovered a great summe, he builded that notable strong castell in Poimandrie,

upon the banke of the river of Saine, named Chateau Gallard: which when it was finished, he fell a telling thereat and said; Behold, is not this a faire daughter of one yeares growth. The soile where this castell was builded, belonged to the archbishop of Rouen, for which there followed great strife betwixt the king and the archbishop, till the pope took up the matter (as before ye haue heard.)

After this, he determined to chastise certaine persons in Poitou, which during the warres betwixt him and the French king, had aided the Frenchmen against him: whereupon with an armie he passed forth towards them, but by the waie he was informed, that one William a vicount in the countrie of Britaine, had found great treasure: and therefore pretending a right thereto by vertue of his prerogative, he sent for the vicount, who smelling out the matter, and supposing the king would not be different in parting the treasure, fled into Limosin, where although the people were tributaries to the king of England, yet they took part with the French king.

Images of an emperor and of his wife & children all of fine gold. The annales of Aquitaine,

There is a towne in that countrie called Chalus Cheuerell, into which the said vicount retired for safegard of himselfe, and then gaue the townemen a great portion of treasure, to the end they should defend him and his quarell for the rest. King Richard still following him, as one that could not auoid his fatall ordinance, haied into the confines of Limosin, fullie determining either to win the towne by force, if the inhabitants should make resistance, or at least wise, to get into his hands the preie, which he earnestlie pursued. At his first approach he gaue manie fierce assaults to the towne, but they within hauing thoughtlie provided aforeshand for to defend a siege, so resisted his attempts, that within three daies after his comming, he ceased to assaile the towne, meaning to undermine the walles, which otherwaie he perceived would verie hardlie be gotten, considering the stoutnesse of them within, and withall, the naturall strength and situation of the place it selfe.

Chalus Cheuerell. R. Houed,

Whereupon therefore on the 26 of March, whilst he (together with capitaine Marchades) went about vnaduisable to view the towne (the better to consider the place which waie he might conueie the course of his mine) they came so farre within danger, that the king was stricken in the left arme, or (as some write) in the shoulder, where it ioined to the necke, with a quarell inuenomed (as is to be supposed by the sequels.) Being thus wounded, he gat to his horse, and rode home againe to his lodging, where he caused the wound to be searched and bound up, and as a man nothing dismayed therewith, continued his siege with such force and assurance, that within 12 daies after the mishap, the towne was yielded vnto him, although verie little treasure (to make any great account of) was at that time found therein.

R. Richard besiegeth Chalus.

He is wounded.

Ra. Niger.

In this meane season, the king had committed the cure of his wound to one of Marchades his surgeons, who taking in hand to plucke out the quarell, drew forth onelie the shaft at the first, and left the iron still within, and afterwards going about most vnskillfullie to get forth the head of the said quarell, he used such incisions, and so mangled the kings arme, per he could cut it, that he himselfe despaired of all helpe and longer life, affirming flatlie to such as stood about him, that he could not long continue by reason of his butcherlie handling. To be short, feeling himselfe to war weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceived now to be at hand, he ordeined his testament, or rather reformed and added sundrie things vnto the same which he before had made, at the time of his going forth towards the holie land.

The king despaired of life.

He ordeined his testament.

Unto

Followed.

Math. Paris.

Rog.Houcd.

A notable ex-
ample of for-
getting an
enemie.
Matth. Paris.

King Richard
departed this
life.

This stature &
shape of bodie.
Gal. Vinsaf.

His disposition
of mind,

The vices
that were in
King Richard.

Unto his brother John he assigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, causing the Nobles there present to sweare fealtie vnto him. His monie, his iewels, and all other his goods moveable he willed to be diuided into three parts, of the which Wlho the emperors his sisters sonne to haue one, his household seruants an other part, and the third to be distributed to the poore. Finally, remembering himselfe also of the place of his buriall, he commanded that his bodie should be interred at Fonteneuward at his fathers feet, but he willed his heart to be conueied vnto Rouen, and there buried, in testimonie of the loue which he had euer borne vnto that citie for the stedfast faith and tried loialtie at all times found in the citizens there. His bodie he ordeined to be buried in Poitiers, as in a place naturallie vnthankfull and not worthy to reteine any of the more honorable parts of his bodie.

Sporeouer he caused the accuballist that wound-
 ded him, to be sought out, whose name was War-
 tham de Surden, or Wether Bassill (for so he named
 himselfe as some write) who being brought before the
 king, he demanded wherein he had so much offended
 him, that he should so lie in wait to slea him, rather
 than Marchabes, who was then in his companie, and
 attendant on his person? The other answered bold-
 ly againe, saying: I purposed to kill thee, because thou
 "Quest my father, and two of my brethren heretofore,
 "and wouldest also now haue slaine me, if I had hap-
 pened to fall into thy hands. Wherefore I intended to
 reuenge their deaths, not caring in the meane time
 "what became of my selfe, so that I might in anie
 "wise obtaine my will of thee, who in such sort hast be-
 reft me of my friends. The king hearkening vnto
 his words, and pondering his talke by good aduise-
 ment, frelie pardoned him, and withall commanded
 that he should be set at libertie, and thereto haue an
 hundred shillings giuen him in his pursse, and so to
 be let go. Sporeouer, he gaue strait charge that no
 man should hurt him, or seeke any reuenge for this
 his death hereafter. Thus the penitent prince not
 onelie forgauē, but also rewarded his aduersarie.
 Howbeit after his decesse, Marchabes getting him
 into his hands, first caused the skin to be stripped of
 his bodie, and after hanged him on a gibet.

At length king Richard by force of sicknesse (increased with anguish of his incurable wound) departed this life, on the tuesday before Palmesunday, being the ninth of Aprill, and the xi. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1199. in the 44 yeare of his age, and after he had reigned nine yeares, nine moneths, and od daies: he left no issue behind him. He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, faire and comelie of face, so as in his countenance appeared much fauour and grauntie, of haire bright aboene, as it were betwixt red and pel-
Joln, with long armes, and nimble in all his ioints, his thighes and legs were of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his bodie.

As he was comelie of personage, so was he of stomach more couragious and fierce, so that not without cause, he obtained the surname of Cueur de lion, that is to saie, The lions hart. Moreover, he was courteous to his souldiours, and towards his friends and strangers that resorted unto him verie liberall, but to his enemies hard and not to be intreated, desirous of battell, an enemy to rest and quietnesse, verie eloquent of speech and wise, but ready to enter into ieopardies, and that without feare or forecath in time of greatest perills.

These were his vertuous qualities, but his vices (if his vertues, his age, and the wars which he maintained were throughlie weighed) were either none at all, or else few in number, and not verie notorious.

He was noted of the common people to be partie
subiect unto pride, which surelie for the most part fa-
loweth faultinesse of mind, of incontinencie, to the
which his youth might happlie be somewhat bent:
and of couetousnes, into the which infamie most ca-
pitaine and such princes as commonlie followe the
warres do oftentimes fall, when of necessity they
are bounden to exact monie, as well of friends as en-
emies, to mainteine the infinit charges of their wars.

Whereof it came, that on a time whyles he sojourned
in France about his warres, which he held against
it. Whilſt there came vnto him a French preſt whoſe
name was Fulco, who required the k. in any wiſe to
put from him three abhominable daughters, which he
had, and to beſtow them in marriage, leaſt God pun-
niſhed him for them. Thou lieſt hypocrite (ſaid the
king) to thy verie face, for all the world knoweth that
I haue not one daughter. I lie not (ſaid the preſt) for
thou haſt three daughters, one of them is called pride,
the ſecond couetouſneſſe, and the third lecherie.
With that the king called to him his lordes & barons,
and ſaid to them; This hypocrite heere hath required
me to marrie auaie my three daughters, which (as
he ſaith) I cheriſh, nourish, foſter and mainteine, that
is to ſay, pride, couetouſneſſe, and lecherie. And now
that I haue found out neceſſarie & fit husbands for
them, I will do it with effect, and ſeek no more de-
laies. I therefore bequeaſt my pride to the high min-
ded templers and hoſpitaillers, which are as proud as
Lucifer himſelfe. My couetouſneſſe I giue vnto the
white monks, otherwiſe called of the Citeaux order,
for they couet the diuelliſh all. My lecherie I com-
mit to the prelates of the church, who haue moſt plea-
ſure and felicitie therein.

There lived in the daies of this king Richard, men of worthie fame amongst those of the cleargie, Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, and Hubert who succeeded him in that see, also Hugh bishop of Lincolne, a man for his worthinesse of life highly to be commended. Moreover, William bishop of Ely, who though other wise he was to be dispaissed for his ambition and pompous haughtinesse, yet the king esteemed his service for a time greatlie to his profit and advancement of the publike affaires. Also of learned men we find diuerse in these daies that flourished here in this land, as Baldwine of Devonshire that came to be bishop of Worcester in this kings time, and after his decesse, he was advanced to the gouernment of the archbishops see of Canturburie, he wrote diuerse treatises, namelie of matters pertaining to diuinitie. Daniell Hoyle well sene in the Mathematicals, John de Beram, and Richard de Beram two notable historicians, Guilielmus Stephanides a monke of Canturburie, who wrote much in the praise of archbishop Becket. Beside these, we find one Richard, that was an abbat of the order Bremonstratensis, Richard Diuisiensis, Nicholas Walskington, Robert de Wello Foro, an excellent philosopher, &c. ¶ See Bale in his third Centurie.

In martiall renowne there flourish in this kings daies diuerse noble capteins, as Robert earle of Leicester, Kanulfe de Fulgiere, two of the War- dulphes, Hugh and Henrie, three Williams, Spar- shall, Bunell, and Spandeuill, with two Roberts, Hos and Sabeuille. Furthermoze, I find that in the daies of this king Richard, a great dearth reigned in England, and also in France, for the space of three or foure yeares during the wars betwene him & king Philip, so that after his returne out of Germanie, and from imprisonment, a quarter of wheat was sold at 18 shillings eight pence, no small price in those daies, if you consider the alay of monie then current.

Also immediatlie after, that is to say, in the yeare
of our Lord, a thousand, one hundred, nintie six, which
was

g
saliti
ple.
W.D.

ALP

Fulco a pze

**Baldwine &
Hubert arch-
bishops of
Canterburie**

Ann

Reg.

Mat
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A great mortalitie of people.
Wil. Parvus.

was about the seventh yere of the said kings reigne, there followed a marvellous soze death, which dailie consumed such numbers of people, that scarce there might be found any to keepe and loke to those that were sicke, or to burie them that died. Which sickness was a pestilentiall feuer or sharpe burning ague. The accustomed manner of buriall was also neglected: so that in manie places they made great pits, and threw their dead bodies into the same, one upon an other. For the multitude of them that died was such, that they could not haue time to make for euerie one a seuerall graue. This mortalitie continued for the space of fise or six months, and at length ceased in the cold season of winter.

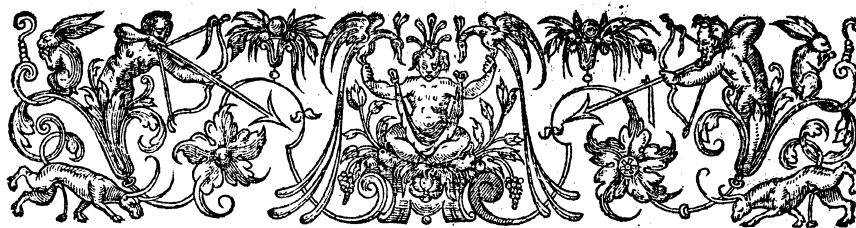
Two sunnes.

In the octaues of Pentecost before this great death, in the first houre of the day, there appeared two sunnes, the true sunne & another, as it were a counterfeited sunne: but so apparentlie, that hard it was to the common people, to discern the one from the o-

ther. The skillfull also were compelled by instruments to distinguish the one from the other: in taking their altitudes and places, whereby in the end they found the new apparition, as it were, to wait upon the planet, and so continued by the space of certeine houres. At length when the beholders (of whom Wil. Parvus that recorded things in that age was one) had well wearied their eyes in diligent marking the manner of this strange appearance, the counterfeited sunne vanished awayne.

This strange wonder was taken for a signification of that which followed, that is to say, of war, famine and pestilence: or to say the truth, it betokened rather the continuance of two of those mischiefs. For warre and famine had soze afflicted the people before that time, and as yet ceased not: but as for the pestilence, it began some after the strange sight, whereof ensued such effect, as I haue already rehearsed.

Thus farre king Richard.



Iohn the yongest sonne of Henrie the second.

Anno Reg. i.



Whit the yongest son of Henrie the second was proclaimed king of England, beginning his reigne the first date of April, in the yere of our Lord 1199, the first of Philip emperor of Rome, and the 20 of Philip king of France, & William

Rog. Houed.

as yet living in gouernment ouer the Scots. This man, so sone as his brother Richard was deceased, sent Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Parshall earle of Striguill (otherwise called Chepflow) into England, both to proclaim him king, and also to see his peace kept, togither with Geoffrey Fitz Peter lord chiefe iustice, and diuerse other barons of the realme, whilst he himselfe went to Chinon where his brothers treasure laye, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turneham: and therewithall the castell of Chinon and Saluemer and diuerse other places, which were in the custodie of the foresaid Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephue to the said Robert de Turneham deliuered the citie and castell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For by generall consent of the nobles and peres of the countries of Aniou, Paine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and souereigne lord of the same countries.

Math. Paris.
Chinon.
Robert de
Turneham,
Saluemer.
Rog. Houed.
Thomas de
Furnes.

Strife amongst the English nobles on the other side of the sea.

For enen at this present, and so sone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceased, diuerse cities and townes on that side of the sea belonging to the said Richard whilst he liued, fell at ods among themselves, some of them inuicemurdering to preferre king Iohn, other labouring rather to be vnder the

gouernance of Arthur duke of Britaine, considering that he seemed by most right to be their chiefe lord, forsomuch as he was sonne to Geoffrey elder brother to Iohn. And thus began the broile in those quarters, whereof in pcesse of time ensued great inconuenience, and finally the death of the said Arthur, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Now whilst king Iohn was thus occupied in recovering his brothers treasure, and traueling with his subiects to reduce them to his obedience, quene Eliano; his mother by the helpe of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and other of the noble men and barons of the land, trauelled as diligentlie to procure the English people to receiue their oth of allegiance to be true to king Iohn. For the said archbishop and William Parshall earle of Striguill, being sent ouer into England (as before you haue heard) to proclaim him king, and to keepe the land in quiet, assembled the estates of the realme at Northampton, where Geoffrey Fitz Peter lord chiefe iustice was present with other of the Nobles, afore whom those lords whose fidelities were earli suspected, willinglie toke their oths of obedience to the new king, and were assured by the same lords on his behalfe, that they should find him a liberall, a noble and a righteous prince, and such a one as would see that euerie man should inioy his owne, and such as were knowne to be notorious transgressors, should be sure to receiue their condigne punishment.

Math. Paris.
The states
assembled at
Northampton.

They sent Eustace de Melcie also vnto William king of Scotland, to signifie to him, that king Iohn vpon his arrivall in England, would satisfie him of all such right as he pretended to haue within the English dominions. And thus was king Iohn accompted and proclaimed king of England by the generall

Eustace Melcie sent into Scotland.

generall consent of all the lords and barons of the same. The names of the chiefe of those peeres that were sworne (as you haue heard) are as followeth. Dauid earle of Huntingdon brother vnto William king of Scots; Richard earle of Clare, Ranulfo earle of Chester, William earle of Lincolie or rather Warble, Walter earle of Mareschale, Roger Lacie constable of Chester, and William de Spowbray, with diuerse other, whose names I here omit; bicause I would not be tedious and irksome to the readers.

Now the king of Scotland being informed by the lord Cusface Westie (who had married his daughter) that there was some hope to be had on his part, for the recouerie of such feignozies as he and his predecessors sometime held in England, did further dispatch sundrie ambassadours with full purpose to send them ouer into Normandie vnto king John, there to require restitution of the countries of Ponthumberland and Cumberland, with their appurtenances, and he promised also by his letters, that if the same might be granted vnto him, in as ample manner as they had bene in times past to his ancestors, he would gladlie do his homage to king John, as to the true & lawfull king of England for the same, and furthermore yeld to him his faithfull seruice against all men, so often as he should be required thereto. Whowbeit when the archbishop of Canturburie and the rest of the counsell, vnderstood that these ambassadours should passe through England, they would not suffer them so to do, but speedilie sent Dauid earle of Huntingdon into Scotland vnto the king his brother, requiring him earnestlie that he would not send any ambassadours ouer as yet, but rather tarte, and take patience awhile, till the king should come ouer into England: which (as they said) he purposed to do verie shortly.

King John also hauing vnderstanding of his purpose, sent ouer the said lord Cusface againe vnto him with the like request, who in such wise perswaded him, that he was contented to abide a time, in hope of the better successe in his late attempted suit. And all this was done chieflie by the working of the kings mother, whom the nobilitie much honoured and loved. For the being bent to prefer his sonne John, lest no stone vnturned to establish him in the throne, comparing oftentimes the difference of gouernement betwene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as John was 32 yeares old, so Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to speake of. In the end, winning all the nobilitie wholie vnto his will, and seeing the coast to be cleare on euerie side, without any doubt of tempestuous weather likelie to arise, he signified the whole matter vnto his sonne, who forthwith framed all his induements to the accomplishment of his businesse.

Queene Elianor
conuinceth
Arthur.

Constance
dutchesse of
Britaine.

Prop. lib. 2.

Surelie queene Elianor the kings mother was sore against his nephew Arthur, rather moued thereto by enuie conceived against his mother, than vpon any iust occasion given in the behalfe of the child, for that she saw if he were king, how his mother Constance would loke to beare most rule within the realme of England, till his sonne should come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himselfe. ¶ So hard it is to bring women to agree in one mind, their natures commonlie being so contrarie, their words so variable, and their deeds so vndiscreet. And therefore it was well said of one alluding to their disposition and qualities,

— nulla die femina pondus habet

When this doing of the queene was signified vnto the said Constance, she doubting the suertie of his sonne, committed him to the trust of the French king, who receiuing him into his tuition, promised

to defend him from all his enemies, and forthwith furnished the holds in Britaine with French soldi-
ers. Queene Elianor being aduertised hereof, stood in doubt by and by of his countrie of Guien; and therefore with all possible speed passed ouer the sea, and came to his sonne John into Normandie, and shortly after they went forth together into the countrie of Maine, and there took both the citie and castell of Sauns, throwing downe the walls and towers thereof, with all the fortifications and stone-houses in and about the same, and kept the citizens as prisoners, because they had aided Arthur against his uncle John.

After this, king John entering into Anjou, held his Easter at Beaufort (which feast fell that yeare the 18 day of April) and from thence he went straight vnto Rouen, where on the Sunday next after Easter being S. Marks day, he was girded with the sword of the dutchie of Normandie in the high church there by the hands of Walter archbishop of Rouen. And so being inuested duke of Normandie, receiued the oath according to the custome, that he should defend the church, and mainteine the liberties thereof, see iustice ministered, good lawes put in execution, and naughtie lawes and orders abolished. In the meane time his mother queene Elianor, together with capteine Marchabes entred into Anjou, and possessed the same, because they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their soueraigne lord and gouernour. And amongst other towne and fortresses, they took the citie of Angiers, fine manie of the citizens, and committed the rest to prison.

This enterprize being thus luckilie achieved, the residue of the people in those parties were put in such feare, that of their owne accord they turned to their wonted obedience, seeming as though they would continue still therein. The French king all this while conceiuing an other exploit in his head, more commodious vnto him than as yet to attempt warre against the Englishmen vpon so light an occasion, dissembled the matter for a time, as though he would know nothing of all that was done, till the king should be otherwise occupied in England about his coronation.

In the meane season king John hauing let some stay in his businesse on the further side of the sea, he left his mother still in Guien, to defend that countrie against the enemies, and taking the sea, came ouer himselfe into England, landing at Shosham, the 25 day of Maie. On the next day, being Ascension eue, he came to London there to receiue the crowne. On the morow after being Ascension day, when the nobilitie and commons were assembled, and the king brought into the church of S. Peter at Westminister there to receiue his diademe; Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie being chiefe in authoritie and honour, both for his age and calling, spake these words or the like in substance before the whole assemblie, as followeth.

Hubert the archbishop of Canturburies oration to the lords spiritual and temporal in the pience of the king.



Most honorable lords of the spiritualtie, and most graue and politike peeres and barons of the temporaltie, you are come hither this day to chouse you a king, and such a one as (if need should require) may be able of himselfe to take such a charge vpon him, and hauing vnderaken the same, readie to execute that which he shall thinke to be expedient

Queene Elianor
passeth
into Normandie.

The citie of
Sauns taken.

Math. Paris
R. Houed.

R. John inuested
duke of Normandie.

The citie of
Angiers taken.

R. John cometh
ouer into England.

March. P.

Polydor.

Reg. Hen.

expedient for the profit of his subjects: we haue therefore one present heere among vs, vpon whome harts and good willes of high and low, rich and poore, doe generallie depend: a man I doubt not, but that for his owne part will applie his whole induer, studie, and thought vnto that onelie end, which he shall perceiue to be most profitable for the commonwealth, as knowing himselfe to be bozne not to serue his owne turne, but for to profit his countrie, and to seeke for the generall benefit of vs that are his subjects.

And albeit I am sure that you doe well know, how all these qualities are most abundantly planted in the person of Iohn duke of Normandie (a person of high prowess and no lesse prudence, for the which he ought to iudge him right worthy of the gouernement) yet being in doubt least the common fame should carrie you awaie, or least you should turne your minds to the fauour of another, as in respect of some better right, by title of a moze lawfull descent of inheritance pretended by others than he hath to shew, I require you to giue care vnto my wordes: who bearing the state of two manner of persons, ought to be profitable to my countrie, not onelie by example and exhortation, but also by loialtie and good counsell, which hitherto I haue euer studied to performe, and wherein (God willing) I meane to persist, so long as I shall continue in this mortall and transitorie tabernacle.

Therefore whereas at this present we haue in hand to conclude vpon such a weightie matter, which being once done, can not be vndone, I commend vnto you this Iohn, euen with all my verie heart, and iudge that you ought to accept him for your king, who in all things which he shall ordeine, purpose, or take in hand, shall not faile so to answer your opinions with his well doing, and so satisfie your good expectations already conceived of him with his diligent prouidence, that all the whole realme shall not onelie like of and allow your doing heerein, but also with high commendation extoll the same to the verie stars. These things do I promise vnto you, and so farforth as in me may lie, I dare take vpon me all chances and perils that may proceed thereof.

When the archbishop had ended his speech, diuerse held their peace, and manie with great zeale saluted king Iohn, whom the same daie the said archbishop crowned at Westmynster, after the manner then vsed with great solemnitie, and no lesse reioysing of all such as were present. At the same time also he receiued the homages of the lords and barons of the realme, and promised with all speed to haue consideration of things that appertained as well to religion as to the due execution of lawes, whereby euerie man might come to intiole that which was his owne, by right and due course of iustice. We find that there were present at this solemnitie and coronation of king Iohn, which was celebrated on the Ascension day the 27 of Maie, archbishops and bishops to the

number of seauentie, as Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, Iohn archbishop of Dublin, also the archbishop of Raguse, William bishop of London, Gilbert bishop of Rochester, Iohn bishop of Norwich, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Eustace bishop of Elie, Godfrey bishop of Winchester, Henrie bishop of Exeter, Sefride bishop of Chichester, Godfrey bishop of Couentrie, Sauarie bishop of Bath, Herbert bishop of Salisbury, Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger bishop of Saint Andrew in Scotland, and Henrie bishop of Landaffe in Wales. The bishop of Duresme found himselfe somewhat grieued in the matter, making obiections, that the coronation ought not to be celebrated without the presence of Cestrey archbishop of Porke: but it preuailed not.

Matth. Paris.
Additions to
Iohn Pike.

Besides these bishops, there were of the temporall lords and earles, Robert of Leicester, Richard of Clare, William of Tutburie, Hamlin of Warren, William of Salisbury, William of Chepflow or therwise called Striguille, Walter of Warwike, Roger Bigot, William of Arundell, and Ranulfe of Chester, with manie other barons, lords, knights, and no small multitudes of gentlemen and other common people. The same daie of his coronation also, he inuested William Marshall with the sword of the earldome of Striguille, and Cestrey Fitz Peter, with the sword of the earldome of Essex. For although they were called earles, and exercised the administration of their earldoms; yet were they not till that daie girded with the sword of those earldoms, and so that day they serued at the table with their swordes girded vnto them.

Rog. Houed.
Willm Marshall
shall earle of
Striguille.
Cestrey Fitz
Peter created
earle of Essex.

In like maner, Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie was made lord chancellor of England; who as he uttered some wordes vnbushellic, that shewed how he inwardlie reioysed at the kings fauour toward him in the gift of this office, and so glozied in the honour whereto he was preferred (which he would neuer haue done, if he had weied of worldlie pompe as by his profession he ought, and as one asketh the question in the same case:

The archb.
of Canturburie
made lord
chancellor.

— dic mihi, nunquid
Corporibus profunt? certe nil; dic animisue?
Tantumdem, &c.)

the lord Hugh Bardolfe said vnto him, yet not so softly lie in his care, but that some ouerheard it; My lord, to speake and not offend you, suerlie if you would well consider the dignitie and honoz of your calling, you would not willingly yeld to suffer this yoke of bondage to be laid vpon your shoulders, for we haue oftentimes heard of a chancellor made an archbishop, but neuer an archbishop made a chancellor till now. The coronation being thus ended, it was not long yer there came ambassadores from the Scottish king, namely William the prioz of May, William the prioz of Saint Colmes Ins, and one William Hay, the which on the behalfe of the said Scottish king required restitution of Northumberland and Cumberland, with the appurtenances, promising that if the same were restozed to him, he would serue the king of England with all his power against all men their alie; otherwise, that is, if he could not haue those countries, which of right to him appertained by law, as he pretended, he would do the best he could to recover them by force.

The saierg
of the lord
Bardolfe.

Amballadores
from the king
of Scots.

King Iohn made answer herevnto, that if his cosen the king of Scots would come vnto him, he should be assinted to receiue at his hands all that was reason, as well in those demands, as in all other things. He also sent to him the bishop of Duresme, to require him to come vnto Nottingham, where he would meet with him. Howbeit, king William refused to come himselfe as then, but sent the bishop of Saint Andrew, and Hugh Spalebille to follow his suit,

Matth. Paris.

Polydor.

Rog. Houed.

swit, with promise to abstaine from any forceable in-
uasion of England, by the space of forty daies, so
that he might within that tennie haue some resolute
answer from king Iohn, whereunto he might stand
either on the one side or the other.

Whilste these things were a doing in England,
Philip K. of France hauing leuied an armie, brake
into Normandie, and toke the cite of Cenceur, the
towne of Arques, and diuerse other places from the
English. And passing from thence into Spaine, he
recovered that countrie latelie before through feare
alienated. In an other part, an armie of Britains
with great diligence toke the townes of Gorney,
Buteuant and Gensolin, and following the victorie,
toke the cite of Angiers, which king Iohn had toke
from duke Arthur, in the last yeare passed. These
things being signified to king Iohn, he thought to
make provision for the recouerie of his losses there,
with all speed possible. And thereupon perceiuing
that the Scotch king meant not to meet with him at
Potttingham whither he was come, and where he kept
the feast of Whitsonside, he determined to passe the
seas ouer into Normandie: but first he toke order
for the gouernment and defense of the realme in his
absence.

Whereupon he deliuered the charge of the coun-
ties of Northumberland and Cumberland, unto the
lord William de Siptonville, with all the castels, and
other the appurtenances, which the lord Hugh Bar-
dolf before held, and had in keeping. He also deliue-
red unto Roger de Lacie constable of Chesser, the
castell of Domfret, hauing first the sonne and heire
of the same Lacie deliuered unto him as an hostage
for his loialtie and faithfull obedience. This done, he
hasted unto the sea side, and sailed ouer into Nor-
mandie, landing first at Diep, and from thence went
to Rouen, whither he came vpon the sundaie before
Whitsunmer day, which was the 26 of June as W.
Harison hath noted.

Immediatlie vpon his arrivall in those parts,
there resorted unto him a great number of souldiers
both horsemen and footmen, hoping to be intertel-
led, but by reason of ambassadours riding to and
fro betwixt the two kings, they came to a communi-
cation, and toke truce for fiftie daies. The earle of
Flanders being certified thereof, was soke in his
hart, and loth that the French king should come to a
my accord with the king of England, and therefore to
turne the mind of king Iohn from the purpose of
peace, he came to visit him at Rouen, where they re-
newed the league betwixt England & Flanders, to
be the better able to defend themselves from the
French power: and withall determined fullie, that
immediatlie vpon the expiring of this last truce they
would make the French king warre, to reuenge
their late received iniuries. The French king aduer-
tised by espials of their determination, prepared also
for the warres.

In this meane time it chanced, that Henrie earle
of Hamure, brother to Philip earle of Flanders, and
one Peter of Doway, a right valiant knight, with
his brother that was the elect bishop of Cambrey,
were taken prisoners in a skirmish, and presented to
the French king. Whereupon the cardinall of Ca-
pua (being at the same time the popes legat in
France) interdicted that realme for the taking of
the same elect of Cambrey, & also all Normandie, for
the detaining of the bishop of Beamois in prison
(who had laine there a long time, & was taken in the
field after such manner as is before rehearsed) so
that the French king was glad to restore the elect of
Cambrey to his libertie. And likewise king Iohn
deliuered the bishop of Beamois, who paid two
thousand marks, besides expenses of diet during the

time of his captiuitie, and furthermore toke an oth,
that he should neuer after beare armour in the war
against any christian or christians.

About the same time, king Philip made Arthur
duke of Britaine knight, and receiued of him his ho-
mage for Anion, Poidiers, Spaine, Touraine, and
Britaine. Also somewhat before the time that the
truce should expyre, to wit, on the morrow after the
feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and also the day
next following, the two kings talked by commissio-
ners, in a place betwixt the townes of Buteuant
and Guleton. Within three daies after, they came to-
gether personallie, and communed at full of the va-
riance depending betwene them. But the French
king shewed himselfe stiff and hard in this treatie,
demanding the whole countrie of Cleuquesme to
be restored unto him, as that which had bene gran-
ted by Gessrey earle of Anion, the father of king
Henrie the second, unto Helmes le Grosse, to haue
his aid then against king Stephan. Moreover, he de-
manded, that Poidiers, Anion, Spaine, and Tour-
raine, should be deliuered and whole resigned unto
Arthur duke of Britaine.

But these, & diuerse other requests which he made,
king Iohn would not in any wise grant unto, and
so they departed without conclusion of any agree-
ment. Therefore diuerse earls and barons of France,
which before that time had serued king Richard,
repaid unto king Iohn, and toke an oth to assist him,
and not to agree with the French king without his
consent: and he likewise swore unto them, not to
make peace with the French king, except they were
therein compyled. In the month of September,
Iohn king Johns sister, wife to Raimond earle of
S. Giles, and sometime queene of Sicile, died at Ro-
uen, and was buried at Fontenerard. The French
king also toke diuerse townes and castels, but a
mongst other the castell of Salun, and rased the
walls thereof downe to the ground, wherewith Wil-
liam de Roches, generall of the armie of Arthur
duke of Britaine, was greatlie offended, and did so
much by his drift, that shortly after a peace was
concluded betwixt king Iohn and his nephew duke
Arthur, though the same serued but to small purpose.

The French king hauing (as I haue said) over-
throwne the walls of Salun, besieged a fortrell cal-
led Lanardin, but king Iohn coming with an ar-
mie, caused him to raise his siege, and to withdraw
himselfe to the cite of Spains, whither he followed,
and compelled him (manger his force) to retire
from thence. All this while was William de Ro-
ches busilie occupied about his practise, to make king
Iohn and his nephew Arthur friends, which thing at
length he brought about, and thereupon deliuered in-
to king Johns hands the cite of Spains which he had
in keeping. Also the vicount of Tours came to the
king of England, and surrendered unto him the ca-
stell of Chinon, the keeping whereof he betooke unto
Roger de Lacie the constable of Chesser. But in
the night following, vpon some mistrust and suspicion
gathered in the obseruation of the covenants on K.
Johns behalfe, both the said Arthur, with his mother
Constance the said vicount of Tours, and diuerse o-
ther, fled awaie secretly from the king, and got them
to the cite of Angiers, where the mother of the said
Arthur refusing hir former husband the earle of Che-
ster, married hir selfe to the lord Gue de Lours; ho-
ther to the said vicount, by the popes dispensation.
The same pere, Philip bastard sonne to king Richard,
to whome his father had given the castell and hono-
ur of Colnach, killed the vicount of Limoges, in re-
uenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as ye
haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus
Cheuerell.

Moreover,

N. Tract.
The French
K. invadeth
Normandie.

Rog. Houed.

L. William de
Siptonville.

Roger de Lacie
constable
of Chesser.

King Iohn
passeth ouer
into Nor-
mandie.

A truce for
fiftie daies.

The earle of
Flanders.
Polydor.
The league
renewed be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Flanders.

Rog. Houed.
The earle of
Hamure.

France inter-
dicted.
Normandie
interdicted.

Rog. Houed.

Inter date
of Spaine
made king.

The French
kings de-
mand.

Salun

A peace
twixt king
John & his
nephew.

Lanardin.

William de
Roches.

The vicount
of Tours.

The mistrust
that duke Ar-
thur had in
his brother
John.

Philip king
Richards be-
stard sonne
the vicount
of Limoges.

Moreover, there fell manie great floods in Eng-
land, and on the borders of Scotland, by violence
whereof diuerse bygges were bozne downe, and a-
mongst other, the bridge at Barwike. For the buil-
ding by againe thereof, some variance arose be-
tweene Philip bishop of Durham and earle Patrick
lord chiefe iustice of Scotland, and capiteine at
the same time of the towne of Barwike, who by the
Scottish kings commandement, would haue repa-
red againe the same bridge, which could not be done,
but that the one end thereof must be builded on the
bishop of Durhams ground, which he would not suf-
fer, till by the counsell of the lord William de Stu-
tenhille, he agreed, so that the convention accorded and
concluded betwixt the king of Scots and his prede-
cessour bishop Hugh might be reserved inuolable.

Furthermore, king John did set a rate vpon the
prices of wines, as Rochell wine to be sold for twen-
tie shillings the tun, and not aboue. The wine of An-
iou for twentie foure shillings the tun, and no other
French wines aboue five and twentie shillings the
tun, except it were of such notable goodnesse as that
some peraduenture for their owne expenses would
be contented to giue after twentie six shillings eight
pence for the tun, and not aboue. Moreover, the galon
of Rochell wine he appointed to be sold at foure
pence: and the galon of white wine at six pence. It
was also ordeined, that in euerie citie, towne, and
place where wine was vsed to be sold, there should be
twelue honest men sworn to haue regard that this
assise should not be broken: and that if they found
any vintner that should from the pit sell any wine
by small measures contrarie to the same assise, his
bodie should be attached by the shiriffe, and deteined
in prison, till other commandement were giuen for
his further punishment, and his goods seized vnto
the kings vse. Furthermore, if any persons were or
should be found to buy and sell by the hogthead or
tun, contrarie to this assise, they should be committed
to prison, there to remaine, till other order were ta-
ken for them: neither should there be any regrating
of wines that were brought into England. But this
ordinance lasted not long, for the merchants could
not beare it, and so they sold to and sold white wine
for eight pence the gallon, & red or claret for six pence.

King John also came ouer from Normandie into
England, and there leuied a subsidie, taking of eue-
rie ploughland three shillings. In the Lent follow-
ing, he went to Poike, in hope to haue met the king
of Scots there, but he came not, and so king John
returned backe, and sailed againe into Normandie,
because the variance still depended betwene him
and the king of France. Finally vpon the Ascension
day in this second yeare of his reigne, they came est-
sones to a communication betwixt the townes of
Wernon and Lille Wandelle, where finally they con-
cluded an agreement, with a marriage to be had be-
twixt Lewes the sonne of king Philip, and the labie
Blanch, daughter to Alfonso king of Castile the 8 of
that name, & niece to K. John by his sister Elianor.

In consideration whereof, king John, besides the
summe of thirtie thousand markes in silver, as in re-
spect of dowrie assigned to his said niece, resigned his
title to the citie of Cœur, and also vnto all those
townes which the French king had by warre taken
from him, the citie of Angiers onelie excepted, which
citie he receiued againe by covenants of the same a-
greement. The French king restored also to king
John (as Rafe Niger writeth) the citie of Tours,
and all the castles and fortresses which he had taken
within Touraine: and moreover, received of king
John his homage for all the lands, fees and tene-
ments which at anie time his brother king Richard,
or his father king Huriac had holden of him, the said

king Lewes or any his predecessors, the quit claims
and marriages alwaies excepted. The king of Eng-
land likewise did homage vnto the French king for
Britaine, and againe (as after you shall heare) re-
ceiued homage for the same countrie, and for the
countie of Richmont of his nephue Arthur. He also
gaue the earledome of Gloucester vnto the earle of
Cœur, as it were by way of exchange, for that he
resigned to the French king all right, title & claime
that might be pretended to the countie of Cœur.

By this conclusion of marriage betwixt the said
Lewes and Blanch, the right of king John went
a waie, which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the
citie of Cœur, and vnto those townes in the con-
fines of Berrie, Chateau, Rou, or Raoul, Crestle and
Foldune, and likewise vnto the countrie of Menyrt
or Menluesline, which is a part of the territoie of
Gisors: the right of all which lands, townes and
counties was released to the king of France by K.
John, who supposed that by his assintie, and resigna-
tion of his right to those places, the peace now made
would haue continued for ever. And in considerati-
on thereof, he procured furthermore, that the foresaid
Blanch should be conueied into France to his hus-
band with all speed. That done he returned into
England.

Certes this peace was displeasing to manie,
but namelie to the earle of Flanders, who herevpon
making no accompt of king Johns amitie, conclu-
ded a peace with king Philip shortly after, and ment
to make warre against the infidels in the east parts,
wherby we may see the discontented minds of men,
and of how differing humors they be, so that nothing
is harder than to satisfie manie with one thing, be
the same neuer so good.

*—o cecis mortalia plena tenebris
Pectora, & o mentes caligine circumseptae!*

But by the chronicles of Flanders it appeareth, that
the earle of Flanders concluded a peace with the
French king in Februarie last past, before that king
John and the French king fell to any composition.
But such was the malice of writers in times past,
which they bare towards king John, that what soeuer
was done in pretence of him or his subsidies, it was
still interpreted to chance through his default, so as
the blame still was imputed to him, in so much that
although manie things he did peraduenture in mat-
ters of gouernement, for the which he might be
hardlie excused, yet to thinke that he deserued the
tenth part of the blame therewith writers charge
him, it might seeme a great lacke of aduised conside-
ration in them that so should take it. But now to
proceed with our purpose.

King John being now in rest from warres with
foreign enemies, began to make warre with his sub-
jects purples at home, emptieng them by taxes and
tallages, to fill his coffers, which alienated the minds
of a great number of them from his loue and obedi-
ence. At length also, when he had got together a great
masse of monie, he went ouer againe into Norman-
die, where by Helias archbishop of Bourdeaux, and
the bishop of Poitiers and Scone, he was diuorced
from his wife Isabell, that was the daughter of Ro-
bert earle of Gloucester, because of the nearnesse of
blood, as touching hir in the third degree. After that,
he married Isabell the daughter of Aimeric earle of
Angouleme, by whome he had two sonnes, Henrie
and Richard, and three daughters, Isabell, Elianor,
and Jane.

Moreover, about this time, Geoffrey archbishop of
Poike was deprived of all his manours, lands, and
possessions, by the kings commandement directed to
the shiriffe of Poike shire for diuerse causes, for that
he would not permit the same shiriffe to leuie the du-

A rate of pay-
ment of wines.

King John
returneth into
England.
1200
A subsidie.

He saileth a-
gaine into
Normandie.
Anno Reg. 2.

A peace con-
cluded with
a marriage.

March, Paris.

Raf. Niger.

Polydet.

The king re-
meth backe
again into
England.

La Meit.

R. Houed.
King John
is diuorced.
Matt. West.
March, Paris.
R. Houed.

March, Paris.
Geoffrey arch-
of Poike de-
prived.

tie called Charugage, that was; three shillings of euerie ploughland within his diocesse, rated and appointed to be leuied to the kings vse, throughout all parts of the realme. Secondlie, for that the same archbishop refused to go ouer with the king into Normandie to helpe to make the marriage betwixt the French kings sonne and his niece. Wherfor, because he had excommunicated the same shiriffe and all the prouince of Poike: whereupon the king toke displeasure against him, and not onelie spoiled him (as I said) of his goods, but also banished him out of the court, not suffering him to come in his presence for the space of twelue moneths after.

Rog. Houed.
A counsell
called at West-
minster by the
archbishop of
Canturburie.

Arthur duke
of Britaine
doth homage
to the king of
England.

King Iohn
returneth in-
to England.
The queene is
crowned.

In this yeare also, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie held a counsell at Westminster against the prohibition of the lord chiefe iustice, Geoffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex. In the which counsell or synod, diuerse constitutions were made and ordeined for orders and customes to be vsed touching the seruice and administration of sacraments in the church, and other articles concerning churchmen and ecclesiasticall matters. About the same time, king Iohn and Philip king of France met together nere the towne of Vernon, where Arthur duke of Britaine (as befall to his uncle king Iohn) did his homage vnto him for the duchie of Britaine, & those other places which he held of him on this side and beyond the riuer of Noire, and afterward still mistrusting his uncles curtesie, he returned backe againe with the French king, and would not commit himselfe to his said uncle, who (as he supposed) did beare him little good will. These things being thus performed, king Iohn returned into England, and there caused his new married wife Isabell to be crowned on the sundaie before the feast of S. Denise, the eight of October.

At the same time he gaue commandement vnto Hugh Penill high iustice of his forrests, that he should award his precepts vnto all forresters within the realme, to giue warning to all the white monks, that before the quindene of S. Michaell they should remove out of his forrests all their hordes of Paraz, and other cattell, vnder the penaltie to forfeit so manie of them, as after that day chanced to be found within the same forrests. The cause that moued the king to deale so hardlie with them was, for that they refused to helpe him with monie, when before his last going ouer into Normandie, he demanded it of them towards the payment of the thirtie thousand pounds which he had couenanted to pay the French king, to lue in rest and peace, which he courted to haue done for reliefe of his people, and his owne suertie, knowing what enemies he had that laie in wait to destroye him, and againe, what discommodities had chanced to his father and brethren, by the often and continuall wars. But now to proceed with other doings.

In ambassage
sent vnto the
king of Scots.

The king of
Scots came
to the king
of England
at Lincolne.
Matth. Paris.
Ran. Higd.
R. Houed.
Polydor.

Immediatlie after the solemnization of the queens coronation ended, he sent Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger Bigot earle of Northfolke, and Henrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, nephew to William king of Scotland, and David earle of Huntingdon, brother to the said king, and Roger de Lacie constable of Chester, the lord William de Melcie, and the lord Robert de Ros, which had married two of the daughters of the said king, & Robert Fitz Roger shiriffe of Northumberland, as ambassadours from him vnto the foresaid William king of Scotland, with letters patents, containing a safe conduct for him to come into England, and to meet with king Iohn at Lincolne on the morrow after the feast of S. Edmund, who gladiie granted therevnto, and so according to that appointment, both the kings met at Lincolne the 21 day of Nouember. And on the morrow after king Iohn went to the cathedrall church,

and offered vpon the high altar a chalice of gold.

On the same day, vpon a hill without the citie, the king of Scots did homage vnto king Iohn, in the presence and sight of a great multitude of people, swearing fealtie of life, limme, and worldlie honour vnto king Iohn, which oath he made vpon the crosse of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie. There were present at that time, beside other Noblemen, three archbishops, Canturburie, Poike, and Raguse, with other bishops, to the number of thirtene, as Duresme London, Rochester, Ebie, Bath, Salisburie, Winchester, Hereford, Norwich, S. Andrewes in Scotland, Landaffe, and Bangor in Wales, and Meth in Ireland, beside a great multitude of earles, barons, and other Noblemen. When the king of Scots had thus done his homage, he required restitution of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, which he claimed as his right and lawfull heritage. Much talke was had touching this matter, but they could not agree, and therefore king Iohn asked respite to consider of it till the feast of Pentecost next ensuing, which being granted, the king of Scots the next morrow being the 23 of Nouember returned homewards, and was conducted backe againe into his countrie by the same Noble men that brought him to Lincolne.

The same day that the king of Scots toke his iourne homewards from Lincolne, the corps of Hugh bishop of that citie (latelie before, departed this life at London, after his returne from the parts of beyond the seas) was brought thither to be buried, the king and all the bishops, earles and barons went to receiue it, and honoured his burfall with their presence. On the morrow after being fridaye, he was interred within the new church which he had builded. This Hugh was a Frenchman by nation, borne at Granople, a man of a pregnant wit, and skilfull both in science of holie scripture and humane knowledge. He was first a regular canon, and after became a Carthusian monke. King Henrie the second moued with the fame of his vertue and goodlie life, sent the bishop of Bath to bring him into England, and after he was come, made him first abbat of Whithing in the diocesse of Welles, and after created him bishop of Lincolne.

He was noted to be of a verie perfect life, namely, because he would not sticke to reprove men of their faults plainelie and frankelie, not regarding the fauour or disfauour of any man, in so much that he would not feare to pronounce them accursed, which being the kings officers, would take vpon them the punishment of any person within orders of the church, for hunting and killing of the kings game within his parkes, forrests and chales, yea (and that which is more) he would denie payments of such subsidies and taxes as he was assailed to paie to the vles of king Richard and king Iohn, towards the maintenance of their wars, and did oftentimes accurse by his ecclesiasticall authoritie, such shiriffes, collectors, or other officers, as did disfreine vpon his lands and goods for to satisfie these kings of their demands, alledging openlie, that he would not paie any monie towards the maintenance of wars, which one christian prince, vpon priuate displeasure and grudge, made against another prince of the same religion. This was his reason.

And when he came before the king to make answer to his disobedience shewed herein, he would so handle the matter, partlie with gentle admonishments, partlie with sharpe reproofes, and sometime mixing merrie and pleasant speeche amongst his serious arguments, that often times he would so qualifie the kings mood, that being driuen from anger, he could not but laugh and smile at the bishops pleasant talke and

A prelat
one part in
bishop.

1 2

Matth.
Auno.

and merrie conceits, so that it might well be said of him,

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

This maner he vsed, not onelie with the king alone, but with the father and the two sonnes, that is to say, Henrie the second, Richard and John, in whose time he ruled and gouerned the see of Lincoln. He was after his deceasse, for the opinion which men conceiued of his holinesse and vertues, admitted into the number of the saints.

We haue heard how king John had conceiued no small displeasure against the monks of the white order, for that they would not part with any monie, excusing themselves that they might not do it, without content of a generall chapter of their order. Whereupon the king had caused them diuerse waies to be molested, but chafelie in restraining them of libertie to haue any hordes or other cattell going to pasture within his forrests. They therefore taking aduise together, chose forth twelue abbats amongst them of that order, the which in all their names went to Lincoln, there to make suit to the king (comming thither at this time to meet the king of Scots) that it would please him to remit his displeasure conceiued against them, and to take them againe into his protection.

This suit was so followed, although with some difficultie, that at length, to wit, the sundaie after that the king of Scots had done his homage, through the helpe and furtherance of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to the kings speech, and obtained so much, as they in reason might desire: for he pardoned them of all his passed displeasure, receiued them againe into his fauour, toke them into his protection, and commanded that all iniuries, greiuances and molestacions should be reformed, redressed and amended, which in respect of his indignation had bene offered and done to them by any manner of meanes. And to see the same accomplished, writs were directed vnto the shiriffes of the counties, bearing date from Lincoln the 27 of Nouember. And thus were those monks for that time restored to the kings fauour, to their great commoditie and comfort.

Five monies.

About the moneth of December, there were seene in the prouince of Poike five monies, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the midst of the other, hauing manie stars about it, and went five or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortly after vanished a waie. The winter after was extreamelie cold, more than the naturall course had bene aforesaid. And in the springtime came a great glutting and continuall raine, causing the riuers to rise with higher flouds than they had bene accustomed.

1201

Mar. Paris.
Anno. Reg. 3.

In the yeare 1201 king John held his Christmas at Silford, and there gaue to his seruants manie faire liueries and suits of apparell. The archbishop of Canturburie did also the like at Canturburie, seeming in deed to strue with the king, which of them should passe the other in such sumptuous appareling of their men: whereat the king (and not without good cause) was greatlie moued to indignation against him, although for a time he coloured the same, going presentlie into the north, where he gathered of the countrie there no small summs of monie, as it were by way of fining them for their transgressions committed in his forrests.

From thence he returned and came to Canturburie, where he held his easter, which fell that yeare on the day of the Annunciation of our ladie, in the which feast he sat crowned, together with his wife queene Isabell, the archbishop of Canturburie bea-

ring the charges of them and their traines while they remained there. At the feast of the Ascension next insuing, king John set out a proclamation at Wetwelsburie, that all the earles and barons of the realme, and also all other that held of him by knights seruice, should be readie in the feast of Pentecost next insuing, with hordes and armour at Portsmouth, to passe ouer with him into Normandie, who made their appearance accordingly. Howbeit, a great number of them in the end gat licence to tarrie at home, paying for euery knights fee two markes of siluer for a fine, which then was a great matter.

But he sent before him into Normandie William Marshall earle of Striguille with an hundred knights or men of armes, which he had hired, and Roger de Lacie with an other hundred men of armes to defend the confines of Normandie against the enimies: and to his chamberleine Hubert de Burgh he deliuered the like number of knights or men of armes also, to keepe the marches betwixt England and Wales as warden of the same. This done, he pardoned his brother the archbishop of Poike, and restored him to all his dignities, possessions and liberties, confirming the same vnto him in as full and large manner, as euer Roger late archbishop of that see had enioied the same: for the which confirmation his said brother undertooke to paie to the king within the terme of one yeare the summe of a thousand pounds sterling: and for the assurance thereof, engaged his baronie to the king in pledge.

Moreover, about the same time, the king sent Geoffrey bishop of Chester, and Richard Paleisille, with Henrie de Poisse, vnto William king of Scotland, requiring him that the time appointed for him to make answer touching his demand of Poithumberland, might be proroged vntill the feast of saint Michaell the archangell next insuing, which was obtained, and then the king and queene (being come to Portsmouth on the mondaie in Whitsunweeke) toke the sea to passe ouer into Normandie, but not both in one ship, so that the queene with a prosperous gale of wind arriued there at hir owne desire. But the king was driuen by reason of a pirrie, to take land in the Ile of Wight, and so was staied there for a time: howbeit, within a few daies after, he toke ship againe at Portsmouth, and so passed ouer into Normandie, where shortly after his arriual in those parties he came to an enteruiew with the king of France, nere to Lille Donelle, where comming a long time together alone, they agreed so well, that within three daies after, king John at the French kings request went into France, and was receiued of him with much honour, first at S. Denise with procession of the cleargie: and there lodging one night, vpon the morrow the French king accompanied him vnto Paris, where he was receiued of the citizens with great reuerence. The prouost presenting vnto him in the name of the whole citie manie rich gifts for his welcome. Is. Philip feasted him also in his owne palace, & for his part gaue to him, to his lords, and to his seruants manie great and princelie gifts. Moreover, the league at this time was renewed betwixt them, and put in writing, with this caution, that thether of them first brake the couenants; such lords on his part as were become suerties for performance, should be released of their allegiance which they owght to him that so should breake, & that they might thereupon frelie become subiects to the other prince.

These things done, at length when as king John had remained at Paris with great mirth and solace certaine daies, the French king brought him forth of the citie, and toke leaue of him in verie louing wise.

¶

After

Reg. Houed.

The archbishop
of Poike restored.

Ambassadors
sent to Scotland.

The king
passeth ouer
into Normandie.

He cometh
to talke with
the king of
France.

King John
entrencheth
Paris.

The league
renewed.
Marth. Paris.
R. Houed.

Walter Lacie
meant to haue
taken the lord
Curcie.

Polydor.
Did against
the Turkes
and Infidels.

Matth. Paris.

Unseasonable
Weather.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris.
1202

The French
K. beginneth
to make war
against king
Iohn.

Polydor.
Hugh earle of
March.

After this king Iohn went to Chinon, & from thence into Normandie; about which time there chanced some troubles in Ireland, for where Walter Lacie vnder pretence of a communication that was appointed betwixt him and Iohn de Curcie, lord of Ulster, meant to haue taken the said Curcie, and for the accomplishment of his purpose set vpon him, a number of his men, and for his safeguard constrained Curcie in the end to take a castell which belonged vnto Hugh Lacie, vpon faire promises made to him by the same Hugh, to be preferred out of all danger, it came to passe, that when he was once got in, he might no more be suffered to depart. For the Lacies thought to haue deliuered him to king Iohn, but the seruants and friends of the said Curcie made such cruell war, in wasting and destroying the lands and possessions that belonged vnto the said Walter and Hugh Lacies, that finally they were constrained to set him againe at libertie whether they would or no.

At the same time also, the kings of France and England gaue large monie towards the maintenance of the armie, which at this present went forth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the christian faith, at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fourth part of all the reuenues belonging to ecclesiasticall persons, towards the aid of the christians then being in the holie land, and all such as well of the nobilitie as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretlie laid it downe, were compelled euenly to receiue it now againe.

There chanced this yeare wonderfull tempests of thunder, lightning, haile, and abundance of raine, in such wise, that mens minds were greatly affonied therewith: meadows and marsh grounds were quite ouerflowne, bridges broken and bozne downe, and great quantitie of corne and haie lost and carried away, and diuerse men and women drowned. Margaret mother of Constance, duchesse of Britaine, sister to William king of Scots, and mother to Henrie Boun earle of Hereford, deceased. This yeare also by the counsell and aduice of the burgessees of London, there were chosen 35 of the most substantiall and wisest men, which after the report of some writers, were called the counsell of the citie of London, out of which number the Mayor and Bailiffes were yearly chosen.

In the yeare 1202 king Iohn held his Christmasse at Argenton in Normandie, and in the Lent following he and the French king met together, nere vnto the castell of Gulleton, and there in talke had betwene them, he commanded king Iohn with no small arrogancie, and contrarie to his former promise, to restore vnto his nephew Arthur duke of Britaine, all those lands now in his possession on that side the sea, which king Iohn earnestlie denied to do, wherevpon the French king immediatlie after, began war against him, and toke Buteuant, Angi, and the castell of Linos. Moreover, he besieged the castell of Radeport for the space of eight daies, till king Iohn came thither, and forced him to depart with much dishonour. Whosoeuer after this, the French king Iohn Courney, and then returning to Paris, he appointed certaine persons to haue the gouernement of the foresaid Arthur duke of Britaine, and then sent him forth with 200 men of armes into Poitou, that he might bring the countrie also vnder his subiection.

Wherevpon Hugh le Boun earle of March (vnto whome queene Isabell the wife of king Iohn had bene promised in marriage, before that king Iohn was motioned vnto hir, and therefore bare an inward displeasure towards the king of England, for

that he had so beneft him of his promised spouse) being now desirous to procure some trouble also vnto king Iohn, ioined himselfe with Arthur duke of Britaine, and found meanes to cause them of Poitou (a people euer subiect to rebellion) to reuolt from king Iohn, and to take armour against him, so that the young Arthur being encouraged with this new supplie of associates, first went into Touraine, and after into Aniou, compelling both those countreies to submit themselves vnto him, and proclaimed himselfe earle of those places, by commission and grant obtained from king Philip.

Meane while that was regent in those parties being put in great feare with the newes of this sudden stricke, got hir into Pirabeau a strong towne, situate in the countrie of Aniou, and forthwith dispatched a messenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of speedie succour in this hir present danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, shortly after followed hir, and wone Pirabeau, where he toke his grandmother within the same, whom he yet intreated verie honourable, and with great reuerence (as some haue reported). But other write far more trulie, that she was not taken, but escaped into a tower, within the which she was straitlie besieged. Whither came also to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poitou, and namelie the foresaid earle of March according to appointment betwixt them: so that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie together in the field.

King Iohn in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderstanding thereby in what danger she stood, was maruellouslie troubled with the strangenesse of the newes, and with manie bitter words accused the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker: and in all possible hast speeded him forth, continuing his iourne for the most part both day and night to come to the succour of his people. To be brieue, he used such diligence, that he was vpon his enemies necks yet they could vnderstand any thing of his coming, or gesse what the matter meant, when they saw such a companie of souldiers as he brought with him to approach so nere the citie. For so negligent were they, that hauing once wone the towne, they ranged abroad ouer the countrie hither and thither at their libertie without any care. So that now being put in a sudden feare, as prevented by the hastie coming of the enemies vpon them, and wanting leisure to take aduice what was best to be done, and hauing not time in manner to get any armour on their backs, they were in a marvellous trouble, not knowing whether it were best for them to fight or to flee, to yeld or to resist.

This their feare being apparent to the Englishmen (by their disorder shewed in running by and downe from place to place with great noise and tumult) they set vpon them with great violence, and compassing them round about, they either toke or slew them in a manner at their pleasure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they pursued the chase towards the towne of Pirabeau, into which the enemies made verie great hast to enter: but such speed was used by the English souldiers at that present, that they entred and wone the said towne before their enemies could come nere to get into it. Great slaughter was made within Pirabeau it selfe, and Arthur with the residue of the armie that escaped with life from the first breking was taken, who being herevpon committed to prison, first at Falais, and after within the citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you shall heare. The other of the prisoners were also committed vnto safe keeping, some into castels within Normandie, and some were sent into England.

King

The Poit
uirs reuolt
from king
Iohn.

Arthur pro
claimeth him
selfe earle of
Aniou, &c.

Queene Ca
lianoz.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. Wel.

De Cast
Erab.

352 kmig
or men o
armes be
demanded

Anno Reg

Polydor.

Ar. John com
meth vpon his
enemies ne
wly taken.

Matth. Paris.
King Iohn
restores
crowned.

Rafe Cog.

Arthur duke
of Britaine
taken prisoner.

Matth. Paris.

King Iohn hauing gotten this victorie,
and taken his nephue Arthur, he wrote the ma-
ner of that his successe vnto his ba-
rons in England, in manner
as followeth.

Iohn by the grace of God king of
England, and lord of Ireland, to all
his barons sendeth greting. Know
ye that we by Gods good fauour
are in sound and perfect health, and through
Gods grace that maruellouslie worketh with
vs, on tuesday before Lammas daie, we being
before the cite of Mauns, were aduertised that
our mother was besieged in Mirabeau, and
therefore we hastid so fast as we possibly might,
so that we came thither on Lammas daie, and
there we tooke our nephue Arthur, Hugh le
Brun, Andrew de Chauenie, the vicount of
Chateau Erald, Raimond de Tonars, Sauerie
de Mauleon, and Hugh Bangi, and all other e-
nimies of Poitou that were there assembled
against vs, to the number of two hundred
knights and aboue, so that not one of them e-
scaped. Giue God therefore thanks, and reioise
at our good successe.

De Castro
Erald.

252 knights
or men of
armes besides
demallances.

Anno Reg. 4.

The French king at the same time lieng in siege
before Arques, immediatlie vpon the newes of this
ouerthrow, raised from thence, and returned home-
wards, destroyeng all that came in his waie, till he
was entred into his owne countrie. It is said that
king Iohn caused his nephue Arthur to be brought
before him at Falais, and there went about to per-
suade him all that he could to forsake his friendship
and alliance with the French king, and to leane and
sticke to him being his naturall uncle. But Arthur
like one that wanted good counsell, and abounding
too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a pre-
sumptuous answer, not onelie denieng so to do, but
also commanding king Iohn to reskore vnto him the
realme of England, with all those other lands and
possessions which king Richard had in his hand at the
houre of his death. For with the same appertained to
him by right of inheritance, he assured him, except re-
stitution were made the sooner, he should not long
continue quiet. King Iohn being soe moued with
such words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as
before is said) that he should be straitlie kept in pri-
son, as first in Falais, and after at Roan within the
new castell there. Thus by means of this good suc-
cesse, the countries of Poitou, Touraine, and Aniou
were recovered.

Manh. Paris
King Iohn
effronces
crowned.

Rafe Cog.

Shortlie after king Iohn comming ouer into
England, caused himselfe to be crowned againe at
Canturburie by the hands of Hubert the archbishop
there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill, and then went
backe againe into Normandie, where immediatlie
vpon his arriual, a rumour was spred through all
France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. True it
is that great suit was made to haue Arthur set at li-
bertie, as well by the French king, as by Williant
de Riches a valiant baron of Poitou, and diuerse
other noble men of the Britains, who when they
could not preuaile in their suit, they banded them-
selues together, and joining in confederacie with
Robert earle of Alanson, the vicount Beaumont,
William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leide
harpe wars against king Iohn in diuerse places,
insomuch (as it was thought) that so long as Arthur
liued, there would be no quiet in those parts: where,

upon it was reported, that king Iohn through per-
suasion of his counsellors, appointed certeine per-
sons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in
prison, under the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and
there to put out the yong gentlemen eyes.

But through such resistance as he made against
one of the tormentors that came to execute the
kings commandement (for the other rather forsooke
their prince and countrie, than they would consent
to obeie the kings authoritie herein) and such la-
mentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh
did preferue him from that insatiate, not doubting but
rather to haue thanks than displeasure at the kings
hands, for deliuering him of such infamie as would
haue redounded vnto his highnesse, if the yong gen-
tleman had bene so cruellie dealt withall. For he
considered, that king Iohn had resolued vpon this
point onelie in his heat and furie (which moueth men
to undertake manie an inconuenient enterpryse, be-
seeming the person of a common man, much more
reprochfull to a prince, all men in that mood being
mere folish and furious, and prone to accomplish
the peruerse conceits of their ill possessed heart; as
one saith right well,

*promus in iram
Stultorum est animus facile exardescit, et audet
Omne scelus, quod ita concepta bile tumescit*

and that afterwards, vpon better aduilement, he
would both repent himselfe so to haue commanded,
and giue them small thanks that should see it put in
execution. Howbeit to satiffie his mind for the time,
and to staie the rage of the Britains, he caused it to
be huted abroad through the countrie, that the kings
commandement was fulfilled, and that Arthur also
through sorrow and griefe was departed out of this
life. For the space of sixtene daies this rumour in-
cessantlie ran through both the realmes of England
and France, and there was ringing for him through
townes and villages, as it had bene for his funerals.
It was also huted, that his bodie was buried in
the monastrie of saint Andzeles of the Cisteaux
order.

But when the Britains were nothing pacified,
but rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all
the mischief they could deuise, in reuenge of the
souereignes death, there was no remedie but to sig-
nifie abroad againe, that Arthur was as yet liuing
and in health. Now when the king heard the truth of
all this matter, he was nothing displeased for that
his commandement was not executed, with there
were diuerse of his capteins which vttered in plaine
words, that he should not find knights to keepe his
castels, if he dealt so cruellie with his nephue. For if
it chanced any of them to be taken by the king of
France or other their aduersaries, they should be
sure to tast of the like cup. ¶ But now touching the
maner in whiche died of the end of this Arthur, writ-
ters make sundrie reports. Fewerthelesse certeine it
is, that in the yeare next ensuing, he was remoued
from Falais vnto the castell or tower of Rouen, out
of the which there was not any that would confesse
that euer he saw him go alieue. Some haue written,
that as he assaied to haue escaped out of prison, and
prouing to cline ouer the wals of the castell, he fell
into the riuer of Saine, and so was drowned. Other
write, that through verie griefe and languor he pined
a waie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some as-
serme, that king Iohn secretlie caused him to be mur-
thered and made a waie, so as it is not thoroughlie
agreed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies:
but verelie king Iohn was had in great suspicion,
whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth. ¶ Yet how
extremelie soeuer he dealt with his nephue, he relea-
sed and set at libertie diuerse of those lords that were

Þ. liij. taken

taken prisoners with him, namely Hugh le Brun, and Samerie de Spaulen, the one to his great trouble and hinderance, and the other to his gaine: for Hugh le Brun afterwards leuied and occasioned soe warres against him, but Samerie de Spaulen continued euer after his totall subiect, doing to him verie agreeable seruaice, as hereafter may appeare.

Some forme to the vicount of Conars.

Constance the mother of Duke Arthur accuseth king John.

Matt. Paris. The ordinance for the assise of bread.

The Lord Gize, forme to the vicount of Conars, who had taken Arthurs mother Constance to wife, after the duke le made betwixt hir and the earle of Chester, in right of hir obtained the dukedome of Britaine. But king Philip after he was aduertised of Arthurs death, took the matter verie gresuouse, and upon occasion thereof, cited king John to appeare before him at a certaine day, to answer such objections as Constance the duchesse of Britaine mother to the said Arthur should lay to his charge, touching the murder of hir sonne. And because king John appeared not, he was therefore condemned in the action, and adindged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, aswell Poymandie as all his other lands and dominions.

About the same time the king caused a proclamation to be published for the lawfull assise of bread to be made by the bakers, upon paine to be punished by the pillorie: which assise was approued and assailed by the baker of Cestre Fitz Peter, lord chiefe iustice of England, and by the baker of Robert de Lincunham. So that the baker might sell and gaine in euerie quarter thre pence, besides the byan, and two loaves for the heater of the oven, and for foure seruants foure halfe pence, for two hotes a farthing, for allotwance in salt an halfe pence, yest an halfe pence, for candell a farthing, for setwell thre pence, and for a bulter an halfe pence. And this was the rate.

When wheat was sold for six shillings the quarter, then shall euerie loafe of fine manchet wey 41 shillings, and euerie loafe of cheate shall wey 24 shillings. When wheat is sold for five shillings and six pence, then manchet shall wey 20 shillings, and cheate 28 shillings. When wheat is sold for five shillings, then manchet shall wey 24 shillings, and the cheate bread 32 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings six pence, manchet shall wey 32 shillings, and cheate 42 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings, manchet shall wey 36 shillings, and cheate 46 shillings. When wheat is sold for thre shillings six pence, then shall manchet wey 42 shillings, and cheate 54 shillings. When wheat is sold for thre shillings, manchet shall wey 48 shillings, and cheate 44 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings and six pence, manchet shall wey 54 shillings, and cheate 72 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings, manchet shall wey sixtie shillings, and cheate foure pound. When wheat is sold for 18 pence the quarter, manchet shall wey 77 shillings, and cheate foure pound and eight shillings. This ordinance was proclaimed throughout the realme, as most necessarie and profitable for the common-wealth.

Great tempests.

This yeare manie wonderfull things happened, for besides the soe winter, which passed any other that had bene heard of in manie yeares before, both for continuance in length and extreame colde of frosts, there followed grieuouse tempests, with thunder, lightning, and stormes of raine, and haile of the bignesse of hens eggs, therewith much fruit & great store of come was perished, beside other great hurts done upon houses and young cattell. Also spirits (as it was thought) in likenesse of birds and foules were scene in the aire sieng with fire in their beaks, therewith they set diuerse houses on fire: which did import great troubles per long to insue, and followed in deed, as shall appeare hereafter.

With this entrance of the yeare of our lord 1203,

king John held his Christmasse at Caen, where not having (as some writers say) sufficient regard to the necessarie affaires of his wars, he gave his mind to banquetting, and passed the time in pleasure with the quene his wife, to the great græfe of his lords, so that they perceiuing his rechelesse demeanour (as some write, the doubtfull minds of the nobilitie which serued on that side, and were readie daily to reuolt from his obedience) withdrew their faithful hearts from him, and therefore getting licence, returned home into England.

In this meane time the French king, to bring his purpose to full effect, entred into Poymandie, took the countries, and toan the towncs of Colonges, le Val de Ruel, and Ville Wandole. Le Val de Ruel was giuen ouer without any great enforcement of assault, by two noble men that had charge thereof, the one named Robert Fitz Walter, and the other Saer de Muncie. Holbeist Lille Wandole was valiantlie for a certaine time defended by Roger de Lacie the constable of Chester. But at length they with in were so constrained by famine and long siege, that the said Lacie and others perceiuing it to be more honourable for them to die by the sword, than to starue through want of food, brake out upon their enemies, and slue a great sort of the Frenchmen, but yet in the end they were taken prisoners, and so these fortresses came into the French kings hands.

The pope hearing of these variances betwixt the two kings, sent the abbat of Cassin into France, accompanied with the abbat of Croissons, to moue them to a peace. These two abbats took such paines in the matter, that the kings were almost brought to agreement. But the French king perceiuing himselfe to be aforeshand in his businesse, sticke at one article, which was to reparaire all such abbeies as he had destroyed within the dominions of king John: and king John to do the like by all those that he had wasted within the French kings countries. The popes Nuncij would haue errecommended king Philip, because he would not thus agree. But king Philip appealing from them, pursued the warre, and besieged the towne of Radpont. The soldiers within the towne defended the first assault verie manfully, and caused the Frenchmen to retire backe: but king Philip meaning to haue the towne yer he departed, did so inclose it about, that within ten daies he toan it, and took there thientie men of armes, an hundred demilances, and thientie archbushers.

After this, when he had fortified this place, he went to castell Galiard, which he besieged; and though by the high valiance of Hugh de Courney the capitaine there, the Frenchmen were manfully beaten backe, and kept out for a moneth and more, yet at length by streit siege and neare approaches hardlie made, the fortresse was deliuered into the French kings hands. And in the end the said Hugh Courney reuolted from his obedience, deliuering also the castell of Mountfort unto the French king, which castell with the honor thereto appertaining king John had giuen to the same Hugh, not verie long before. All this while king John did lie at Rouen: but so much as he could not well remedie the matter as then, because he wanted such helpe as he daily looked for out of England, and durst not trust any of that side, he passed it ouer with a stout countenance for a while, and would saie oftentimes to such as stood about him; What else doth my cosen the French king now, than heale those things from me, which heretofore I shall inuoluntarily my selfe to cause him to redress with interest? But when he saw that his enemies would still proceed, and that no aid came out of England, he came ouer himselfe, and landed at Portemouth.

1203
March. Paris.

Anno Reg.
1203
March. Paris.
Polydor.
The French king invaded Poymandie.

Roger de Lacie constable of Chester taken.

The pope sendeth his Nuncij into France.

Gaguinac.

Polydor.

Radpont toane.

Castell Galiard.

March. Paris.

Hugh de Courney reuolteth from king John.
Polydor.

March. Paris.
Parlement at Orentford.
1204
A subsidy granted.

Anno Reg. 6.

Rafe Cog.
Ambassadors sent into France.

1204

mouth on S. Nicholas day.

King Philip doubting by losing the victorie with too much loss, that he should bring the Normans into a desperate boldness, and to cause them for safeguard of their lives to hazard all upon resistance, he staid for a time, and withdrew his soldiers back againe into France, having not onelie furnished those places in the meane time which he had won, with strong garrisons of his soldiers, but also appointed certeine persons to trauele with the people, yet remaining in the English subiection, to exhort, and turne from King John, to his obedience and subiection.

King John being returned into England, accused diuerse of his Nobles for shewing themselves negligent and slouthfull in aiding him, according to his commandement, alledging furthermore, that being destitute of their due and requisite seruice, he was constrained to lose his time in Normandie, as not being able for want of their aid to resist his enemies. Wherefore for this and other matters laid to their charges, he did put them to greivous fines. By means thereof, and by leuileing a subsidie of his people, he got together an huge summe of monie. This subsidie was granted him in a parlement holden at Orenford, and begun there vpon the second of Januarie 1204, wherein of euerie knights fee was granted the summe of two markes and an halfe. Neither were the bishops, abbats, nor any other ecclesiasticall persons exempted, by means whereof he ran first into the hatred of the clergie, and consequently of manie other of his subjects: so that they failed him at his need, whereby he often sustained no small damage, which he might haue prevented and withstood, if he had bene so qualified with discretion as to haue seene what was conuenient and what inconuenient for his roiall estate. But

voluntas

Improbis perniciem ingentem mortalibus affert.

as it did to him, which may be gathered by a due obseruation of the consequence. ¶ This yeare the aire toward the north and east parts seemed to be on a bright fire for the space of six houres together. It began about the first watch of the night, on the first of April.

King John about the beginning of this first yeare of his reigne, sent in ambassage to the French king the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of Norwich and Elic, the earles Marshall and Leicester, to treat with him of peace: but he was so far off from comming nere to any reasonable motions, because he saw the world frame as he wished, that still by demanding somewhat that might not be granted, he kept off, and brought in such hard conditions, that it was not possible to conclude any agreement. And this he did of purpose, hoping within short time to conquer all that the king of England possessed as yet on that side the seas. He was the more vntoward to compound, for that he was informed how Arthur the duke of Britaine was dispatched of his life, and therefore not doubting but to haue manie to take part with him in seeking reuenge of his death, he made that his chiefe quarell, swearing that he would not cease to pursue the warre against King John, till he had depriued him of his whole kingdome. So the ambassadors departed without all hope to come to any agreement. ¶ This yeare Easter day fell so high as it possible might, that is to saie, on saint Sparks day.

King Philip vnderstanding that King John remained still in England, rather occupied in gathering of monie amongst his subjects, than in making other provision to bring them into the field (to the great offense of his said people) thought now for his part to lose no time: but assembling a mightie ar-

mie, he came with the same into Normandie, and vpon his first comming, he won the towne of Falaise, and shortly after was Dampfront deliuered vnto him by surrender. This done, he marched further into the countie, and with his sudden inuasion so oppressed the people euerie where, that they could haue no time to make shift by flight to get into the townes. With this swiftnesse of speed, he brought also such a feare into the hearts of most men, that he won all the countie of Normandie euen to Mount S. Michaele. The inhabitants in euerie place submitted themselves, as those of Baienulr, Constances, Lisieulr, and other townes thersabouts.

Finallie, he came before Rouen, the principall citie of all the countie, and incamped so in sundrie places about the citie, that all the issues, entrees and waies were closed up by his armie, being so diuided into seuerall camps, that the distance was not great from one to another, making a terrible shew to them within. At length after he had prouided all things necessarie for his purpose, and taken good aduise of his capitaine how he should best imploye his force for the winning of this citie (in which exploit he knew the full perfection of all his passed conquests chiefele to consist) he did manfullie assault it, and they within as manfullie defended themselves, so that he got little by the assaults and approaches which he made. Wherevpon he fell in hand to practise with the citizens to win them with meed, curtesie, gentle speech, and great promises. So that in fine, they within were so moued with such reasons as he vied to persuaade them with, all, that they made request for a truce to be had for certeine daies, within the terme whereof if no succour came, they couenanted to yeld without any further trouble.

This truce being obtained, ambassadours were sent from them of Rouen into England, to signifie vnto King John the whole state of the citie, and of the truce, so that if aid came not within the time appointed, the citie must needs be deliuered into the enemies hands. The king hauing no armie in readinesse to send ouer, nor other shift to make for the succour of the citie, permitted the ambassadours to depart without comfort of any aid, who herevpon returning to Rouen, and reporting what they had heard, seene, and found, brought the citie into great sorrow. For whereas that citie had euer bene accustomed to glorie for the great loialtie and faithfull fidelitie which the same had euer shewed towards their liege lords and naturall princes; now the citizens perceived manifestlie, that vntlesse they would cast awaie themselves, and lose all they had, they must of force yeld into the hands of their enemies. Wherefore to make their true allegiance more apparant to the world, they staid the surrender as long as they had any store of vittels within the citie to relene their fainting bodies withall: and so in the end being vanquished with hunger, they submitted themselves to the French king. Their submission being once knowne, caused all those other townes which had not yelded, to deliuer by their keyes vnto the Frenchmen, as Arques, Verneuil, and others.

Moreouer the townes in Boitou, Touraine, and Anjou, which King John had recovered latelie before, did now againe (being in no small feare) yeld themselves vnto King Philip: so that of all the townes within those countries, there remained none vnder the English obedience, save onelie Rochell, Tours, Blois, and a few other. Thus Normandie which Kingollo had purchased and gotten 316 yeares before that present time, was then recovered by the French men, to the great reproch and dishonour of the English, in this yeare 1204. About this time queene Elianor the mother of King John departed this life, con-

Towns won by the French king.

Rouen besieged by the French king.

The great fidelitie of the citizens of Rouen.

Rouen through famine is surrendered to the French king.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.
A parlement at Orenford.
1204
A subsidie granted.

Anno Reg. 6.

Rafe Cog.
Ambassadors sent into France.

1204

25. I have
Cognate
which this
should seeme
to have been
set in the
haire of St.
Henric the
second.
A shille to
a man.

sumed rather through sorrow and anguish of mind,
than of any other naturall infirmite.

In this first yeare of king Iohns reigne, at Wy-
ford in Suffolke, as Fabian saith (although I thinke
he be deceived in the time) a fish was taken by fish-
ers in their nets as they were at sea, resembling in
shape a wild or savage man, whom they presented
unto Sir Bartholomew de Glanville knight, that
had then the keeping of the castell of Wyford in Sus-
sex. He was naked, and in all his limbs and mem-
bers resembling the right proportion of a man; he
had haire also in the usuall parts of his bodie, albeit
that the cratone of his head was bald, his beard was
long and ragged, and his breast haire. The knight
caused him to be kept certeine daies & nights from
the sea, meat set afore him he greedilie devoured,
& did eat fish both rawe and sod. Those that were rawe
he pressed in his hand till he had thrust out all the
moisture, and so then did eat them. He would not or
could not utter any speech, although to trie him they
hung him up by the heeles, and miserable tormented
him. He would get him to his couch at the setting of
the sunne, and rise againe at the rising of the same.

One day they brought him to the haven, and suf-
fered him to go unto the sea, but to be sure he should
not escape from them, they set three ranks of nightie
strong nets before him, so to catch him againe at
their pleasure (as they imagined) but he straight-
waies diving downe to the bottome of the water,
got past all the nets, and coming up, shewed him-
selfe to them againe that stood waiting for him, and
dancing diuerse times under water and coming
up againe he beheld them on the shore that stood still
looking at him, who seemed as it were to mocke
them, for that he had deceived them, & got past their
nets. At length after he had thus sported himselfe a
great while in the water, and that there was no more
hope of his returne, he came to them againe of his
owne accord, swimming through the water, and re-
mained with them two moneths after. But finally,
when he was negligentlie looked to, and now seemed
not to be regarded, he fled secretly to the sea, and
was neuer after seen nor heard of.

Thus much out of Rafe Coghshall, who affirmeth
that this chanced in the daies of Henric the second,
about the 23 of his reigne, as Iohn Stow in his sum-
marie hath also noted. Which report of theirs in re-
spect of the strangenesse thereof might seeme incredi-
ble, speciallie to such as be hard of beleefe, and refuse
to giue faith and credit to any thing but what their
owne eyes have seald to their consciences, so that
the reading of such wonders as these, is no more be-
neficall to them, than to carrie a candle before a
blind man, or to sing a song to him that is sharke
deafe. Nevertheless, of all vncomely and rare sights,
speciallie of monstrous apparances we ought to
be so farre from hauing little regard; that we should
rather in them and by them obserue the euent and
falling out of some future thing, no lesse miraculous
in the issue, than they be wonderfull at the sudden
sight. This was well noted of a philosopher, who to
the purpose (among other matters by him touched)
hath spoken no lesse pittifull than credible, saying;

*Nec fieri aut errare aut casu monstra putandum,
Cum certas habeant causas, et tristia monstrant,
Vnde illis nomen, quare & portenta vocantur.*

The war was mightilie maintained all this while
betwixt them of Poitou and Aquitaine, and marie
sharpe encounters chanced betwixt the parties, of
which the one following the king of Englands lieuten-
nant Robert de Turnham, valiantlie resisted the
other that held with the French king under the con-
duct of William de Roches, & Hugh le Brun earle
of March, chief leaders of that faction. But Robert

Turnham, together with Samerle de Poitou, and
Gerard de Sile, bare themselves so valiantlie, that
in all battles for the most part the battails remained
on their sides. The Englishes also were part with
king Iohn, and continued in full obedience to
him, for the which their lordie he was ready
to consider them with princelike gifts and beneficall
rewards, in such boundless love, that he gave unto a
noble man of that countie named Spence, the
summe of 28 thousand marks, to leue & wage
thousand men to aid him of his continuing dur-
ing those parties. The archbishop of Bordeaux, that
was brother unto the foresaid Spence, became suc-
cessor in the performance of the covenants, and remained
in England a long time, because the same covenants
were not in all points accomplished.

The bishop of London was sent ambassadour
from king Iohn unto the emperor upon certeine
earnest business. The duke of Louaine, and the earle
of Bologne were made friends by the French
kings will, and promised to invade England with
an armie, and to make warre against king Iohn for
the withholding of such lands and revenues as they
claimed to be due unto them, in right of their wives.
King Philip also undertooke to follow them within a
moneth after they should be entered into England,
& thus did the French king seeke to make him strong
with friends, which badlie fell from king Iohn on an
edward. Geoffrey bishop of Winchester, that was son
to the lord Richard de Lacie departed this life. This
yeare the king was on Whitsmase day at Canche-
burie, where he staid not past one day.

The 14 day of Iannarie it began to freeze, and so
continued till the 22 of March, with such extremitie,
that the husbandmen could not make their seed, by
reason wherof in the summer following, came began
to grow to an excessive price, so that wheat was sold
by the quarter at 12 shillings of monie then cur-
rant. This yeare about the feast of Pentecost, the
king (by the advice of his counsell assembled at
Winchester) prepared a manie of ships, manerred
souldiers, and shewed great tokens that he would
rescue the war, and seeke to be reuenged of his ene-
mie the French king. The Nobles of the realme
inducement themselves also to match the diligence
of the king in this preparation, upon an earnest de-
sire to reuenge the iniuries lately done to the com-
mon-wealth.

Now when all things were ready, and the ships
fraught with vittels, armour, and all other pro-
visions necessarie, the king came to Winchester, there to
take the sea, purposing secretly to passe over into
France, in hope of such fauour promises as his friends
of Normandie and Poitou had made, in sending of
tentines to him, to procure him with speed to come
to their succours. But as the king was ready to en-
ter on shipboard, Hubert archbishop of Cantuarie,
and William Marshall earle of Pembroke came
to him, and with manie great reasons went about to
persuade him to fraie his iourne. Who although he
was verie loath to follow their counsell, yet they put
forth so manie doubts and dangers that might fol-
low of his departing the realme at that present, to
the hazarding of the whole state, that in the end (for
to his greefe he was overcome by their importunate
persuasions, and so dismissing the most part of his
armie, appointed his brother the earle of Salisbury
with a certeine number of knights & men of armes
to passe over into Rochell, whither the lord Cressay
the kings base sonne was gone before him, with ma-
nie other knights and men of armes.

The lords and other that were dismissed, took
the berie cruel, considering the great preparation that
had bene made for that iourne. But speciallie the
mariners

The b
pentin
goeth
to the l

He got
the sea
of Jul
come a
haue.

In extreme
frost.

Anno Regi
Polydor.
March. Paris
King Iohn
preparing
armie to go
into France.

The dei
the arch
Cantuarie
Mar. Pa
Polydor.

Rafe Cog.
The arch-
shop of Can-
tuarie, and
the earle of
Pembroke
persuade the
king to stay
at home.

In arch-
chole.

Iohn Stow.

M. P. in
June.

mariners were sore offended, cursing the archbishop and the said earle of Penbroke, that were knowne to be authors of so naughtie counsell as they took this to be. It was thought there was neuer so manie ships gotten togither at one time before, as were at that present, to haue attended the king: for (as writers haue recordez) there were the number of fourtene thousand mariners that had brought their ships thither for that purpose. But as the breaking tip of this voyage graued others, so it pinched the king to nere the heart, that he being come backe from the sea side to Winchester, repented so much that he had not gone forward with his iourne, that the next daie he returned againe to the coast, and at Portesmouth, entring the sea with his ships, on the fiftenth of Julie he sailed to the Ile of Wight, and waisted by and doونه for the space of two daies togither, till by aduise of his friends he was perswaded not to aduenture to passe ouer, sith his armie was dismissed and gone home, and so he returned backe to the shore againe, arriuing at Scotland, nere vnto Marham, the third daie after his setting forth: yet such as were behind, and halsted after him, thought verelie he had bene gone ouer, and such a hute was spred ouer all, till at length in time the truth was knowne.

The king repen-
ting him
goeth backe
to the sea side.

He goeth to
the sea the 15
of Julie, as
some autho-
rs haue.

At his comming backe (as some write) he charged certeine of the popillie with treason, bicause they did not follow him: whereupon shortly after he punished them verie grauenously, and peradventure not without some ground of iust cause. For likelie it is, that some greater matter forced him to breake vp his iourne, than appeareth in our writers, although Rafe Cogheshall setteth downe some reasons alledged by the archbishop Hubert, and earle Barthall, to perswade him not to depart the realme. But peradventure other causes there were also of farre more importance that constrained him so greatlie against his mind & full resolution, both at the first, and now at this second time to returne. ¶ Verelie to utter my coniecture, it may be that vpon his last determination to go ouer, he gaue new commandement to his lords to follow him, and they peradventure used not such diligence in accomplishing his pleasure therein, as he looked they should haue done: or it may be, when the armie was once discharged, the soldiers made such hast homewards, eche man towards his countrie, that it was no easie matter to bring them backe againe in any conuenient time. But howsoeuer it was, as it had bene vpon a change of purpose, he came backe againe (as before yee haue heard.)

The death of
the archb. of
Canturburie,
Matt. Paris.
Polydor.

The thirteenth of Julie Hubert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life at Tenham, the king not being gratlie sope for his death (as some haue writen) bicause he gathered some suspicion that he bare too much good will towards the French king. In verelie deed (as some write) the archbishop repented himselfe of nothing so much, as for that he had commended king John to the Noblemen and Barres of the realme, sith he proued an other manner of man than he looked to haue found him. This archbishop had gouerned the see of Canturburie eleuen yeares, eight moneths, and six daies.

An archbishop
chosen.

After his decesse, the monks of Canturburie without knowledge of the king, chose one Reigbold the subprior of their house to be their archbishop, who secretlie went to Rome to obtaine his confirmation of the pope. Which thing bred much mischafe and great discord betwixt pope Innocent & king John, since the pope would not confirme the election, bicause he saw some piece of secret practise, till he might vnderstand and be certified by report of sufficient witness (for that he wanted the letters com-

mendatorie from the king) that the same election was lawfull and orderlie made. Of this delaie also the monks being speedilie aduertised, and to the end they might now recouer the kings fauour, whome they had verie sore offended in not making him priue to the first election, they made request vnto him, that by his nomination it might be lawfull for them to chose an other archbishop.

The king gladlie herevnto assented, requiring them to grant their voices vnto John Gray the bishop of Norwich, being both his chapleine and president of his counsell. The monks to gratifie the king obeyed his request, and so electing the same bishop of Norwich, they sent their procurators to Rome in the yeare following, to signifie the same vnto the pope, and to require him to confirme this their second election, as vnmindfull of their first, and clearelie aduiliating the same to all intents and purposes. Amongst other that were sent to Rome about this business, Helias de Bantfield was one, a monk of great estimation, and had in god credit with the king, who ministred vnto them that were thus sent, sufficient allowance wherewith to beare their charges and expences.

March. West.
John Gray
bishop of Nor-
wich president
of the counsell,
March. Paris.

Helias de
Bantfield.

Also at the same time the bishops that were suffragans to the see of Canturburie, sent their procurators to Rome, about a quarrell which they had against the monks there, for that the same monks presumed to proceed to the election of an archbishop without their consent, hauing (as they alledged) a right by ancient decrees and customes to be associated with them in the said elections. But how this matter was answered, yee shall see hereafter. In the meane time, these and other like things procured the pope to reiect both the elections, and of his owne authoritie to nominate the third person, whereby the trouble begun was not a little augmented (as you shall heare hereafter.) Now whilst these procurators were thus occupied in Rome, Philip the French king minding to conquer all that which king John yet held within France, assembled an armie, and comming before the towne of Loches, took it, and toke Gerard de Atie prisoner, that had so long time and with such valliance defended it. The same time also was Robert de Turnham taken prisoner, who with great manhood had all this while repelled and chastised the rebellious Poitouins.

The bishops
quarrell with
the monks of
Canturburie
about the elec-
tion of an
archbishop.

Gerard de Atie
& Robert
de Turnham
take prisoners

Howeouer, when the French king had tooke Loches, he went to Chinon, within the which Hubert de Burgh was capteine, a right valiant man of warre as was any where to be found, who hauing prepared all things necessarie for defense, manfullie repelled the Frenchmen, who inforced themselves to win the towne with continuall assaults and alarms, not suffering them within to rest neither day nor night, who yet for certeine daies togither, by the valiant encouragement of their capteine defended the towne, with great slaughter of the Frenchmen. Peruertheless, at length beginning to despair by reason of their incessant trauell, certeine of them that were somewhat fainthearted stole ouer the walles in the night, and ran to the Frenchmen, and for safeguard of their liues instructed them of the whole estate of the towne. The French vnderstanding that they within were in no small feare of themselves, with such violence came vnto the walles, and renewed the assault vpon all sides, that straightwaies they entered by force. A great number of Englishmen were taken, and amongst other their capteine the foresaid Hubert de Burgh. [This chanced on the vigill of S. John Baptist.]

Hubert de
Burgh a val-
iant capteine.

Polydor.
Chinon taken
by force of
assault.

After this, king Philip tooke diuerse other townes and castels in that countrie, of the which some he raised, and some he fortified and stozed with garisons

of his souldiers. This done he passed over the river of Loir, and wan a castell situate nere unto a promontorie or head of land called Crapellum, which was wont to be a great succour & aid to Englishmen arriving on that coast. The occasion why he made wars thus upon the Britains, was (as some write) for that Queene duke of Britaine, who had married the duchesse Constance, and succeeded in the duchie after his son Arthur, without regard to revenge the death of the same Arthur, was joined in league with king John together with Sauere de Pauleon, and Almerike de Lusignan, lords of great honour, power, and stoutnesse of stomach.

1206
Anno Reg. 8.

Polydon.

Montalban swaine.

Les annales de France.
Polydon.

King John wan the cite of Angiers by assault.

The duke of Britaine and other of king Johns friends overthrewne.

Math. West.
Math. Paris.
This truce was concluded upon All hallows day.

King John also in this meane while, moved with the increase of these his new associats, and also with desire to revenge so manie injuries and losses suffered at the French kings hands, preparing an armie of men, and a naue of ships, toke the sea with them and landed at Rochell the ninth of Julie, where he was received with great joy and gladnesse of the people; and no small number of gentlemen and others that inhabited thereabout repaired unto him, offering to aid him to the uttermost of their powers. He therefore with assured hope of good speed departed from thence, and wan the towne of Montalban, with a great part of all the countrie thereabouts. Finally he entred into Anjou, and comming to the cite of Angiers, appointed certaine bands of his souldiers, & all his light horsemen to compass the towne about, whilst he, with the residue of the souldiers, & all the men of armes, did go to assault the gates. Which enterpryse with fire and sword he so manfully executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the cite was entered and deliuered to the souldiers for a prey. So that of the citizens some were taken, some killed, and the walls of the cite beaten flat to the ground. This done, he went abroad into the countrie, and put all things that were in his way to the like destruction. Then came the people of the countries next adjoining, of their owne accord to submit themselves unto him, promising to aid him with men and vittels most plentifully.

King John being verie ioyfull of this good success, marched towards Boidon, sending out his troops of horsemen to waste the countrie on euerie side. In the meane while the French king being hereof aduertised, came forth with his armie readie furnished to resist king John, and by the way encountered with the duke of Britaine, Sauerie de Pauleon, and Almerike de Lusignan, which had bene abroad to spoile the French kings countries. But being now ouerset with the kings puissance, they were taken, and all their companie stripped out of their armour, to their great confusion. This mishap so weakened the power and courage of king John. But the French king proud of the victorie, kept on his tourney, and approaching nere unto the place where king John was as then lodged, did cause his tents to be pitched downe for the first night, and on the morrow after, as one desirous of battell, brought his armie into the fields, ranged in good order and ready to fight.

The like did king John, so that with stout stomachs and eager minds, they stood there in the field ready to trie the matter with dint of sword upon sound of the warning-blast given by the trumpets. Notwithstand, by the mediation of certaine graue personages, as well of the spiritualtie as of the temporallie, which were in good estimation with both the princes, a communication was appointed, which took effect, that a truce was taken betwixt them for the terme of two yeares, the prisoners on either side being released by waie of exchange: and thus the wars ceased for that time. When king Philip returned into France, and

king John into Eng'nd, where he landed at Poictou the 12 of December.

About this time came one John Ferentino (so called peradventure *A ferendo*, a common name to all the whelps of that litter, for they neuer came into the land as legats but they would be sure to carrie out with them manie large legacies and shurped duties) a legat from the pope into England, and passing through the same as it were in visitation, gathered a great summe of monie; and finally at Reading on the morrow after saint Lukes day, celebrated a counsell, which being ended, he caused his coffers to be packed up and sent awaie, halting himselfe after to depart the realme, and so taking the sea bad England farewell. About the same season also pope Innocent confirmed the authoritie and power which the priors and monks of Canturburie had to elect and chuse the archbishop of that see, giuing sentence against the suffragans which claimed a right to be joined with the said priors and monks in the election, as by a letter directed to the same suffragans from the said pope it may more plainely appeare.

After this it chanced that king John remembring himselfe of the destruction of the cite of Angiers, which (because he was descended from thence) he had before time greatly lored, began now to repent him, in that he had destroyed it, and therefore with all speed he toke order to haue it againe repaired, which was done in most beautifull wise, to his great cost and expences, which he might haue saved, had not his foolish rashnesse diuised him to attempt that, whereof upon sober aduicement afterwards he was ashamed. But what will not an ordinarie man do in the full tide of his furie; much more princes & great men, whose anger is resembled to the roying of a lion, & when upon light occasions offend times, to satisfie their vnbridled and braynesicke affections, which carrie them with a swift and full streame into such follies and dotages as are vnderstand for their degrees. Here to assenteth the poet, saleng,

*magni regis que ducis que
Delirant saepe, & vitioum peste laborant,
Stultitij que suis saepe vrbes exisio dant,
Imperiumque sibi miserorum cede lucentis.*

Mal. Paris.
suo cap.

Moreover, in this yeare about Candlemasse, the B. caused the 13 part of euerie mans goods, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the temporallie, to be leuied and gathered to his vse, all men murmuring at such doings, but none being so hardie as to gainsaie the kings pleasure, except onelie Geoffrey the archbishop of Poike, who thereupon departing secretly out of the realme, accursed all those that laid any hands to the collection of that payment, within his archbishopricke of Poike. Also upon the 17 of Januarie then last past, about the middelt of the night, there rose such a tempest of wind upon a sudden, that manie houses were overthrowne therewith, and sheepe and other cattell destroyed and buried in the drifts of snow, which as then laye verie deepe euerie where upon the ground.

The order of siter spinozs began about this time, and increased maruellouslie within a short season. And the emperor Otto came ouer into England in this yeare, where he was most roiallie receiued by king John, who taking counsell with the said emperor to renew the warre against the French king (because he was promised great aid at his hands for the furnishing of the same) gaue unto him at his departing forth of the realme, great summes of monie in hand towards the payment of such souldiers as he should leuie for this business.

In this meane while, the strife depended still in the court of Rome betwixt the two elected archbishops of Canturburie, Reginald and John. But after

John Ferentino the pope's legat.

The pope giueth sentence with 6 months against the shops.

See Math. Paris pag 28. in the printed copie.

King John repaired the cite of Angiers.

The ma of Canturburie banish king John's legat.

Spoken against England's swan to the court of 1

1207
A tag leuied.

The archbishop of Poike fled out of the realme.

A mightie tempest.

The emperor Otto came into England.

Five thousand marks of silver, as Math. West. and Math. Paris do write.

Anno Reg.

The pope answers the king.

Stephan
Langton cho-
sen archbishop
of Canturbu-
rie by the popes
appointment.

after the pope was fully informed of the manner of their elections, he disannulled them both, and procured by his papall authoritie the monks of Canturburie (of whom manie were then come to Rome about that matter) to chose one Stephan Langton the cardinal of S. Chyppogon an Englishman home, and of good estimation and learning in the court of Rome to be their archbishop. The monks at the first were loth to consent thereto, alledging that they might not lawfully do it without consent of their king, and of their couent.

But the pope as if were taking the word out of their mouths, said vnto them: Do ye not consider that we haue full authoritie and power in the church of Canturburie: neither is the assent of kings or princes to be looked for, vpon elections celebrated in the presence of the apostolike see. Wherefore I commaund you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon paine of excommunication, that you being such and so manie here as are sufficient for the election, to chose him to your archbishop, whom I shall appoint to you for father and pastor of your soules. The monks doubting to offend the pope, consented all of them to gratifie him, except Helias de Bantfield, who refused. And so the foresaid Stephan Langton being elected of them, was confirmed of the pope, who signified by letters the whole state thereof to king John, commending the said Stephan as archbishop vnto him.

The monks
of Canturbu-
rie banished.
King John
suppliceth to
the pope.

How gainfull
England
was to the
court of Rome

The king sore offended in his mind that the bishop of Bozwich was thus put beside that dignitie, to the which he had aduanced him, caused forthwith all the goods of the monks of Canturburie to be confiscate to his vse, and after banished them the reline, as well I meane those at home, as those that were at Rome, and herewith wrote his letters vnto the pope, giving him to vnderstand for answer, that he would neuer consent that Stephan which had bene brought up & alwaies conuersant with his enemies the Frenchmen, should now enjoy the rule of the bishopricke and dioces of Canturburie. Whereouer, he declared in the same letters, that he marvelled not a little what the pope ment, in that he did not consider how necessarie the friendship of the king of England was to the see of Rome, sith there came more gains to the Romane church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this side the mountaines. He added hereto, that for the liberties of his crowne he would stand to the death, if the matter so required. And as for the election of the bishop of Bozwich vnto the see of Canturburie, sith it was profitable to him and to his realme, he meant not to release it.

Whereouer, he declared that if he might not be heard and haue his mind, he would surely restraine the passages out of this realme, that none should go to Rome, least his land should be so emptied of monie and treasure, that he should want sufficient abilitie to beat backe and expell his enemies that might attempt inuasion against the same. Lastlie of all he concluded, sith the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and other ecclesiasticall persons, as well of his realme of England, as of other his lands and dominions, were sufficientlie furnished with knowledge, that he would not go for anie need that should dye him thereto, to seeke iustice or iudgement at the prescript of any foreign persons.

The popes
answer vnto
the king.

The pope greatlie marnelling hereat, wrote againe to the king, requiring him to abstaine from the spoiling of those men that were privileged by the canons of the church, that he would place the monks againe in their house and possessions, and receiue the archbishop canonically elected and confirmed, the which for his learning and knowledge, as well in the liberrall sciences, as in holie scripture, was thought worthy to be admitted to a prebend in Paris: and

what estimation he himselfe had of him it appeared, in that he had written to him thrice since he was made cardinal, declaring that although he was minded to call him to his seruice; yet he was glad that he was promoted to an higher rane; adding further, how there was good cause that he should haue consideration of him, because he was borne within his land, of father and mother that were his faithfull subjects, and for that he had a prebend in the church of Bozke, which was greater and of more dignitie than that he had in Paris. Whereby not onelie by reason of flesh and blood, but also by hauing ecclesiasticall dignitie and office, it could not be but that he loued him and his realme with sincere affection.

Amonge other reasons the pope alledged in his letters to king John, to haue perswaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephan Langton. But king John was so far from giving care to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all such, not onelie of the spiritualtie, but also of the temporalitie, which by any manner means had aided the foresaid Stephan. The pope being herof aduertised, thought good not to suffer such contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it; namelie, in a matter that touched the iniurious handling of men within orders of the church. Which example might procure hinderance, not to one priuat person alone, but to the whole estate of the spiritualtie, which he would not suffer in any wise to be suppressed. Wherefore he decreed with speed to deuise remedie against that large increasing mischefe. And though there was no speedier waie to redresse the same, but by excommunication, yet he would not vse it at the first towards so mightie a prince, but gaue him libertie and time to consider his offense and trespasses so committed.

These things being brought to this issue, the further narration of them shall staie for a time, till I haue told you of a little trouble which about this time happened in London. For vpon the leauenth of June, the bailiffes of London, Roger Wincheste and Edmund Hardell were discharged, and Serle the mercer and Hugh of saint Albons chosen in their romes. The two former bailiffes were discharged and committed to prison by the kings commandement, vpon displeasure taken against them, because they had resisted his purueier of wheat, and would not suffer him to conueie anie of that kind of graine out of the citie, till the citie was stoied. The thirtie & fine rulers of the citie, hauing fulfilled the kings commandement to them directed for the discharging of those bailiffes, and imprisoning them, did after take aduice togither, and appointed a certeine number of themselves with other to ride vnto the king, as then being at Langley, to obtaine pardon for the said bailiffes, and so comming thither, they made such excuse in the matter, shewing further, that at the same season there was such scarcitie of wheat in the citie, that the common people were at point to haue made an insurrection about the same. By which means, and through friendship which they had in the court, the king was so satisfied, that he released them from prison, and pardoned their offenses.

Also vpon the first of October, Hentie the sonne of king John, begotten of his wife queene Isabel, was borne at Wincheste, who after succeeded his father in the kingdome. But now againe to our purpose. The pope perceiuing that king John continued still in his former mind (which he called obstinacie) sent ouer his bulles into England, directed to William bishop of London, to Eustace bishop of Chie, and to Gauger bishop of Worcester, commanding them that unlesse king John would suffer peaceable the archbishop of Canturburie to occupie his see, and his monks their abbie, they should put both him and his

Bailiffes of
London dis-
charged and
committed to
ward.

The birth of
king Henry
the third.
N. Triuet.

I 208
The pope
suppliceth to his
bishops.
Mart. Paris.
Nic. Treues.

Math. Paris.

his land under the sentence of interdiction, denouncing him and his land plainlie accursed. And further he wrote expresse letters unto all the suffragans of the church of Canturburie, that they should by vertue of their obedience, which they ought to the apostolike see, receive and obey the archbishop's excommunication for their father and metropolitane.

These bishops with other to them associate, made instant request and suit to the king for the obteining of the popes commendement, and to eschew the censures of the church, but that was in vaine: for the king in a great rage swore, that if either they or any other presumed to put his land under interdiction, he would incontinentlie thereupon send all the prelates within the realme out of the same unto the pope, and seize all their goods unto his owne use. And further he added, that whosoever he found within the precinct of any his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and slit their noses, and so send them packing to Rome, that by such marks they might be knowne from all other nations of the world. And herewith he commanded the bishops to packe out of his sight, if they loved their owne health and preservation.

Romans, that is such chaplains, strangers as belonged to the pope.

The monday in the passion weeke saith Math. West. The king and realme put under the popes curke.

Whereupon the said bishops departed, and according to the popes commission to them sent, upon the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, denounced both the king and the realme of England accursed, and furthermore caused the doores of churches to be closed up, and all other places where diuine seruice was accustomed to be used, first at London, and after in all other places where they came. Then perceiving that the king ment not to stope for all this which they had done, but rather sought to be reuenged upon them, they fled the realme, and got them ouer into Stephen the archbishop of Canturburie, to wit, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, Galger bishop of Worcester, Joceline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford.

Anno Reg. 10. The dealing of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

The king taking this matter in verie great displeasure, seized upon all their temporalities, and converted the same to his use, and persecuted such other of the prelacie as he knew to fauour their doings, banishing them the realme, and seizing their goods also into his hands. Whobeyt the most part of the prelates wisely provided for themselves in this point, so that they would not depart out of their houses, except they were compelled by force, which when the kings officers perceiued, they suffered them to remaine still in their abbeys, and other habitations, because they had no commission to use any violence in expelling them. But their goods they did confiscat to the kings use, allowing them onelie meat and drinke, and that verie barelie in respect of their former allowance.

In heauie time for churchmen.

It was a miserable time now for preests and churchmen, which were spoiled on euerie hand, without finding remedie against those that offered them wrong. It is reported that in the borders of Wales, the officers of a shiriffe brought before the king a fellow which had robbed and slaine a preest, desiring to vnderstand his pleasure what should be done with that offender: unto whome the king made this answer, We hath slaine mine enimie, and therefore set him at libertie.

Math. Paris.

The king also doubting least the pope should proceed further, and absolute all his subiects of their allegiance which they ought to him, and that his lordes would happlie revolt and forsake him in this his trouble, toke hostages of them whom he most suspected. And as the messengers, which were sent abroad for that purpose, came unto the lord William de Breuse, requiring to haue his sonnes for the said purpose, his wife (like a quicke and hasty dame) taking the word out of his husbands mouth, made this round

Lord William de Breuse.

answer, that the husband had delivered his sonnes unto King John, who already had killed the same. And thus she brought rather honourable to hand, than lowe and affliction. These words being signified unto the king, who was then at an other age, he was not but glad, though he would have thought otherwise, for the king was so glad together with his wife and children, that he did the better of the realme into Irelande, safe guard of their liues.

Before this time London bridge was made of timber, and was ruled, gilded & repaired by a fraternitie of craftsmen, which was by gift at that time of the citizens of London and others passing that waie, the same bridge was begun to be made of stone. And at the same year the quier of the church in Southwarke was begun to be repaired. The same year also, the citizens of London made such suit unto the king, that he granted unto them by his letters patents, licence to choose for their ruler Henrie Fitz Alwin, who was scribe and charged at that present maior of that cite, upon the day of Michael chael the archangel, in the tenth year of King John his reigne. On the same day and yeare, were Peter Duke of Aquitaine, and Thomas Duke of Normandy, thus the name of battlers from thenceforth was clearely extinguished.

London bridge repaired.

12 Math.

The church

But here yet haue to vnderstand, that Henrie Fitz Alwin had bene maior of London long before this time, euen from the first year of King Richard (as Iohn Stow hath gathered out of ancient instruments and records) unto this present tenth year of King John, and now upon grant made to the citizens, that it should be lawful for them to choose euerie yeare a maior, and two shiriffes, for the better gouernment of their cite, the said Henrie Fitz Alwin was netolie by them elected, and likewise afterwards from yeare to yeare, till he departed this life, which chanced in the yeare 1213, and sixteenth of King Johns reigne, so that he continued maior of the same cite of London, by the terme of twentie and foure yeares.

Now therefore because it appeareth here how the gouernors of the cite of London had their names altered for their greater honour, and the state of gouernment thereby partlie changed, or rather confirmed, I haue thought good (though verie brieflie) to touch somewhat the signification of this word Maire, before I proceed any further with the rest of this historie. The ancient inhabitants of Franconia, or Frankeland, from whence the Frenchmen are descended, and their neighbors the old Saxons, of whom the Englishmen haue their originall, being people of Germanie, and descended as Berolus saith) of the old Hebrues, haue retained manie Hebrue words, either from the beginning, or else borrowed them abroad in other regions which they conquered, passing by force of armes through a great part of the world. For no doubt, by conuersation with those people whom they subdued, they brought home into their owne countrie and tong manie borrowed words, so that their language hath no small store of them fetched out of sundrie strange tonges.

Now among other old words remaining in their tong, this word Maire was one, which in Hebrue signifieth Dominus, (that is to say, lord) but pronounced now somewhat corruptlie Maire. So as it is to be supposed, hereof it came to passe that the head officer and lieutenant to the prince, as well in London as in other cities and townes of the realme, are called by that name of maior, though in the cities of London and Yorke, for an augmentation of honour by an ancient custome (though ignorance what the title of

The signification of this word Maire, Wulf. Lat. Berolus.

M. Pal. No Leo.

Anno 1 Polydc

A new allegia

Alexar of Sro

Math. The 5 monas

Polydc Math.

maire doth signifie) they haue an addition, and are intituled by the name of lord maire, where Maire simple pronounced of it selfe, signifieth no lesse than lord, without any such addition. Thus much for the name of Maire. And now to proceed.

1209.
Matth. Paris.

The esche-
quer removed.

King Iohn holding his Christmasse this yeare at Bristow, set forth a commandement, whereby he restrained the taking of wild foule. About the same time, Henrie duke of Suaben came into England from the emperor Atho, and receiuing no small portion of monie of the king, departed backe into his owne countrie againe. In the vigill of the Epiphanie also, the kings second sonne was bozne, and named Richard after his uncles name. And the court of the eschequer was removed from Westmister vnto Porzhampton. Whereouer in the same yeare, Walter Gray was made lord chancellor, who in all things studied to satisfie the kings will and purpose, for the which he incurred great indignation of the cleargie, and other that fauoured not the proceedings of the king.

¶ It was surlic a rufull thing to consider the estate of this realme at that present, when as the king neither trusted his pères, neither the nobilitie fauoured the king; no, there were verie few that trusted one another, but ech one bid & hourded by his wealth, looking daile when another should come and enter vpon the spoile. The communalitie also grew into factions, some fauouring, & some cursing the king, as they bare affection. The cleargie was likewise at discretion, so that nothing preuailed but malice and spite, which brought forth and spred abroad the fruits of disobedience to all good lawes and orders, greatlie to the disquieting of the whole state. So that herein we haue a perfect view of the perplexed state of princes, chieftie when they are ouerswaied with forren & prophane power, and not able to assure themselves of their subjects allegiance and loialtie. Whereunto this clause alludeth,

M. Pal. in
fuo Leo.

*cruciat comes improbus ipfas
Asidui metus atque timor, suspellaque yflem
Omnia sunt: hinc insidias, hinc dira venena
Concipiunt, soli nec possunt ire nec audent,
Nec sine fas illis prægustatore comesse.*

Anno Reg. II.
Polydor.

A new oth of
allegiance.

Alexander B.
of Scots.

King Iohn notwithstanding that the realme was thus wholie interdicted and vered, so that no preests could be found to saie seruice in churches or chapels, made no great account thereof as touching any of fence towards God or the pope: but rather mistrusting the hollow hearts of his people, he toke a new oth of them for their faithfull allegiance, and immediately therevpon assembled an armie to go against Alexander king of Scots, vnto whome (as he had heard) diuerse of the nobilitie of this realme were fled, which Alexander was the second of that name that had ruled the Scots, and latelie before was entered into the rule as lawfull successor to the crowne of Scotland, by the death of his father B. William.

In this meane while also Stephan archbishop of Canturburie lamenting (as some haue reported) the state of his natue countrie, and yet not minding to giue ouer his hold, obtained of pope Innocent, that vpon certeine daies it might be lawfull for an appointed number of preests within the realme of England, to celebrate diuine seruice, that is to say, for those of conuentuall churches once in the weeke. But the monks of the white order were forbidden to vse that priuilege, because in the beginning of the interdict they had at the appointment of their principall abbat presumed to celebrate the sacraments without the popes consent or knowledge.

Matth. Paris.
The white
monks.

Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

In like manner on the other side, king Iohn having his armie in a readinesse, halsted forth towards the borders of Scotland, and comming to the castell

of Porzham, prepared to inuade the Scots. But king Alexander wanting power to giue him battell, sought to come vnto some friendlie agreement with him, and so by counsell of his lords, casting off his armour, he came to the king, and for a great summe of gold (or 11 thousand marks of siluer as some write) with much adoe he purchased peace, deliuering two of his daughters in hostage for more assurance of his dealing. Wherevpon king Iohn, after his returne from Porzham, which was about the 24 of

Alexander B.
of Scots com
purchased peace
with
king Iohn.

Polydor.

June, shewed himselfe not a little displeased with those of the nobilitie, which had refused to attend vpon him in that iournie, hauing receiued streit commandement from him to attend vpon him at that time. Certes the cause why they refused to follow him, was euident, as they said, in that they knew him to stand accursed by the pope. About the same time also, when corn began to wax ripe, to reuenge himselfe of them that had refused to go with him in that iournie, he caused the pales of all the parks & forests which he had within his realme to be throtone downe, & the ditches to be made plaine, that the deere breaking out and ranging abroad in the corne fields, might destroye & eat vp the same before it could be reaped, for which act (if it were so in deed) manie a bitter curse proceeded from the mouths of the poore husbandmen towards the kings person, and not vnto the thillie. Whereouer in this season the Welshmen (which thing had not bene seene afore time) came vnto Woodstoke, and there did homage vnto the king, although the same was chargeable, aswell to the rich as the poore so to come out of their countrie.

Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris.
A murder at
Oxford.

Three thousand
as faith
Matth. Paris.

About the same time also, it chanced that a preest sue a woman at Oxford, and when the kings officers could not find him that had committed the murder, they apprehended three other preests not guiltie of the fact, and straightway hanged them by without iudgement. With which crueltie others of the Vniuersitie being put in feare, departed thence in great numbers, and came not thither againe of a long time after, some of them repairing to Cambridge, and some to Reading to applie their studies in those places, leauing Oxford void. The same yeare one Hugh archdeacon of Welles, and keeper of the kings great scale, was nominated bishop of Lincolne; and herevnto he craved licence to go ouer into France vnto the archbishop of Rouen, that he might be consecrated of him. Wherevnto the king was contented and gladlie gaue him leave, who no sooner got ouer into Normandie, but he straight toke the high waie to Rome, and there receiued his consecration of Stephan archbishop of Canturburie. Now when the king vnderstood this matter, and saw the dulnesse of the bishop, he was in a wonderfull chafe toward him, and thervpon made post-sale of all his goods, and receiued the profit of the reuenues belonging to the see of Lincolne for his owne vse.

Oxford for
ken of the
scholers.

Hugh archdeacon of Welles
made bishop
of Lincolne.
Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

¶ There lived in those daies a diuine named Alexander Cementarius, surnamed Theologus, who by his preaching incensed the king greatlie vnto all crueltie (as the monks and friers saie) against his subjects, affirming that the generall scourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the princes fault, but for the wickednesse of his people, for the king was but the rod of the Lords wrath, and to this end a prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rod of iron, and breake them as an earthen vessel, to chaine the mighty in fetters, & the noble men in iron manacles. He did see (as it should seme) the euill disposed humors of the people concerning their dutifull obedience which they ought to haue bozne to their naturall prince king Iohn, and therefore as a doctrine most necessarie in that dangerous time, he taught the people how they were

Cementarius

by Gods lawes bound in dutie to obeie their lawfull prince, and not through any wicked persuasion of bulle heads and lewd discourters, to be carried away to forget their loiall allegiance, and so to fall into the damnable sinke of rebellion.

He went about also to proue with likeli arguments, that it appertained not to the pope, to haue to doe concerning the tempozall possessions of any kings or other potentats touching the rule and gouernment of their subiects, sith no power was granted to Peter (the speciall and cheefe of the apostles of the Lord) but onlie touching the church, and matters appertaining thereunto. By such doctrine of him set forth, he won in such wise the kings fauour, that he obtained manie great preferments at the kings hands, and was abbat of saint Austines in Canturburie: but at length, when his manners were notified to the pope, he toke such order for him, that he was despoiled of all his goods and benefices, so that afterwards he was diuened in great miserie to beg his bread from doore to doore, as some write. This did he procure to himselfe by telling the trueth against that beast, whose hornes were pricking at euerie christian prince, that he might set himselfe in a seat of supremacie about all principalities: so that we may saie,

In audaces non est audacia tuta.

1210

March, Paris.
Jewes taxed.

2 Jew hath
his teeth
drawne out.

Anno Reg. 12.

March, Paris.
King Iohn
passeth ouer
into Ireland.
Polydor.
March, Paris.

Walter de
Lacie.

The Ladie de
Beuse & hir
sonne taken.

Furthermore, about the same time the king taxed the Jewes, and greuouslie tormented and emprisoned them, because diuers of them would not willinglie pay the summes that they were taxed at. Amongst other, there was one of them at Wilsford, which would not consent to giue anie fine for his delinquance: wherefore by the kings commandement he was put vnto this penance, that euerie daie, till he would agree to giue to the king those ten thousand marks that he was seized at, he should haue one of his teeth plucked out of his head. By the space of seauen daies together he stood steadfast, losing euerie of those daies a tooth, but on the eight day, when he should come to haue the eight tooth and the last (for he had but eight in all) drawne out, he paid the monie to saue that one, who with more wisdom and lesse paine might haue done so before, and haue saued his seauen teeth, which he lost with such torments, for those homelie toothdrawers used no great cunning in plucking them forth (as may be coniectured.)

Whilist king Iohn was thus occupied, newes came to him, that the Irish rebels made foule worke and foue annotted the English subiects. He therefore assembling a mightie armie, embarked at Penbroke in Wales, and so hasting towards Ireland, arrived there the twentieth five of Maie, and brought the people in such feare immediatlie vpon his arrival, that all those that inhabited vpon the sea coasts in the champaine countries, came in, and yielded themselves, receiuing an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him. There were twentie of the cheefest rulers within Ireland, which came to the king at his coming to Dublin, and there did to him homage and fealtie as appertained. The king at the same time ordeined also, that the English lawes should be used in that land, and appointed shiriffes and other officers to haue the order of the countrie, to rule the same according to the English ordinances. After this, he marched forward into the land, and toke diuerse fortresses and strong holds of his enemies, which fled before him, for feare to be apprehended, as Walter de Lacie and manie other. At length, comming into the countrie of Meth, he besieged a castell, wherein the wife of William de Beuse, and hir sonne named also William were inclosed, but they found means to escape before the castell was wone, though afterwards they were taken in the Ile of Man, and sent by the king into England, where they were so strait-

lie kept within the castell of Windso, that (as the same went) they were famished to death.

¶ We read in an old historie of Flanders, written by one whose name is not knotone, but printed at Lions by Guillaume Rouille, in the yeare 1562, that the said ladie, wife to the lord William de Beuse, presented vpon a time vnto the queene of England, a gift of foure hundred kine, and one bull, of colour all white, the eares excepted, which were red. Although this tale may seeme incredible, yet if we shall consider that the said Beuse was a lord merchant, and had goodlie possessions in Wales, and on the marches, in which countries the most part of the peoples substance consisteth in cattell, it may carrie with it the more likelihood of truth. And suerlie the same author writeth of the iourne made this yeare into Ireland, so sensible, and namelie touching the manners of the Irish, that he seemeth to haue had good informations, sauing that he misseth in the names of men and places, which is a fault in manner common to all fozeine writers. Touching the death of the said ladie, he saith, that within eleuen daies after she was committed to prison here in England, she was found dead, sitting betwixt hir sonnes legs, who likewise being dead, saie directlie vpon against a wall of the chamber, wherein they were kept with hard pittance (as writers doe report.) William the father escaped, and got away into France.

Thus the more part of the Irish people being brought vnder, he appointed John Gray the bishop of Norwich, to be his deputie there, removing out of that office Hugh Lacle, which bare great rule in that quarter before. The bishop then being appointed deputie and cheefe iustice of Ireland, reformed the coine there, causing the same to be made of like weight and finenelle to the English coine, so that the Irish monie was currant, as well in England, as in Ireland, being of the like weight, forme, and finenelle to the English. Moreover, those that inhabited the wood countries and the mountaine places, though they would not as then submit themselves, he would not at that time further pursue, because winter was at hand, which in that countrie approacheth timelie in the yeare. Having thus subdued the more part of all Ireland, and ordeined things there at his pleasure, he toke the sea againe with much triumph, and landed in England about the thirtieth day of August.

From hence he made hast to London, and at his comming thither, toke counsell how to recouer the great charges and expenses that he had bene at in this iourne, and by the aduise of William Beuwer, Robert de Turnham, Reignold de Cornhill, and Richard de Parith, he caused all the cheefe prelates of England to assemble before him at S. Brides in London. So that thither came all the abbats, abbesses, templers, hospitallers, keepers of farmes and possessions of the order of Clognie, and other such forreners as had lands within this realme belonging to their houses. All which were constrained to paie such a greuous tax, that the whole amounted to the summe of an hundred thousand pounds. The monks of the Cisterciour order, otherwise called white monks, were constrained to paie 40 thousand pounds of silver at this time, all their priuileges to the contrarie notwithstanding. Moreover, the abbats of that order might not get licence to go to their generall chapter that yeare, which perelle was used to be holden, least their complaint should moue all the world against the king, for his too hard and seuer handling of them.

In the summer following, about the 18 day of Iulie, king Iohn with a mightie armie went into Wales, and passing forth into the inner parts of the countrie, he came into Snowdon, beating downe all

March, Pa
white ch
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Durant
poyes leg
Polydor.

Fabian,

Math, Paris

Reginald
of Bullong

The like
guc was m
in the same
first yeare
king Iohn
between him
& Ferdinand
do carle of
Flanders.

1211

Anno Reg. 12.
King Iohn
goeth into
Wales with
an armie.

Match Paris.
white church
7 think.

Pendulph &
Durant the
popes legats.
Polydor.

Fabian,

Manh. Paris.

Reginald erle
of Bullongne.

The like league was made in the same first yeare of king John betwixt him & Ferdinand do earle of Flanders.

all that came in his way, so that he subdued all the rulers and princes, without contradiction. And to be the better assured for their subiection in time following, he took pledges of them, to the number of 28, & so returned to Album Monasterium on the date of the Assumption of our ladie, from whence he first set forth into the Welsh confines. In the same yeare also, the pope sent two legats into England, the one named Bandulph a lawier, and the other Durant a templer, who comming vnto king John, exhorted him with manie terrible wordes to leaue his stubborn disobedience to the church, and to reforme his misdoings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and bringing them to Portsmouth, being not farre distant from the place where he met them vpon his returne forth of Wales had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpose, neither for restitution of the goods belonging to preests which he had seized vpon, neither of those that appertained to certaine other persons, which the king had gotten also into his hands, by meanes of the controuersie betwixt him and the pope, the legats departed, leauing him accursed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their comming.

¶ Touching the manner of this interdiction there haue bene diuerſe opinions, ſome haue ſaid, that the land was interdicted throughout, and the churches and houſes of religion cloſed by, that no there was anie diuine ſervice uſed : but it was not ſo ſtrict, for there were diuerſe places occupied with diuine ſervice all that time, by certeine priuiledges purchaſed either then or befoze. Childzen were alſo diſpenſed, and men houſeled and annoied through all the land, except ſuch as were in the bill of excommunication by name expreſſed. But to our purpoſe.

King John, after that the legats were returned to ward Rome againe, punished diuerse of those persons which had refused to go with him into Wales, in like manner as he had done those that refused to go with him into Scotland: he took now of ech of them for euerie knightes fee two markes of silver, as before is recited. About the same time also, Reginald earle of Bullougne being accused in like manner as king John was, for certeine oppressions done to poore men, and namelie to certeine priests, fled ouer into England, because the French king had banished him out of France.

The chiefest cause of the French kings displeasure towards this earle, may seeme to proceed of the amitie and league which was concluded between king John, and the said earle, in the first yeare of the said kings reigne, whereby they bound themselves either to other, not to make anie peace, or to take anie truce with the king of France, without either of theirs consent first thereto had, and that if after anie agreement taken betwixt them and the king of France, he should chauce to make warre against either of them, then should the other aid and assist him, against whom such warre should be made, to the utmost of his power.

This league was accorded, to maintain for ever
between them and their heirs, with theirs known
on either part: and for the king of England, these,
whose names infer, William de Barthe earle of
Derbroke, Ranulfe earle of Chester, Robert earle of
Leicester, Walsburne earle of Albemarle, William
earle of Arundell, Ralph earle of Rugi, Robert de
Bellet, Hugh de Courcy, William de Baou, Ge-
frey de Cella, Roger countable of Chester, Ralph
fitz Walter, William de Albani, Robert de Mas,
Richard de Montficht, Roger de Somer, Peter de
Quincie, William de Montchensyndre de Pop-
tellis, William de Portalis de Estyng, Adam de

Port, Robert de Turnham, William Gallet, Eustace de Wescie, Peter de Brus, William de Desseynie, Hubert de Burgh, William de Pantley, and Peter Saueine. For the earle, these were surties, Anselme de Baen, Guy Liefchans, Mallo the earles brother, &c. But now to returne.

After that the earle of Bullongne was expelled out of France (as before ye haue heard) he came ouer to king John, and was of him iustlicke receiued, hauing three hundred pounds of reuenues in land to him assigned within England, for the which he did homage and fealtie vnto him. Shortlie after this also, died William de Breuse the clerk, which came from the face of king John out of Ireland into France, and departing this life at Cobell, was buried at Paris in the abbey of S. Nigod.

In the meane time pope Innocent, after the re-
turne of his legats out of England, perceiuing that
king John would not be ordered by him, determined
with the consent of his cardinals and other counsell-
ours, and also at the instant suit of the English bi-
shops and other prelates being there with him, to de-
prive king John of his kinglie state, and to first ab-
solute all his subjects and vassals of their othes of al-
legiance made vnto the same king, and after depri-
ued him by solemne protestation of his kinglie ad-
ministration and dignitie, and lastlie signified that
his deprivation vnto the French king and other chris-
tian princes, admonishing them to pursue king
John, being thus depriued, forsaaken, and condemp-
ned as a common enimie to God and his church. He
ordeined furthermore, that whosoever imploied goods
or other aid to banquish and ouercome that disobe-
dient prince, should remaine in a cursed peace of the
church, as well as those which went to visit the depri-
uize of our Lord, not onlie in their goods and persons,
but also in suffrages for sauing of their soules.

But yet that it might appeare to all men, that no-
thing could be more iofull vnto his holinesse, than
to haue king John to repent his trespasses commit-
ted, and to aske forgiveness for the same, he appoint-
ed Pandulph, which latelie before was returned to
Rome, with a great number of English eyles, to go
into France, together with Stephan the archbishop
of Canturburie, and the other English bishops, gi-
uing him in commandement, that repairing vnto
the French king, he should communicate with him
all that which he had appointed to be done against
him, Bohun, and to exhort the French king to make
warre vpon him, as a person for his wickednesse, to
communicate. Whereouer this Pandulph was com-
manded by the pope, if he saw cause, to go ouer into
England, and to deliuer vnto king John such letters
as the pope had writtten for his better instruction,
and to see he by all means possible to draw him from
his naughty course.

So In the meane tyme, when it was hyndred through
the reabne of England, that the pope had released
the people & abolved them of their oath of feythfulness
to the king, and that he was depriued of his gouernement
by the popes sentence, by little and little a
great number both of souldiers, citizens, burghers,
capteins and conestables of castles, leauing their
charges, & bishops with a great multitude of priests
resolting from him, and abandoning his compaignie and
presence, secretlie stole awaye, and got ouer into
France.

of pother standing that blurke. In respect of the
popes curie; and other considerations therein intoyng,
therie refused in this manner to obeye King John,
yet there were manie others that did take his part,
and mainteined his quarrell bove named he, as his
brother William earle of Salisburie, Abbot of
the erle of Oxford, Geoffrey his brother and the

of Polydora

Wādolph sent
into France
to practise
with the French
king, for King
John his de-
struction.

12. 10. 1994

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Math. West.
Mat. Paris.
The names of
the noble men
that continued
true unto H.
John.

D.ii.

justice

inſide of England, alſo three biſhops, Durham, Wincheſter, and Norwich, Richard de Parriſh lord chancellor, Hugh Penill chief ſoſtler, William de Worſhing lord warden of the ports, Robert Clapount and his brother Puan, Brian de Lille, Geffrey de Lacie, Hugh Balliol, and his brother Barnard, William de Cantlow and his ſon William ſkulke de Cantlow, Reginald de Cornhill ſhiriffe of Kent, Robert Bzabzoke and his ſon Harrie, Philip de Louccotes, John de Baſſingborne, Philip Sparch, Chatelaine of Nottingham, Peter de Hamley, Robert de Gangy, Gerard de Athie and his nephe Jvgeirand, William Bzelter, Peter Fitz Hubert, Thomas Baſſet, and Fouls de Biant a ſoriman, with many other, ſo long here to rehearſe, who as ſautors and counſellors unto him, ſought to defend him in all cauſes, notwithstanding the cenſures of the church ſo cruelle pronounced againſt him; knowing that they were bound in conſcience to ſticke to him, now ſpeciallie in this generall apoſtaſie of his peeres and people. For they were opinioned, that it was

Ouid Lib. 3. de
Pont.

I 2 I 2

Bernewell.

*Turpe referre pedem, nec paſſus flare tenaci,
Turpe laborantem deſeruiſſe ratem.*

The ſame yeare king John held his Chriſtmaſſe at Windſor; and in the Lent following, on midlent ſundaie being at London, he honoured the lord Alexander ſonne and heire to the king of Scots, with the high order of knight hood. And (as I find it mentioned by ſome writers) wheras he underſtood how there were diuerſe in Scotland, that contemning their natural lord and king by reaſon of his great age, king John went thither with an armie to reſſelle the rebels, and being come thither, he ſent his men of war into the inner parts of the country, who ſcowering the coaſts, toke Guthred Spacwilliam capteine of them that moued ſedition, whom king John cauſed to be hanged on a paire of gallows. This Guthred was deſcended of the line of the ancient Scottiſh kings, and being aſſiſted with the Iriſhmen and Scots that ſanoured not the race of the kings that preſentlie reigned, wrought them much trouble, as his father (named Donald) had done before him, ſometime ſecretlie under hand, and ſometime againe by way of open rebellion.

The welſh-
men moue
rebellion.
March. Paris.

Anno Reg. 14.

King John
hangeth the
welſh pley-
ers.

March. Paris.
King John
breaketh by
his armie.

Shortlie after, the Welſhmen began to ſturte alſo, who ruſhing out of their owne confines, fell vpon their next neighbours within the Engliſh marches, waſted the countrie, and ouerthrew diuerſe caſtels flat to the ground. Whereof the king hauing knowledge, aſſembled a mightie armie out of hand, and comming to Nottingham, he hanged vpon the Welſh hoſtages which the laſt yeare he had receiued, to the number of eight and twentie pong ſtriplings. And by reaſon he was now ſet in a marvellous chaſe, he roughlie proceeded againſt all thoſe whom he knew not to fauor his caſe: ſome he diſcharged of their offices, other he deprived of their capteineſhips and other comes, & reuoked certaine priuileges & immunities granted to monks, preſts, & men of religion.

Furthermore, hauing his armie readie to paſſe on into Wales, he receiued letters the ſame time, both from the king of Scots, and from his daughter the wiſe of Leoline prince of Wales, containing in eſſe the aduertisement of one matter, which was to let him know, that if he proceeded on his iourne, he ſhould either through treaſon be ſlaine of his owne lords, or elſe be deliuered to be deſtroyed of his enimies. The king iudging no leſſe, but that the tenor of the letters contained a truth, brake vp his armie and returned to London. From whence he ſent meſſengers vnto all ſuch lords as he ſuſpected, commanding them to ſend vnto him hoſtages for more aſſurance of their fidelities. The lords durſt not diſobey his commandement, but ſent their ſons, their

nephes, and other their kinſmen, accordingly as he required, and ſo his rancour was appeaſed for a time. But Euface de Welſie, Robert Fitz Walter, and Stephen Kidell, being accuſed and ſuſpected of the ſa. for the ſaid treaſon, were glad to ſee the realme, Welſie departing into Scotland, and the other two into France.

The ſame yeare, the church of S. Marie Ouerles, and all the buildings vpon London bridge on both ſides the ſame, were conſumed with fire, which was iudged to be a ſignification of ſome miſhap to ſolow. The king held his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Weſtmiſter, with no great traine of knights about him. About the ſame time Geffrey archbiſhop of Poſke departed this life, after he had remained in erlie about a ſeauen yeares. But now to returne againe to the practiſes of the popes legats.

We ſhall vnderſtand, the French king being requeſted by Wandulph the popes legat, to take the warre in hand againſt king John, was eaſilie perſuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare vnto our king, and therevpon with all diligence made his prouiſion of men, ſhips, munition and vittell, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into England: and now was his nauie readie rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greateſt forwardneſſe, to take his iourne. When Wandulph vpon good conſiderations thought firſt to go eſſones, or at the leaſt wiſe to ſend into England, before the French armie ſhould land there, and to aſſaie once againe; if he might induce the king to ſhew himſelfe reſormable vnto the popes pleaſure: king John hauing knowledge of the French kings purpoſe and ordinance, aſſembled his people, and lodged with them alongſt by the coaſt towards France, that he might reſiſt his enimies, and keepe them off from landing.

Here writers declare, that he had got togiſher ſuch an armie of men out of all the parts of his realme, both of lords, knights, gentlemen, peomen, & other of the commons, that notwithstanding all the prouiſion of vittels that might poſſible be recovered, there could not be found ſufficient ſtoze to ſuſſeine the huge multitude of them that were gathered alongſt the coaſt, namelie at Dover, Feuertham, Cipeſwich, and other places. Wherevpon the capteins diſcharged and ſent home a great number of the commons, retaining onelie the men of armes, peomen, and freholders, with the croſſebowes and archers. There came likewiſe to the kings aid at the ſame time, the biſhop of Roſwich out of Ireland, bring- ing with him five hundred men of armes, & a great ſort of other hoſſemen.

To conclude, there was eſtimated of able men aſſembled togiſher in the armie on Warhamdome, that of choſen men of armes, and valiant peomen, and other armed men, the number of ſixtie thouſand: ſo that if they had bene all of one mind, and well bent towards the ſeruiſe of their king and deſenſe of their countrie, there had not bene a prince in Chriſtendome, but that they might haue bene able to haue defended the realme of England againſt him. He had alſo prouiſed a nauie of ſhips farre ſtronger than the French kings, readie to fight with them by ſea, if the caſe had ſo required.

But as he lay thus readie, nere to the coaſt, to withſtand and beat backe his enimies, there arrived at Dover two Templers, who comming before the king, declared vnto him that they were ſent from Wandulph the popes legat, who for his profit cometed to talke with him: for he had (as they affirmed) meanes to propoſe, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God and his church, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdome.

The

March. Paris.
March. Weſt.
Saint Mary
Ouerles
burnt.

I 2 I 2

The deſenſe
of Geffrey the
archbiſhop
of Poſke.

The French
king prepa-
red to invade
England.

Anno Reg. 14.
March. Paris.
The great
armie which
John aſſem-
bled togiſher.

The biſhop
of Roſwich

Polydor.
Two knights
of the temple

M. John de
liuereth his
crown vnto
Wandulph.

The legat
Pandulph
cometh ouer.

The king vnderstanding the meaning of the legat, sent the messengers againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinently came ouer to Douer: at whose arrivall when the king was advertised, he went thither, and received him with all due honour and reverence. Now after they had talked together a little, and courteously saluted each other (as the course of humanitie required) the legat (as it is reported) uttered these words following.

The sawcie speech of proud Pandulph
the popes lewd legat, taking John in the pre-
sumptuous popes behalfe.

Not thinke that you are ignorant, how pope Innocent, to do that which to his durie appertained, hath both absolved your subjects of that oath which they made unto you at the beginning, and also taken from you the governance of England, according to your deserts, and finallye given commandement unto certaine princes of Christendome, to expell you out of this kingdom, and to place an other in your roome; so worthe to punish you for your disobedience, and contempt of religion: and that Philip king of France, with the first being readie to accomplish the popes commandement, hath an armie in a readinesse, and with his navie newlie decked, rigged and furnished in all points, lieth at the mouth of the river of Saine, looking for a prosperous wind, that as soone as it cometh about, he may saile therewith hither into England, trusting (as he saith) with the helpe of your owne people (which neither name you, nor will take you for their king) to spoile you of your kingdom with small adoe, and to conquer it at his pleasure, for he hath (as he sicketh not to protest openly to the world) a charter made by all the chiefe lords of England touching their fealtie and obedience assured to him. Therefore, sith God for your iust desert is wroth with you, and that you are as euill spoken of by all men, as they that come against you be well reported, I would advise you, that whilst there is a place for grace and fauour, rather to obeie the popes iust demands, to whose word other christian princes are readie to give eare, than by striving in vaine to cast awaie your selfe and all others that take your part, or are bent to defend your quarell or cause.

These words being thus spoken by the legat, king John as then utterly despairing in his matters, when he saw himselfe constrained to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance, waiting with himselfe what counsell were best for him to follow. At length, oppressed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, against his will, and vertie loth so to haue done, he promised vpon his oath to stand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore shortly after (in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded) he took the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the same to Pandulph the legat, neither he, nor his heires at any time thereafter to receiue the same, but at the popes hands. Vpon

this, he promised to receiue Stephen the archbishop of Canturburie into his fauour, with all other the bishops and baronies men, making unto them sufficient amends for all iniuries to them done, and so to pardon them, that they should not run into any danger, for that they had rebelled against him.

When Pandulph keeping the crowne with him for the space of five daies in token of possession thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gave it him againe. By meanes of this act (saith Polydor) the same went abroad, that king John willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himselfe vassall to pope Innocent, with condition; that his successors should likewise from thenceforth acknowledge to haue their right to the same kingdom from the pope. But those kings that succeeded king John, haue not obserued any such latres of reconciliation, neither do the autentike chronicles of the realme make mention of any such surrender, so that such articles as were appointed to king John to obserue, pertained unto him that had offended, and not to his successors. Thus saith Polydor.

John Beest, Ranulph Higden in his booke intituled Polychronicon, saith indeed, that king John did not onelie bind himselfe, but his heires and successors, being kings of England, to be feodaries unto pope Innocent and his successors popes of Rome, that is to say, that they should hold their dominions of them in fee, paying and paying yearly to the see of Rome the summe of leauen hundred marks for England, and three hundred marks for Ireland. Furthermore, by report of the most autentike and approved writers, king John, to avoid all dangers, which (as he doubted) might insue, despairing as it were in himselfe, or rather most speciallly for lacke of loiall durie in his subjects, consented to all the persuasions of Pandulph, and so (not without his great hart-graue) he was contented to take his oath, together with sixtene earles and barons, who laien their hands vpon the holie euangelists, sware with him vpon perill of their soules, that he should stand to the iudgement of the church of Rome, and that if he repented him, and would refuse to stand to promise, they should then compell him to make satisfaction. Whereupon, they being all together at Douer, the king and Pandulph, with the earles and barons, and a great multitude of other people, agreed and concluded vpon a finall peace in forme as here insueth.

The charter of king John his submission,
as it was conueied to the pope
at Rome.

Iohannes Dei gratia rex Anglie, omnibus Christi fidelibus hanc chartam inspecturis salutem in Domino. Vniuersitati vestra per hanc chartam sigillo nostro munitam, volumus esse notum, quod cum Deum & matrem nostram sanctam ecclesiam offenderimus in multis, & proinde diuina misericordia plurimum indigemus, nec quid digne offerre possimus pro satisfactione Deo & ecclesie debita facienda, nisi nosmetipsos humiliemus & regna nostra, volentes nos ipsos humiliare, pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem, gratia sancti spiritus inspirante, non vi interdicti nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spontanea, voluntate, ac communi consilio baronum nostrorum conferimus, & libere concedimus Deo & sanctis apostolis eius Petro & Paulo, & sancte Romane ecclesie matri nostre, ac domino papa Innocentio, eiusque catholicis successoribus, totum regnum Anglie, & totum

Regnum

Pandulph
restoreth the
crown againe
to the king.

Ran. Higd.

England became tributary to the pope.

Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

Paris
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Pandulph

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John
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John de-
liuereth his
crown vnto
Pandulph.

regnum Hybernia, cum omni iure & pertinentijs suis, pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum, & totius generis nostri, tam pro viuis quam pro defunctis, & amodo illa ab eo & ecclesia Romana tanquam secundarius recipientes & tenentes, in presentia prudentis viri Pandulphi domini papa subdiaconi & familiaris.

Exinde predicto domino papa Innocentio, eiusque catholicis successoribus, & ecclesia Romana, secundum subscriptam formam fecimus & iurauimus, & homagium ligium in presentia Pandulphi si coram domino papa esse poterimus, eidem faciemus: successores nostros & heredes de uxore nostra in perpetuum obligantes, ut simili modo summo pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, & ecclesia Romana, sine contradictione debeant fidelitatem prestare, & homagium recognoscere.

Ad iudicium autem huius nostre perpetue obligationis & concessionis, volumus & stabilimus, ut de proprijs & specialibus redditibus nostris predictorum regnorum, pro omni seruitio & consuetudine, que pro ipsis facere debemus, saluis per omnia denarijs beati Petri, ecclesia Romana mille marcas Esterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in festo scilicet sancti Michaelis quingentas marcas, & in Pascha quingentas: septingentas scilicet pro regno Anglia, & trecentas pro regno Hybernia, saluis nobis & heredibus nostris, iustitijs, libertatibus, & regalibus nostris. Quia omnia, sicut superscripta sunt, rata esse volentes atque firma, obligamus nos & successores nostros contra non venire, & si nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum contra hac attentare presumpserit, quicunque ille fuerit, nisi rite commonitus respuerit, cadat a iure regni.

Et hac charta obligationis & concessionis nostra, semper firma permaneat. Teste me ipso, apud domum militum templi iuxta Doveram, coram H. Dublinensi archiepiscopo, Iohanne Norwicensi episcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, W. comite Sarisburie, Willielmo comite Penbroc, R. comite Bononia, W. comite Warrena, S. comite Winton, W. comite Arundel, W. comite de Ferarijs, W. Brimere, Petro filio Hereberti, Warino filio Geroldi, 15 die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo quarto.

This deed and instrument being written and ingrossed, the king deliuered it unto Pandulph, to take with him to Rome, there to make deliuerie thereof to pope Innocent, and herewith did homage to the same pope, in forme as follooweth.

The words of fealtie made by king Iohn to the pope.



Go Iohannes Dei gratia rex Anglia, & dominus Hybernia, ab hac hora & in antea, fidelis ero Deo & beato Petro & ecclesia Romana, & domino meo papa domino Innocentio, eiusque successoribus catholicis intransibilibus. Non ero infactus, in dicto, consensu vel consilio, ut vitam perdant vel membra, vel mala captione capiantur. Eorum damnum si sciuerio, impediam, & remanere faciam si potero: alioquin eis quam citius potero intinababo, vel tali persona dicam, quam eis credam pro certo dicturam. Consilium quod mihi crediderint, per se vel per nuncios suos seu literas suas, secretum, tenebo, & ad eorum damnum nulli patebam me sciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, & spe-

cialiter regnum Anglia, & regnum Hybernia adiutor ero ad defendendum & defendendum, contra domus homines pro posse meo. Sic me adiuuet Deus, & haec sancta euangelia. Amen. Acta autem sunt haec, & predictum est, in vigilia dominica Ascensionis ad Doveram, Anno 1213.

An. English. 1213.



Omni by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, from this houre forward, shall be faithfull to God and to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome, and to my lord pope Innocentius, and to his successours lawfully entring. I shall not be in word nor deed, in consent or counsell, that they should lose life or member, or be apprehended in euill manner. Their losse if I may know it, I shall impeach and staie, so far as I shal be able, or else so shortlie as I can I shall signifie vnto them, or declare to such person the which I shall beleue will declare the same vnto them. The counsell which they shal commit to me by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I shall keepe secret, and not vtter to any man to their hurt to my knowledge. The patrimonie of S. Peter, and speciallie the kingdomes of England and Ireland, I shall indeuour my selfe to defend against all men to my power. So helpe me God, and these holie euangelists, Amen. These things were done on the eue of the Ascension of our Lord, in the year 1213.

Pandulph hauing thus reconciled king Iohn, thought not good to releafe the excommunication, till the king had performed all things which he had promised, and so with all speed hauing receiued eight thousand markes sterling in part of restitution to be made to the archbishop, and the other banished men, he sailed backe into France, & came to Roan, where he declared to king Philip the effect of his trauell, and that he had done in England. But king Philip hauing in this meane while consumed a great masse of monie, to the summe of fiftie thousand pounds, as he himselfe alledged, about the furniture of his tournte, which he intended to haue made into England, vpon hope to haue had no small aid within the realme, by reason of such bishops and other banished men as he had in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of king Iohn, and determined not so to breake off his enterpryse, least it might be imputed to him for a great reproch to haue bene at such charges and great expences in vaine. Wherefore calling his counsell together, he declared vnto them what he purposed to do.

All his Nobles in like manner held with him, and allowed his purpose to be verie good and requisite, except the earle of Flanders named Ferdinando, who (in hope to recouer againe those townes, which the French king held from him in Arthois, as Aire, and S. Omers) had iointed secretlie in league with king Iohn, and with the earle of Bullongne, and therefore disliked the conclusion of their aduise. Notwith king Philip not being yet fullie certified hereof, caused his name to draw alongest the coast towards Flanders, whither he himselfe hasted to go also by land, that comming thither, he might from thence saile ouer into England, and take land at a place to him assigned.

Now it came to passe, that at his comming to Graueling, he had perfect knowledge, that the earle of Flanders was iointed in league with his enemies, wherefore he determined first to subdune the earle, least

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Iohn with
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The Engli
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The French
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his tourne
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realme of
England.

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ships.

The French
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Cannt belie-
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The English
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ships.

whilst he should be out of his realme, some great trouble or sedition might rise within his owne dominions. Wherefore, leaving the enterprise which he ment to haue made against England, he turned his power against the earle of Flanders, and first commanded his nauie to saile vnto the port of Dam, whilst he himselfe keeping on his iourne still by land, toke the towne of Cassile, and likewise Wyres. From thence he went to Buges, and besieged the towne, but he could not win it at the first, and therefore leauing a power of men to mainteine the siege before it, he himselfe went to Gaunt, and thereto also laid his siege.

In the meane time, the earle of Flanders perceiuing that he was not able to resist so puissant an enemy as the French king, sent ouer in hast vnto the king of England for aid. Whereupon king Iohn vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip had turned all his force against the earle of Flanders, and that thereby he was deliuered out of the feare of the Frenchmens comming into England; that same nauie (which as before is recited) he had put in a readinesse, containing the number of siue hundred saile, he sent straight into Flanders with a strong armie, both of horsemen and footmen, vnder the guiding of William duke of Holland, William Longspée earle of Salisburie base brother to king Iohn, and Reigbold earle of Bullongne.

These capitains being now passed forth with their fleets into the maine sea, espied anon manie ships lieng without the haven of Dam; for the number of ships of the French fleet was so great, that the haven could not receiue them all, so that manie of them laie at anchor without the haven mouth, and all alongst the coast. Wherefore they sent forth certeine shallops, to espie whether they were friends or enemies, and what their number and order was. It chanced, that the same time, the men of warre which were appointed to keepe the French fleet, were gone forth, together with a great number of the mariners, to spoile and fetch booties abroad in the countrie.

The English espials therefore, making semblance as though they had bene some fishermen of those parts, came verie nere the French ships lieng at anchor, and perceiuing them to be vnurnished of people necessarie to defend them, came backe to their companie, and declared what they had seene, certifieng their capitains that the victorie was in their hands, if they would make speed. The capitains glad of these newes, commanded their men to make them readie to giue battell, and causing their mariners to make saile directlie towards the French fleet, at their first approach they wanne those tall ships that laie at anchor abroad before the haven, without any great resistance, the mariners onelie making request to haue their liues saued. The other smaller vessels which (after the tide was gone) remained vpon the sands (spoiling them first of their tackle and other things that would serue to vse) they consumed with fier, the mariners escaping by flight.

Thus the Englishmen hauing dispatched this business with good successe, did set vpon those ships that laie in harbrough within the haven. But here was hard hold for a while, because the narrownesse of the place would not giue any great advantage to the greater number. And those Frenchmen that were gone abroad into the countrie, perceiuing that the enemies were come, by the running afloat of the mariners, returned with all speed to their ships to aid their fellows, and so made valiant resistance for a time, till the Englishmen getting on land, and ranging themselves on either side of the haven, beat the Frenchmen so on the sides, and the ships grappling together on front, that they fought as it had bin in a

pitched field, till that finally the Frenchmen were not able to susteine the force of the Englishmen, but were constrained (after long fight and great slaughter) to yeld themselves prisoners.

The English capitains glad of this victorie gotten, contrarie to expectation, first gaue thanks to God for the same, and then manning thre hundred of those French ships, which they had taken fraught with corne, wine, oile, flesh, and other vittells, and also with armour, they sent them afloat into England, and afterwards they set fire vpon the residue that lay on ground, which were aboue an hundred, because they were drawne vp so farre vpon the sands, that they could not easilie get them out, without their further inconuenience. After this, comming on land with their power, they marched forth into the countrie in good order of battell, to the end that if they should encounter with king Philip by the way comming to the rescue of his ships, they might be readie to giue them battell, which thing was not denied, without god and great consideration.

For king Philip being certified of the danger wherein his ships stood by the sudden comming of his enemies, and therewithall being in good hope to come to their succours in time, and per the Englishmen had wrote their full feat, he raised his siege, and made hast toward the coast: but as he was comming forward towards his nauie, he was aduertised that the enemies had wone all his whole fleet, and were now marching forth to meet him, and to giue him battell. Also it was told him, how Ferdinando the earle of Flanders, being certified of the victorie achieved by his friends, followed at his backe. Wherefore, leaue he should seme ouer rashlie to commit himselfe into manifest perill, he staid a little from Buges, and there incamped for that day, as if he ment to abide the comming of his enemies.

The next morrow he raised and returned towards France, the verie same waie that he came, no man pursuing him. For the Englishmen contented with that victorie which they had gotten, thought it not necessarie to follow him with their further hazard. In the meane time, king Iohn receiuing newes of this prosperous victorie thus gotten by his people, did wonderfullie reioice for the same, conceiuing an hope, that all his business would now come forward and growe to good successe.

This is the truth of this historie, as some authors haue set it forth. But James Meir in his discourse of Flanders declareth the matter somewhat otherwise, as thus: Upon the thurdate before the Pentecost (saith he) the English fleet setting vpon the French nauie, which laie at anchor in the haven of Dam, drowned certeine of the French vessels, and toke to the number of foure, which they conueied afloat with them. Ferdinando the earle of Flanders hauing an armie of men readie by land, was lodged the same time not far off from the coast, and therefore hearing what had chanced, came the next day, and joined with the Englishmen.

There were yet remaining also diuerse other of the French ships (besides those which the Englishmen had sunke and taken) which were drawne vp further into the land ward. The earle of Flanders therefore, and the English capitains iudged, that it should much hinder the French kings attempts, if they might win those ships also with the towne of Dam, wherein the king had laid vp a great part of his prouision for the furniture of his warres. Whereupon the Englishmen were set on land, and joining with the earls power, they marched strait towards Dam. This was vpon Whitsun euen, on the which day, as they were most busie in assaulting the towne and ships which laie there in the haven, the French king being

The French
k. returneth
into France.

Matt. Paris.
Polydor.
Iacob. Meir.

The English
men and Flem-
ings being
driven by the
French forces.

The French
king burneth
his ships.

An hermit nam-
ed Peter of
Donchester, or
Donchisto as
some writers
have.
See 23. Fox,
tome first, pag.
331.

The hermit
and his sonne
hanged.

being come astraie from Gaunt, suddenlie set upon them, and though in the beginning he found sharpe resistance, yet in the end, the Englishmen and Flemings overset with the great multitudes of the Frenchmen, were put to flight, and chased to their ships, with the losse of two thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, amongst the which were found to be 22 knights.

The earle of Flanders with the earles of Bollen and Sahsburie, doubting to lose their ships, and late gotten battie, sailed strait into one of the Isles of Zealand called Walckern. Then the French king constraining them of Gaunt, Bruges, and Wyres, to deliver unto him pledges, caused the towne of Dain, and his ships lieng there in the haven to be burned, doubting least they should come into the hands of his enemies. This done, he returned into France, leaving his sonne Lewis and the earle of S. Paule in garrison at Lille and Dowaer, and for great sums of monie, which by agreement he receiued of the townes of Gaunt, Bruges, and Wyres, he restored unto them their pledges. Thus saith Meire and Marthe Paris differeth not much from him touching the successe which chaunted to the Englishmen by land. Here will I sticke while in the further narration of this matter, and touch by the way a thing that happened to king John about this present time.

There was in this season an hermit, whose name was Peter dwelling about Dowe, a man in great reputation with the common people, because that either inspired with some spirit of prophesie as the people believed, or else having some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to tell what should follow after. And for so much as oftentimes his sayings proved true, great credit was given to him as to a verie prophet: which was no good consequence that therefore his predictions comprised undoubtedly events. Naie rather, with in this pseudoprophet or false foreteller of afterclaps, these necessarie concurrences (namelie,

*Si sensus atq; effectus comprehenderit omnes,
Si spernens profusa mortalia gaudia, sese
Abdicet a curis terrenis, asiduusq;
Conetur studio ad superos extollere mentem,
Tunc etenim sapiens fiet, poteritq; futura
Cernere, vel vigilans vel somno oppressa inertis,
Hoc pacto cecinere olim ventura prophetae)*

were wanting, and that he was contrarie qualified to that which this heptastichon comprehendeth, necessarilie it followeth, that he was not as he was taken, but rather a deluder of the people, and an instrument of Satan raised up for the enlargement of his kingdom: as the sequels of this discourse importeth. This Peter about the first of Januarie last past, had told the king, that at the feast of the Ascension it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdom. And whether, to the intent that his words should be the better believed, or whether upon too much trust of his owne cunning he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie proved not true. Whereupon being committed to prison within the castell of Corf, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage unto king John, he was by the kings commandement drawne from the said castell, unto the towne of Marham, & there hanged, together with his sonne.

The people much blamed king John, for this extreme dealing, because that the hermit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offense committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreover, some thought, that he had much wrong to die, because the matter fell out such as he had prophesied: for the day before the Ascension day, king John had resign-

ned the superiourtie of his kingdom (as they take the matter unto the pope, and had done to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indeed, as authors ascribe. One cause, and that not the least which moved king John the sooner to agree with the pope, rose through the words of the said hermit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow through the dissolution of his people, that it made him yield the sooner. But to the matter againe.

King John (after his captiues in Flanders had sped so well as before ye have heard) prepared to make a sojourn into Guien, not much regarding the matter, in that the realme stood as yet interdicted. But when he understood by his lords, that they would not go with him except the interdicting might first be released, and he clearly absolved of the popes curse, to the end that Gods wrath and the popes being fully pacified towards him, he might with better speed move and mainteine the warres, he was constrained to change his purpose, and so comming to Winchester, dispatched forth a messenger with letters, signed with the hands of foure and twentie earles and barons, to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Hereford, as then sojourning in France, requiring them with all the other banished men to returne into England, promising them by his letters patents, not onelie a sure safetie, but for their comming ouer, but that he would also forget all passed displeasures, and frankly restore unto euerie man all that by his means had bene wrongfullie taken from them, and as yet by him detained.

The archbishop and the other bishops receiuing the kings letters, with all speed made hast to come into England, and so arriving at Dover the sixteenth day of Iulie, with other the banished men, they went to Winchester, where the king yet remained, who hearing that the bishops were come, went forth to receiue them, and at his first meeting with the archbishop of Canturburie, he kneeled downe at his feet, and besought him of forgiveness, and that it would please him and the other bishops also to provide for the release of the miserable state of the realme. Here with the water standing in diuerse of their eyes on both sides, they entered into the citie, the people greatly reioysing to behold the head of the commonwealth agree at length with the members. This was in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1213.

King John required of the archbishop (having as then the popes power in his hands, because he was his legat) to be absolved, promising upon his solemne receiued oath, that he would (afore all things) defend the church and the order of priesthood from receiving any wrongs. Also, that he would restore the old lawes made by the ancient kings of England, and namelie those of S. Edward, which were almost extinguished and forgotten. And farther, that he would make recompense to all men whom he had by any means indamaged. This done, he was absolved by the archbishop, & shortly after he sent his oratours to Rome, to intreat with the bishop to take awaie the interdiction of the land. On the morrow after also, the king sent his letters unto all the shiriffes of the counties within the realme, commanding them to summon foure lawfull men of euerie towne belonging to the demeans of the crowne, to make their appearance at S. Albons, upon the 4 daie of August, that they and other might make inquisition of the losses which euerie bishop had sustained, what had bene taken from them, and what ought to be restored to them as due for the same.

The archbishop for that time taking his leave of the king, went to Canturburie, where he restored the monks

The archbi-
shop taketh
possession of
his see.

The lords re-
solved to follow
the king into
France.

King John
forsooth to the
archbishop &
the other bi-
shops to re-
turne.

King Henrie
the first his
lawes.

The bishops
do returne.

They came to
Winchester
20 of Iulie.

The king
leth to the
archbishop.

The archbi-
shop menaceth
to excommu-
nicate those
with the king.

The king
priestly to be
absolved.

He is ab-
solved.

A quest of
inquire.

Ralph Cog.
The earle of
Glouce.

The archb-
shop taketh
possession of
his see.

The lords re-
fule to follow
the king into
France.

Iohn
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King Henrie
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The archb-
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Rafe Cog.
The earle of
Houlse.

monks to their abbie, and then took possession of his see, being the thoo and fortieth archbishop that had ruled the same. In the meane time, the king repaired to Portsmouth, there to take the sea to saile ouer into Poitou, committing the rule of the realme unto Geoffrey Fitz Peter or Fitz Peers, lord cheefe iustice, and to the bishop of Winchester, commanding them to vse the counsell and aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie, in gouerning things touching the common-wealth. Here with there came also to the king a great multitude of men of warre, alledging, that they had spent in itaile for him, and his going ouer sea all their monie, so that he must now needs giue them wages, if he would haue them to passe ouer with him into France. The which when he refused to do, he was constrained to take the water with his owne seruants, arriuing about a thre daies after at the Ile of Jersey: but perceiuing that none of his lords followed him according to his commaundement, as one disappointed of aid, he returned backe againe into England, there to take further order for this their misdeemeanour.

Whilest these things were thus in doing, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, and the bishop of Winchester were come to S. Albons, together with the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops and peeres of the realme, where the kings peace being proclaimed to all men, it was on his behalfe streitlie commanded, that the lawes of K. Henrie his grandfather should be obserued vniuersallie within his realme, and that all vniuall lawes and ordinaunces should be abrogated. It was also commanded, that no shiriffe, nor forrester, nor other minister of the kings, should vpon paine of life and limme, take violentlie anie thing of any man by waie of extortion, nor presume to wrong anie man, or to fine anie man, as they had afore time bene accustomed to do.

After this, the king being come backe from his iourne, which he purposed to haue made into Poitou, assembled an armie, and went to haue gone against those lords which had refused to go with him, but the archbishop of Canturburie comming to him at Portsmouth, sought to appease his mod, and to cause him to staie, but yet in his furious rage he went forward till he came to Spotingham, and there with much ado, the archbishop following him with threatening to excommunicate all those that should aid him, procured him to leaue off his enterprise.

When the archbishop (about the five and twentieth day of August) came to London, there to take aduise for the reformation of things touching the gouernement of the common-wealth. But here whilset the archbishop, with other peeres of the realme denied orders verie necessarie (as was thought) for the state of the common-wealth, the king doubting least the same should be a hyble for him to restraine his authoritie rofall from doing things to his pleasure, he began to find fault, and seemed as though he had repented himselfe of his large promises made for his reconciliation: but the archbishop of Canturburie so aduised his mod, and perswaded him, by opening vnto him what danger would insue both to him and to his realme, if he went from the agreement, that he was glad to be quiet for feare of further trouble.

In this hurle burle also the lords and peeres of the realme (by the setting on of the archbishop) were earnestlie bent to haue the king to restore and confirme the grant which his grandfather king Henrie the first had by his charter granted and confirmed to his subiects, which to do, king Iohn thought greatlie prejudiciall to his roiall estate and dignitie. The earle of Houlse hauing lost all his possessions, the citie of Houlse onelie excepted, came ouer into England, and rendered the said citie into the hands of king Iohn,

and receiued at his departure, the summe of ten thousand marks as was reported, by the bountifull gift of king Iohn.

Upon the second of October, Geoffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex and lord cheefe iustice of England departed this life, a man of great power and autoritie, in whose politike direction and gouernement, the order of things pertaining to the common-wealth cheefelie consisted. He was of a noble mind, expert in knowledge of the lawes of the land, rich in possessions, and ioined in blood or affinitie with the more part of all the Nobles of the realme, so that his death was no small losse to the commonwealth: for through him and the archbishop Hubert, the king was oftentimes reuoked from such wilfull purposes, as now and then he was determined to haue put in practice, in so much that the king, as was reported (but how trulie I cannot tell) seemed to reioice for his death, because he might now worke his will without anie to controll him.

The same time, to wit, about the feast of saint Michaele, came Nicholas the cardinall of Tusculane into England, sent from the pope, to take auaite the interdiction, if the king would stand to that agreement which he had made and promised by his oth to performe. King Iohn receiued this cardinall in most honorable wise, and gladlie heard him in all things that he had to saie. This legat at his comming to Westminster, deposed the abbat of that place, named William from his towne, for that he was accused both of waisting the reuenues of the house, and also of notable incontinencie. Whereouer the burgeses of the towne of Oxford came vnto him to obtaine absolution of their offense, in that through their presumption, the thre schollers (of whom ye haue heard before) were hanged there, to the great terror of all the residue. To be short, they were absolved and penance imposed them, that they should strip them out of their apparell at euerie church in the towne, and going barefooted with scourges in their hands, they should require the benefit of absolution of euerie parish priest within their towne, saieing the psalme of Miserere.

After this, the said cardinall called a councell or conuocation of the cleargie, to reforme such things touching the state of the church as should be thought requisite. And though he handled not this matter with such fauour and byrightnesse as the bishops wished on their behalves, yet he caused king Iohn to restore the most part of all those goods that remained vnspent, and also the value of halfe of those that were consumed and made awaie, vnto those persons as well spirituall as temporall, from whom they had bene taken in time of the discord betwixt him and the pope. But before all things could be thus quieted and set in order betwixt the king and the bishops, manie meetings were had, as at London, Reading, Wallingford, and in other places.

How the archbishop and prelates for their parts thought this recompense to be but small, in respect of the great losses and hinderances which they had sustained: and to haue the whole restitution delated, they took it not well. Wherebet the cardinall leaned so to the kings side (hauing receiued of him to the popes vse the charter of subiection of the realmes of England and Ireland, now bulled with gold, where at the first it was deliuered to Pandulph sealed onelie with wax. But their suit came to little effect, and in the end it fell out in such wise, that their complaint was lesse regarded. Whereouer, the rating of the value which the king should restore vnto the archbishop, and the other bishops, was by agreement of the king and them together, appointed vnto foure barons indifferentlie chosen betwixt them.

Matth. Paris.
Geoffrey Fitz
Peers or Fitz
Peter departed
this life.

A cardinall
sent into En-
gland.

The burges-
ses of Oxford
require abso-
lution.

A conuocation
called by the
cardinall.

Restitution to
be made to
the bishops.

King John
commenced
to the pope
for an hum-
ble prince.

March. Paris.
The presump-
tion of the
cardinal.

1214

Warton upon
Trent.
Donstable.
A spind.
Disorder be-
tween the car-
dinal and the
archbishop of
Canterbury.

Walter Gray
bishop of Wor-
cester is re-
mained to the
see of York.

At length notwithstanding that desire took no place: for it was otherwise decreed by the pope, that the king should restore to them the summe of forty thousand marks, of the which he had paid already twelve thousand, before the returne of the said archbishop and bishops into the realme, and fiftene thousand more at the late meeting had betwixt them at Reading, so that there remained onely 13000 behind: for not onely the king, but also the cardinall had sent to the pope, requiring him to take direction in the matter, and to aduertise him, that there was a great fault in the archbishop and his fellows. In so much that Pandolph which was sent to him from the legat, declared in favour of the king, that there was not a more humble and modest prince to be found than king John, and that the archbishop and his fellows were too hard, and shewed themselves too curious in requiring the restitution that should be made to them for losses sustained in time of the interdiction.

Now the cause wherefore the legat and the king did send unto the pope, was this. There was some grudge betwixt the legat and the archbishop, for that where the pope had written to the legat, how he should according to the order of the ancient canons of the church place in euerie bishops see and abbey (that was void) meet and able persons to rule and guide the same, the legat presuming on that authority granted him by the pope, without the aduise of the archbishop or other bishops, took onely with him certaine of the kings chaplains, and comming with them to such churches as were vacant, ordeined in them such persons as were nothing meet to take such charge upon them, and that according to the old abuse of England, as Matthew Paris saith. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie repining at such doings, sent to the legat as then being at Warton upon Trent, two of his chaplains from Donstable (where he and his suffragans held as then a synod, after the feast of the Epiphanie) commanding him by waile of appeals, in no wise to meddle with instituting any gouernours to churches, within the precinct of his iurisdiction, where such institutions belonged onely to him.

Whereupon the refore the legat dispatched Pandolph to Rome unto the pope as is aforesaid, and the king likewise sent ambassadoys thither, as the bishop of Norwich, and the archdeacon of Northumberland, with others, the which in the end so behaued themselves in their suit, that notwithstanding Simon Langton the archbishops brother earnestlie withstood them, as proctor for the bishops, yet at length, the pope took order in the matter, writing unto his legat, that he should see the same fulfilled, and then absolve the realme of the former interdiction. In this meane time, king John made promise to go ouer into France (as after we shall heare) but at his going ouer he committed the whole ordering of this matter unto the legat, and to William Sparshall the earle of Penbrooke. The legat therefore upon the receipt of the popes bulles, called a counsell at London, and there declaring what was conteined in the same, he took bandes for payment of the residue of the forty thousand marks which was behind, being 13000 onely, as before I haue said.

About the same time also, Walter Gray bishop of Worcester was removed to the gouernement of the see of York, which had been vacant ever since the death of the archbishop Cessrey. This Walter was the thirtieth archbishop that gouerned that see. But now to returne and speake of the kings affaires in the parts beyond the sea. We shall understand, that hauing set his businesse in some good staie at home with the legat, he applied his studie to the

performance of his wars abroad, and therefore he first sent money into Flanders to paie the soldiers wages, which he had sent thither to aid the earle there against king Philip. Which earle came ouer this yeare into England, and at Canturburie the king received him, where he did homage to the king for the whole earldome of Flanders: and on the other part, the king as well to the said earle, as to such lords and bishops which came ouer with him, declared his royal liberality by princelie gifts of gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones. After his returne, such captains as remained in his countrie with their bands at the king of Englands paie, made a iournee into France, and possessed the lands that belonged to the earle of Guisnes, waunte the castell of Bureham, and rased it, taking within it many men of armes and demilances. They also waunte by siege the towne of Aire, and burnt it. The castell of Liens they took by assault, and slew many soldiers that defended it, beside those which they took prisoners.

Moreover, they walked and destroyed the lands which Lewis the French kings sonne was possessed of in those parts. In the meane time, king John hauing prepared a mightie nauie, and a strong armie of valiant soldiers, took sea at Portsmouth on Candlemas day, with his wife, his sonne Richard, Elizabeth the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine. He had not many of his earles or barons with him, but a great number of knights and gentlemen, with whom he landed at Rochell in Gasconie, within a few daies after his setting forth. He took ouer with him inestimable treasure, as it was reported, in gold, silver, and jewels. Immediately upon his arrivall at Rochell, the barons of Poitou renouled from the French king, and comming in to king John, did homage unto him, as to their king and soueraigne lord.

But howsoeuer it was, after the truce began to expire which he had granted unto the earls of Barthe and Angi, on the friday before Whitsunday he came with his armie before the castell of Spetrucient, which belonged unto Cessrey de Lucignam, and on the day next ensuing being Whitsun eue, he waunte the same. On Whitsunday he laid siege unto Rouant, an other castell belonging to the same Cessrey, who as then was lodged in the same, and also two of his sonnes: but within three daies after that the siege was laid, the earle of Barthe came to king John, and did so much puenance, that through his means, both Cessrey and his two sonnes were receiued to mercie, and king John put in possession of the castell. After this, because king John was aduertised, that Lewis the French kings sonne had now besieged Spountcounter, a castell that was appertaining to the said Cessrey, he hastid thitherwards, and came to Parthenay, whither came to him as well the foresaid earle of Barthe, as also the earle of Angi, and both they together with the said Cessrey de Lucignam, did homage to our king, and so became his liege men. The same time also, the lady Jane the kings daughter was affianced to the said earle of Barthe his sonne, whereas the French king made means to haue her married to his sonne: but because king John doubted least that suit was attempted but under some cloaked pretence, he would giue no care thereto, but rather made this match with the earle of Barthe, in hope so to assure himselfe of the said earle, that he might stand him in no small need to defend his cause against his aduersaries of France. But now to the doings in England.

We haue heard before how pope Innocent (or rather Ponce, who was the root of much mischief and trouble, which qualities are nothing consonant to his name) according to that king John had required of him by solenne challenges directed his bulles unto his

Some letters
to Pandolph.

Rafe Cessrey
the earle of
Flanders
doth homage
to king John.

March. Paris.
The letters of
the king of
France written.

The first
sonne

The earle
of Barthe.

John
badeth Jane.

Anno. Regi.

Cessrey de
Lucignam.

Rouant.

Spount-
counter.

Parthenay.

Jane the
daughter of
king John
married to the
earle of Barthe.

The English
naue put
to flight.
Peter the
king of France
some take
prisoner.

The French
kings sonne
came to fight
with king
John.

John re-
moueth to
Angiers.
The Poitou
insubdue
the French
the battell
of Poitiers
of Bouvins.

me sentin
landers,

Cog.
caricot
nders
homage
John.

h. Paris,
lands of
of Gunt.
waited.

The interdic-
non released.

The emperor
John.

Reg. 16.

John in-
mately by
saine,

ment.
p. 16
nam.

nt.

The By-
tains put
to flight.

Peter the erle
of Wyke his
sone taken
prisoner.

The French
kings sonne
came to fight
with king
John.

John re-
moueth to
Angiers.
The Poitou-
ins subdued
by the French.
The battell at
the bridge of
Bouins.

his legat Nicholas, declaring vpon that condicions his pleasure was to haue the sentence of interdiction released. Wherein first he commanded that the king should satisfie and pay so much monie vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London and Ely, as should fullie amount to the summe of 40 thousand markes (with that which already he had paid, which was 27 thousand markes, at two seuerall payments, as vpon his accounts appeared.) For true contentation and payment to be made of the residue, he ordeined that the king should be sworn, and also seale to an obligation, and certeine suerties with him (as the bishops of Norwich and Winchester, with the earles of Chester, Win- chester, and Warhal) all which things were perfor- med at this present, so that after the assurance so ta- ken for payment of the ob 13 thousand marks behind, residue of the 40 thousand marks, the interdiction was taken utterly awaie, and the land sollemnly released by the legat, sitting within the cathedrall church of S. Paule at London, vpon the 29 of June, in the yeare 1214, after the terme of six yeares, three moneths, and 14 daies, that the realme had bene stricken with that dreadfull dart of correction, as it was then esteemed.

King Iohn in the meane time remaining still in France, and finding at the beginning fortune fauor- able inough vnto him, by reason his power was much increased by the aid of the Poitouins, determi- ned to attempt the winning of Britaine, for this cause speciallie, that he might by so doing weaken the French kings power, and partlie also to with- draw him from the wars of Flanders, on which side he had procured likewise the French borders to be innaded with great force, and that not onely by the earle and such capitains as he had sent thither, and re- tained in wages, but also by the emperor Otto, who in proper person came downe into that countrie himselfe.

Herevpon king Iohn went forth with all his power of horsemen, and entering into Britaine, made rodes through the countrie, wasting the same euen to the walles of Haunts: but shortly after the Britaines assembled together, vnder the leading of Peter, the son of Robert earle of Wyke (the French kings vncle, who had married the ladie Adela, daugh- ter to duke Guile of Britaine) and marching forth in- to the field to defend their countrie from the en- mies, came to ioine with them in battell. At the first there was a verie sharpe encounter, but at length the Britains being vanquished and put to flight, a great number of them were taken prisoners, and amongst other their capitains, the foresaid Peter was one, whom king Iohn sent awaie with all the rest vnto Angiers, to be kept in safegard vntill he should re- turne.

After this, he besieged a castell that stood vpon the banke of the riuer of Loier, called La Roch au moyne, inforcing his whole indour to haue twome it. But per he could attaine his purpose, he was ad- uertised that Leues the sonne of king Philip was coming towards him with a great power to raise his siege. Wherefore hauing no great confidence in the Poitouins, and understanding that Leues brought with him a verie strong armie, he toke ad- uise of his counsell, who iudged that it should be best for him to breake vp his siege and to depart, which he did, and went straight waies to Angiers. Leues (af- ter king Iohn was thus retired) brought the Poitou- ins againe to subiection, and put the chiefe authours of the rebellion to death. In the meane time also his father king Philip with like successe, but in a fough- ten field, vanquished the emperor Otto at the bridge of Bouins on the 28 day of Iulie, as in the h

storie of France more at large appeare. There a- mong other prisoners, the three earles of Flanders Salisburie and Bollogne were taken.

Now king Iohn being aduertised of that ouer- throw, was maruellouslie sad and sorrowfull for the chance, in somuch that he would not receiue any meat in a whole daie after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his sorrow in- to rage, he openlie said, that since the time that he made himselfe & his kingdom subiect to the church of Rome, nothing that he did had prospered well with him. Indeed he condescended to an agreement with the pope (as may be thought) more by force than of de- votion, and therefore rather dissembled with the pope (sith he could not otherwise chuse) than agreed to the covenants with any hartie affection.

But to the purpose. Perceiuing himselfe now de- stitute of his best friends, of whom diuerse remained prisoners with the French king (being taken at the battell of Bouins) he thought good to agree with king Philip for this present, by way of taking some truce, which by mediation of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for five yeares, and to begin at Easter, in the yeare of our Lord, 1215. After this, about the 19 daie of October he returned into England, to appease cer- teine tumults which began already to shoot out buds of some new ciuill dissention. And suerlie the same spread abroad their blossoms so freshlie, that the fruit was knit before the growth by anie timelie prouisi- on could be hindered. For the people being set on by diuerse of the superiours of both sorts, finding them- selues grieved that the king kept not promise in re- storing the ancient lawes of S. Edward, determi- ned from thenceforth to vse force, since by request he might not preuaile. To appease this furie of the peo- ple, not onlie policie but power also was required, for the people vndertaking an euill enterprise, speci- allic raising a tumult or toying in a conspiracie are as hardlie suppressed and vanquished as hydra the monster hauing many heads: and therefore it is well said, that

— comes est discordia vulgi,
Nanque à turbando nomen sibi turba recipit.

The pables supposing that longer delate therein was not to be suffered, assembled themselves toge- ther at the abbete of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to do their deuotions to the bodie of S. Ed- mund which late there inlyined) where they uttered their complaint of the kings tyrannicall maners, al- ledging how they were oftentimes called forth to serue in the wars & to fight in defense of the realme, and yet notwithstanding were still oppressed at home by the kings officers, who (vpon confidence of the lawes) attempted all things whatsoever they concei- ued. And if anie man complained, or alledged that he receiued wrong at their hands, they would an- swer by and by, that they had laid on their side to do as they had done, so that it was no wrong but right which they did, and therefore if they that were the lords and pères of the realme were men, it stood them vpon to prouide that such inconueniences might be a- voided, and better lawes brought in vse, by the which their ancestors liued in a more quiet and happie state.

There was brought forth and also read an ancient charter made sometime by Henrie the first (which charter Stephen the archbishop of Canturburie had deliuered vnto them before in the citie of London) concerning the grant of certeine liberties according to the lawes of king Edward the confessor, profit- able to the church and barons of the realme, which they purposed to haue vniuersallie executed ouer all the land. And therfore being thus assembled in the quere

The taking of
king John.

A truce taken
betwixt the
two kings of
England &
France.

A cloked dis-
grunage.

The charter
of St. Henrie
the first.
A firebrand of
dissention.

of the church of S. Edmund, they refused a solemn oath upon the altar there, that if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thenceforth make warre upon him, till they had obtained their purpose, and enforced him to grant, not onely to all these their petitions, but also yeld to the confirmation of them under his seale, for ever to remaine most stedfast and inuincible.

Bernewell.

The chiefe cause that moued the lords to this conspiracy, rose by reason the king demanded elcuage of them that refused to go with him into Poitou: and they on the other part mainteined, that they were not bound to paie it, for any warres which the king made in the parts beyond the seas. But he to proue that he ought to haue it, declared how in his fathers and brothers time it was paid, and therefore he ought to haue it. Much adoe there was about this matter at the first boding thereof, and more adoe there had bene, if the legats presence had not somewhat staid the parties. But after they had gotten the charter of king Henrie the first at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, they made such a sinister interpretation thereof, that supposing it to serue their turnes, they proceeded in their wilfull opinions (as aboue is mentioned.)

Finallie it was determined amongst them, that shortly after Chyismasse, they should go to the king, and require of him that they might haue those lawes restored, which he had promised to them (as is aforesaid.) But forasmuch as they knew well that their sute would not be thankfullie accepted, in the meane time they prouided themselves of horse, armour, and other furniture for the warre, thereby to be in the better readinesse and safegard, if in exhibiting their request, the matter did grow to any such enforcement. They appointed also diuerse of the most ancient lords to moue the said matter to the king, in all their names, who was as then at Worcester, and being aduertised of this conspiracie, as soon as the feast of Chyismasse was past, he went streight to London: thither came the lords also with like speed, leaving their men in the townes and villages abroad, to be readie vpon any sudden warning to come vnto them, if need should so require.

I 2 I 5
Matt. Paris.
Polydor.The lords
present their
request to the
king.

Being come into his presence, they required of him that it might please him, first, to appoint the exercise and vse of those ancient lawes vnto them, by the which the kings of England in times past ruled their subiects: secondlie, that according to his promise, he would abrogate those newer lawes, which euery man might with good cause name mere wrongs, rather than lawes: and thirdlie they required of him the performance of all other things, which he had most faithfullie of late undertaken to obserue. The king (though somewhat contrarie to his nature) hauing heard their request, gaue them a verie gentle answer. For perceiuing them readie with force to constrain him, if by gentlenesse they might not prouaile, he thought it should be more safe and easie for him to turne their vniquiet minds with soft remedies than to go about to breake them of their willes by strong hand, which is a thing verie dangerous, especially where both parts are of like force. Therefore he promised them within a few daies, to haue consideration of their request.

The king
promised
to consider
of their
requests.

And to the intent they might giue the more credit to his words, he caused the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Ely, with William Marshall earle of Penbrooke (vnto whome he had giuen his daughter Eliane in marriage) to undertake for him, and as it were to become his surties: which willinglie they did. Wherewith the minds of the po-

bilitie being somewhat pacified, returned home to their houses. The king soon after also, to assure himselfe the more effectually of the allegiance of his people in time to come, caused euery man to renew his homage, and to take a new oath to be faithfull to him against all other persons. And to prouide the more suerlie for himselfe, on Candlemasse day next ensuing, he took vpon him the crosse to go into the holie land, which I thinke he did rather for feare than any deuotion, as was also thought by other, to the end that he might (under the protection thereof) remaine the more out of danger of such as were his foes. In which point of dissimulation he shewed himselfe prudent, obseruing the counsell of the wiseman,

inlufum corde dolorem
Disimula atq. ranc, ne deteriora subinde
Damma feras.

Some say that a great part of this variance that chanced betwene king Iohn and his barons, was because the king would without skillfull aduise haue eriled the earle of Chester, and for none other occasion than for that he had oftentimes aduised him to leaue his cruell dealing, and also his accustomed adulterie with his brothers wife and others. Other write, that the same dissention rose by reason of the great crueltie, and vnreasonable auarice, which the king vsed towards all the states and degrees of his subiects, as well towards them of the spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie. The prelates therefore of the realme seuerely repriming at his doings, for that they could not patiently suffer such exaction to be leuied of their liuings (contrarie as they toke it to the libertie of the church) found means through practise, to perswade both the kings of Scotland and France to aid and support them against him, by linking themselves together with sundrie noblemen of England. But these seeme to be coniectures of such writers as were euill affected towards the kings cause.

Now therefore to the sequelle of the matter. The king hauing sent abate the barons with a gentle answer, though he minded nothing lesse than to satisfie them in that they did demand, because it made much against his roiall prerogative: and therewith foreseeing that the matter would be like to grow at length to be tried by force, he began to dout his owne estate, and therefore prepared an armie, and fortified diuerse castles and places with men, munition, and vittels, into the which he might retire for his safetie in any time of need. The barons which understood the kings diligence herein, and coniecturing thereof his whole intent, made readie also their power, appointing for their generall one Robert Fitz Walter, a man both excellent in counsell, and valiant in warre. Herewith they came vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, presenting vnto him a booke, wherein was contained a note of all the articles of their petitions, & required him to vnderstand the kings mind touching the same. The archbishop coueting to extinguish the sedition (whereof he himselfe had bene no small kindler) which was like to grow, if the pobilitie were not pacified the sooner, talked with the king, and exhorted his grace verie instantlie to satisfie the requests of his barons, and herewith did shew the booke of the articles which they had deliuered vnto him.

The king, when he saw that they demanded (which in effect was a new order in things touching the whole state of the common wealth) swore in a great furie, that he would neuer condescend vnto those petitions. Whereof when the barons had knowledge, they gat them strait vnto armour, making their assemble at Stamford in the Easter weeke, whither they had draue vnto them almost the whole pobilitie, and gathered an exceeding great armie. For the commons

Matt. Paris.
The king
renewed
a new
oath of
allegiance
to his
subiects.The king
took
vpon him
the crosse.The causes
the
dissention
betweene
the king
and his
barons.
Fabian.
Caxton.
The earle
of
Chester.
Hector Boet.
The kings
conetouling.The repriming
of the clerics
against the king.

Polydor.

Robert Fitz
Walter.The archbishop
of Canturburie
moueth the king
to satisfie the
requests of the
barons.The king
refuseth to
grant their
petitions.
Matt. Paris.The barons
giue a
public
name
to their
armie.
Another
town
beside
they
to the
city
March.
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Berke
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commons flocked unto them from euerie part, because the king was generallie hated of the moze part of his subiects.

It was conjectured that there were in that armie the number of two thousand knights, beside peomen on horsebacke or demilances (as I may call them) and footemen apparelled in diuerse sorts of armour.

The names of the lords that banded themselves against the king.

The chiefe ringleaders of this power were these, whose names insue: Robert Fitz Walter, Cassace Mescie, Richard Percie, Robert Ros, Peter de Breule, Nicholas de Stuteuill, Saer earle of Winchester, Robert erle of Clare, Hencie earle of Clare, Richard earle de Wigot, William de Poitobray, William de Cressley, Kasse Fitz Robert, Robert de Mere, Fouke Fitz Warren, Will. Spallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchampe, Simon de Montacute, William Sparrhall the younger, William Spanduit, Robert de Spontibigonis, John Fitz Robert, John Fitz Alane, G. Lauale, D. Fitz Alane, W. de Hobzug, D. de Wales, G. de Gaunt, Maurice de Gaunt, Robert de Bakedley, Robert de Spountschet, Will. de Lannalpey, G. de Spounde uille earle of Essex, William his brother, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Cressley, G. constable of Spenton, Alexander de Panton, Peter Fitz John, Alexander de Sutton, Othert de Bodie, John constable of Chester, Thomas de Spuleton, Conan Fitz Helie, and manie other; they had also of counsell with them as chiefe the archbishop of Canturburie.

Anno Reg. 17.

Math. Paris.

The king cometh to the lords.

The king as then was at Oxford, who hearing of the assemblie which the barons made, and that they were come to Bakedley, on the mondaie next after the octauas of Easter, he sent unto them the archbishop of Canturburie, in whom he reposed great confidence, and William Sparrhall earle of Penbroke, to understand what they meant by that their assembling thus together. Whereupon they deliuered to the same messengers a roll containing the ancient liberties, priuiledges and customs of the realme, signifying that if the king would not confirme the same, they would not cease to make him warre, till he should satisfie their requests in that behalfe.

The archbishop and the earle returning to the king, shewed him the whole circumstance of that which the barons demanded, who took great indignation thereat, and scornefullie said: Why do they not aske to haue the kingdome also? Finally, he affirmed with an oath, that he would neuer grant any such liberties, whereby he should become a slave. Whereupon the archbishop and the earle of Penbroke returned to the barons, and declared the kings denial to confirme their articles. Then the barons naming their host the armie of God and the holie church, set forward, and first came unto Northampton, and besieging the towne, when they could not preuaile, because the same was well provided for defence aforehand, they departed from thence, and came towards Bedford to besiege the castell there, in which sir William Beauchampe was captaine, who being secretlie confederate with them, deliuered the place incontinentlie into their hands.

The barons give a plausible name to their armie. Northampton besieged. They won the towne but not the castell. March West. Bedford castell deliuered to the barons.

While they remained here a certein time to fortifie and furnish the castell with necessarie provision, there came letters to them from London, giuing them to understand, that if they would send a convenient power of souldiers to defend the citie, the same should be receiued theretinto at some meet and reasonable time in the night season by the citizens, who would ioine with them in that quarrell against the king to the uttermost of their powers. The lords were glad of these newes, to haue the chiefe citie of the realme to take part with them, and therefore they sent foure bands of souldiers streightwaies thither, which were brought into the citie in the night season

(according to order aforehand taken.) But as Matt. Paris saith, they were receiued into the citie by Algate, the 24 of Maie being sundae, whilest the citizens were at masse. The next day they made open rebellion, took such as they knew fauoured the king, brake into the houses of the Iewes, and spoiled them.

The barons hauing thus gotten possession of the citie of London, wrote letters vnto all those lords which as yet had not ioined with them in this confederacie, threatening that if they refused to aid them now in this necessitie, they would destroie their castles, manors, parkes, and other possessions, making open warre vpon them as the enemies of God, and rebels to the church. These were the names of those lords which yet had not sworn to mainteine the foresaid liberties, William Sparrhall earle of Penbroke, Ranulfe earle of Chester, Nicholas earle of Salisbury, William earle Warren, William erle of Albemarle, H. earle of Cornwall, W. de Albennie, Robert de Weipoint, Peter Fitz Herbert, William de Lisle, G. de Lucie, G. de Furnuall, Thomas Bassel, H. de Bzabroke, J. de Basingborne, W. de Cantlow, H. de Cornwall, John Fitz Hugh, Hugh de Beuill, Philip de Albennie, John Sparrhall, and William Bzeuer. All these vpon receipt of the barons letters, or the moze part of them came to London, and ioined themselves with the barons, vnterlie renouncing to aid king John.

Math. Paris.

The barons write to other of the nobilitie to ioine with them against the king.

Also the ples in the eschequer ceased, and the shiriffes staied from executing their office. For there was none that would paie anie monie to the kings vse, nor anie that did obeie him, in somuch that there remained with him but onelie seven horsemen of all his traine at one time (as some write) though some after he had a great power, which came to him to the castell of Windsoze, where he then late, and meant to haue led the same against the lords with all speed. But hearing now of this new rebellion of the Londoners, he changed his purpose and durst not depart from Windsoze, being brought in great doubt least all the other citie of the realme would follow their example. Whereupon he thought good to assaie if he might come to some agreement by waie of communication, and incontinentlie sent his ambassadors to the barons, promising them that he would satisfie their requests, if they would come to Windsoze to talke with him.

The king lest desolate of friends.

Polydor.

Howbeit, the lords hauing no confidence in his promise came with their armie within three miles of Windsoze, and their pitch downe their tents in a medow betwixt Stanes and Windsoze, whither king John also came the 15 daie of Iune, and shewed such friendlie countenance towards euerie one of them, that they were put in good hope he meant no deceit. Being thus met, they fell in consultation about an agreement to be had. On the kings part (as it were) late the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath, Worcester, Couentrie, Rochester, and Pandulph the popes Nuncio, with Almerike master of the knights templers: the earles of Penbroke, Salisbury, Warren, Arundell, Alane de Calotway, William Fitz Gerald, Peter Fitz Herbert, Alane Bassel, Hugh de Beuill, Hubert de Burgh seneschall of Ireland, Robert de Kopley, John Sparrhall, and Philip de Albennie. On the barons part, there were innumerable, for all the nobilitie of England was in a manner assembled there together.

The lords incamped betwixt Stanes and windsoze.

John cometh to them to talk of some pacification. Math. Paris.

Finally, when the king measuring his owne strength with the barons, perceived that he was not able to resist them, he consented to subscribe and seale to such articles concerning the liberties demanded, in forme for the most part as is contained in the thre charters Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta, be-

Magna Charta and Charta de Foresta.

W. J.

gunning

gaining Iohannes Deigratia, &c. And he did not onlie grant unto them their petitions touching the forsaide liberties, but also to win him further credit, was contented that they should chose out certeine graue and honourable personages, which should haue authoritie and power to see those things performed which he then granted unto them.

There were twentie five of those that were so elected, namelic these. The earles of Clare, Albemarle, Gloucester, Winchester, and Hereford: also earle Roger, earle Robert, earle Marshall the younger, Robert Fitz Walter the younger, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Melcie, Hugh Bigot, William de Poitou, the maior of London, Gilbert de la Maie, Robert de Ros, John constable of Chester, Richard de Percie, John Fitz Robert, William Mallet, Geoffrey de Sate, Roger de Poitou, William de Huntingfield, Richard de Mountfichet, and William de Albene. These five and twentie were swozne to see the liberties granted and confirmed by the king to be in euerie point obserued, but if he went against the same, then they should haue authoritie to compell him to the obseruing of euerie of them.

Moreover, there were other that were swozne to be obedient, and as it were assistant unto these five and twentie piers in such things as they should appoint, which were these. The earle of Arundell, the earle Warren by his attorney, Henrie Doltie, Hubert de Burgh, Mattheu Fitz Herbert, Robert de Pinknic, Roger Huncarle, Robert de Petburgh, Henrie de Pont Audoin, Rafe de la Hay, Henrie de Brestfeld, Warren Fitz Gerald, Thomas Walslet, William de Buckland, William de saint John, Alan Basset, Richard de Rivers, Hugh de Woneuale, Jordan de Sackville, Rafe Mulgrane, Richard Siskewall, Robert de Kopeley, Andreu de Beauchampe, Walter de Dunstable, Walter Ffoliott, Foukes de Bzent, John Marshall, Philip Daubnie, William de Percie, William Agoilum, Engerand de Pratellis, William de Cirenton, Roger de Zuche, Roger Fitz Bernard, and Godfre de Gramcombe. It was further ordered, that the chatelains or constables (as I may call them) of the four castles of Northampton, Killingworth, Potingham, and Scarboro, should be swozne to the five and twentie piers, to gouerne those castles in such wise as they should haue in commandement from the said five and twentie piers, or from the greater part of them: and that such should be placed as chatelains in the same, as were thought to be most true and faithfull unto the barons and the realme. ¶ It was also decreed, that certeine strangers, as Flemings and other, should be banished out of England.

The king hereupon sent his letters patents unto the shiriffes of all the counties of this realme, commanding them to see the ordinances and liberties which he granted and confirmed, to be diligentlie obserued. And for the more strenghtening of this his grant, he had gotten the pope to confirme a like charter granted the yeare before. For the pope (with king John was become his obedient vassall, and the apostolicke kinge easilie granted to graunt both him and his lords herein, and so was the grant of the liberties corroborated & made good with a double confirmation, and so sealed, that it was impossible for them to be separated in funder, the kings grant being annexed to the popes bull.

Immediatlie also upon the confirmation now made by the king, diuerse lords came to him, and requited restitution of such possessions, lands, and houses, as he had in his hands, the right whereof (as they alleged) appertained to them: but he excused the matter, and shifed them off, till by inquest taken, it

might appeare what right euerie man had to those things which they then claimed: and furthermore assigned them a date to be holden at Westmister, which was the sixtenty day of Iulie. But yet he resorted at that time the castell of Rochester unto the archbishop of Cantuarbie, the barons hauing obtained a great peece of their purpose (as they thought) returned to London with their charter sealed, the date whereof was this: Given by our owne hand, in the meadow called Kuningmede or Rime-mede, betwixt Stanes and Windore, the fifteenth of Iune, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

Great reioysing was made for this conclusion of peace betwixt the king and his barons, the people iudging that God had touched the kings heart, and mollified it, whereby happie dates were come for the realme of England, as though it had bene deliuered out of the bondage of Aegypt: but they were much deceived, for the king hauing condescended to make such grant of liberties, farre contrarie to his mind, was right sorrowfull in his heart, cursed his mother that bare him, the houre that he was borne, and the paps that gaue him sucke, wishing that he had receiued death by violence of sword or knife, in stead of naturall noysment: he whetted his teeth, he did bite now on one staffe, and now on an other as he wal-
ked, and oft brake the same in peces when he had done, and with such disordered behauiour and furious gestures he uttered his grée, in such sort, that the noble men berie well perceiued the inclination of his inward affection concerning these things, before the breaking bp of the counsell, and therefore lamented the state of the realme, guessing what would follow of his impatiencie and displeasent taking of the matter.

Hereupon they said among themselves, Who be to vs, yea rather to the whole realme that wanteth a sufficient king, and is gouerned by a tyrant that seeketh the subuersion therof. Now hath our sonerigne lord made vs subiect to Rome, and to the Romish court, so that we must henceforth obtaine our protection from thence. It is verie much to be feared, least we do fele hereafter some further peece of mischief to light vpon vs suddenly. We neuer heard of any king that would not gladlie indenoze to with- draw his necke from bondage & captiuitie, but ours of his owne accord voluntarilie submitteth himselfe to become bassall to euerie stranger. And thus the lords lamenting the case, left the king, and returned to London (as before we haue heard.)

But the king disquieted not a little, for that he was thus driuen to yeld so farre unto the barons, notwithstanding as much as was possible he kept his purpose secret, deniying that means he might dis- appoint all that had bene done, and promised on his part, at this assemblie betwixt him and the lords a pacification (as we haue heard.) Wherefore the next day berie late in the evening, he secretlie departed to Southampton, and so ouer into the Ile of Wight, where he toke aduice with his counsell what remedie he might find to quiet the minds of his lords and barons, and to bring them vnto his purpose. At length after much debating of the matter, it was concluded by the aduise of the greater part, that the king should require the popes aid therein. And so Walter the bishop of Worcester, & John the bishop of Poitou, with one Richard Parith, his chancellor, with all speed were sent as ambassadors from the king vnto pope Innocent, to instruct him of the rebellion of the English Nobilitie, and that he constrained by force had granted them certeine lawes and priuileges, hurtfull to his realme, and preiudiciall to his crowne.

Moreover, with that all this was done by the amb-
tho: tie

The chate-
lains of four
castles.

Rochester
still resorted
to the arch-
bishop of
Cantuarbie.

ugh de
Soues.

Math. Paris.

Math. Paris.

The kings
impatience
to see himselfe
betrayed by his
subiects.

olydor.

The ambassa-
dours coming
to the popes
reference de-
are their
message.

Math. Paris.

The sendeth
ambassadors
to the pope.

The popes
answer vnto
of

thoſſie of the pope, the king beſought him to make the ſame void, and to command the barons to obeie him being their king, as reaſon required they ſhould. There were alſo ſent by him other meſſengers, as Hugh de Boues and others, into diuerſe parts be- yond the ſea, to bring from thence great numbers of men of war and ſouldiers, appointing them to meet him at Douer, at the feaſt of ſaint Michaeſl next in- ſuing. He ſent likewiſe vnto all his chateleins and conſtables of caſtels within the realme, requiring them to provide themſelues of all things neceſſarie for deſenſe of the holds committed to their charge, if they ſhould chance to be beſieged, though it were on the next morrow.

His ambadaours and other meſſengers being thus diſpatched, and hauing but ſew perſons left about him, or in maner none, except ſuch of the biſhop of Bozwich his ſeruants as he had borrowed of him, he ſell to take priſes as any ſhips came by ſuſpected not to be his friends, ſo ſeeking to win the fauour of the mariners that belonged to the cinke ports, and ſo lay cloſe in the Ile of Wight and there about the ſea-coaſts for the ſpace of three moneths together. In which meane time, manie things were reported of him, ſome calling him a filther, ſome a merchant, and ſome a pirat and rouer. And manie (for that no certeine newes could be heard of him) iudged that he was either drowned, or dead by ſome other means. But he ſtill looking for ſome power to come oner to his aid, kept himſelfe out of the way, till the ſame ſhould be arriued, and diſſembled the conceit of his reuenge and hart-grudge, till opportunitie ſerued him with conuenient ſecuritie to put the ſame in execution. Wherein he ſhewed himſelfe diſcret and proudent, and did as in ſuch a caſe one wiſeman doth counſell another, ſaieng,

*Sapiens iramque coëcet,
Sapienter uisiter cedit placidique furentem
Demulcet dictis, & dulcibus allicit hostem
Blanditis, donec deceptum in retia mittat.*

The lords all this while lay at London, and began to doubt the matter, becauſe they could heare no cer- teine newes where the king was become: for doub- ting (as I ſaid) the ſuertie of his perſon, he conueied himſelfe ſecretlie from one place to another, lodging and taking his diet oftentimes moze meanlie than was decent for his eſtate: and ſtill he longed to heare how his ambadaours ſped with the pope, who in the meane time comming vnto Rome, and declaring their meſſage at full, toke it vpon their ſolemne oth, that the right was on the kings ſide, and that the fault reſſed onelie on the lords, touching the whole controuerſie betwene them and him, who ſought with great rigour and againſt reaſon to bide him at their pleaſures.

They ſhewed alſo a note of certeine articles con- teined in the charter, which ſeemed to make moſt for the kings purpoſe, and withall declared that the king in open aſſemblic, where he and the barons met to talke of ſuch matters, had proteſted that the king- dome of England ſpeciallie appertained (as touching the ſonereingtie) vnto the church of Rome, wher vpon he neither could nor ought without knowledge of the pope to ordeine anie thing anew, or change ought within that kingdome in prejudice thereof. Where- fore whereas he put himſelfe and all the rights of his kingdome by way of appealing vnder the protection of the apoſtolike ſee: the barons yet without regard had to the ſame appeale, did ſeize into their poſſeſſi- on the citie of London, and getting them to armour, inforced the king to confirme ſuch vnrreaſonable ar- ticles, as there appeared for him to conſider.

The pope hauing heard their tale, and conſidered of the articles, with bending browes (in witneſſe of

his indignation) made ſorſwith this ſhort anſwer: And is it ſo, that the barons of England do go about to expell their king, which hath taken vpon him the croſſe, and is remaining vnder the protection of the apoſtolike ſee: And do they meane indeed to tran- ſlate the dominion that belongeth to the church of Rome vnto another: By ſ. Peter we cannot ſuffer this iniurie to paſſe unpuniſhed. Herevpon (cred- iting the ambadaours wordes) by the aduice of his cardinals, he decreed that all thoſe priuiledges, which the king had granted vnto the lords and barons of this realme, as inforced thereto by their rebellious attempt, ſhould be accounted void and of none ef- ſect. Alſo he wrote vnto the lords, admoniſhing them by his letters that they ſhould obeie their king, vpon paine of his curſe if they ſhould attempt anie thing that ſounded to the contrarie.

At the ſame time there was in the court of Rome (as Hector Boetius ſaith) a cardinall named Gualo or Mallo, a verie couetous perſon, and ſuch a one (as in that place ſome are neuer wanting) which for mo- nie paſſed not what he did to further anie mans ſuit, without regard either to right or wrong, by whoſe chiefe trauell and means the pope was greatlie in- duced to fauour king Iohns cauſe, and to iudge with him in prejudice of the lords purpoſes, as befoze is expreſſed.

But to proceed. The ambadaours being diſpatch- ed, and hauing the popes preſcript, and ſuch other his letters with them as they had obtained of him, re- turned with all ſped into England vnto the king (who was come a litle befoze vnto Winfoze caſtell) and there declared vnto him how they ſped. King Iohn being ſoiſull in that they had brought the matter ſo well about for his purpoſe, cauſed the popes decree to be declared vnto the barons, commanding them ſtreitlie to obeie the ſame. The barons taking the matter grieuouſlie to be thus mocked, with great in- dignation both blamed king Iohns vniuſt dealing, and the popes wrongfull iudgement, in that he had pronounced againſt them, without hearing what they had of right to alledge for themſelues. Where- vpon out of hand (notwithſtanding the popes prohi- bition and preſcript to the contrarie) they determined to trie their cauſe by dint of ſword, and with all ſped aſſembled their powers, which for the greater part they had latelie diſmiſſed and ſent home. They fur- niſhed the caſtell of Rocheſter with a ſtrong garri- ſon of men, and placed therein as capteine one Wil- liam Albeney, a verie ſkilfull warriour.

King Iohn, after he vnderſtood that the barons (contemning the popes decree and inhibition) were moze offended and bent againſt him than befoze, ſent once againe to the pope, to aduertie him of their diſ- obedience and great contumacie ſhewed in reſuſing to ſtand to his preſcript. This done, he returned to the Ile of Wight, and ſailed from thence to Douer, where diuerſe of thoſe his commiſſaries which he had ſent to hire ſouldiers in foren parts returned to him, bringing with them out of diuerſe countries ſuch a multitude of ſouldiers and armed men, that the one- lie ſight of them ſtroke the harts of all the beholders with great feare and terror. For out of the parties of Poitou and Galcoine, there came men of great no- bilitie, and right worthie warriours, as Haucric de Mauleon, Geſtrepy and Oliuer de Buteuile two byz- then, hauing vnder them great numbers of good ſouldiers and tall men of warre. Alſo out of Fla- bans there came Walter Buc, Gerard de Botignie, and on. Godetall, with three legions of armed men and croſſebowes. Likewiſe there came out of Flan- ders other capteins, with diuerſe bands of ſouldiers, which Ferdinando earle of Flanders (latelie retur- ned out of the French captiuitie) for old friendships

the kings am-
badaours.

Hector Boetius.
Cardinall
Gualo.

Polydor.
The ambassa-
dours returne
from the pope.

The popes
decre is de-
clared to the
lords.

The barons
will trie their
quarrel by dint
of ſword.

The king ſen-
deth eſtours
to the pope.

The king re-
turneth into
the Ile of
Wight.

Marr. Paris.
Polydor.

The arriual
of foren ſoul-
diers to the
kings aid.
Haucric de
Mauleon.

Ferdinando
earle of Flan-
ders.

after the
reſtored
the archbiſhop
of Canterbury.

Hugh de
Boues.

Marr. Paris.

Paris.

king
remains in
the
city.

Polydor.

The ambassa-
dours coming
to the popes
preſence de-
clare their
meſſage.

Marr. Paris.

the
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the
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The popes
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March. Paris
The barons
denounced as
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letters) made none account of the censure, reputing it as void, and not to concerne them in any manner of point. But now to returne to king John.

After he had wone the castell of Rochester (as before you have heard) he passed to S. Albons, and there divided his armie into two parts, appointing the one to remaine about London, whilst he himselfe with the other might go into the north to waste and destroe the possessions of certeine lords there, which (as he was informed) went about to raise an armie against him. He made capteins of that armie which he left behind him, his brother William earle of Salisburie, Sauerie de Hauleon, Will. Bzower, Walter Buc, and others. He himselfe departed from S. Albons about the 21 day of December, leading his said armie northwards: in which were chiefe capteins these that follow, William earle of Albemarle, Philip de Albeney, and John Marchall. Also of strangers, Gerard de Sotigam, and Goddshall, with the Flemings, the crossebowes, and others.

The first night he laie at Dunsfable, and from thence passing forwards towards Northampton, he destroyed by the waie all the manours, places and houses, which belonged to the aduersaries, and so kept on his iourne till he came to Nottingham, where he laie in the castell on Chrismasse day, and in the morning (being S. Stephens day) he went to Langar, and lodged there that night, sending his summonns in the morning to the castell of Beauer, willing them within to yeeld. This castell appertained to William Albeney, who had committed the custodie thereof unto his sonne Nicholas de Albeney priest, to sir William de Stodham, and to sir Hugh Charnelles knights: the which came to the king with the keies of the castell, and surrendered the same unto him, with condition that he should be good to their master the said William Albeney, and grant unto them their houses and armour, wherewith they would remaine with him vnder his peace and protection. On the next morrow (being S. Johns day) the king went to the castell, and receiuing the same, deliuered it to the keeping of Geoffrey Buteulle, and his brother Oliver.

After this the castell of John Lacie at Dunnington was taken and laid flat to the ground, by commandement of the king, who hauing accomplished his will in those parties, dyed towards Pockeshire, and at his coming thither destroyed the houses, townes and manours of those lords and gentlemen which were against him. It is horrible to heare, and lothsome to rehearse the crueltie which was practised by the souldiers and men of warre in places where they came, who counting no honour or renowne more excellent, nor glorie (as warrours say)

Maior nulla quidem quam bello parata videtur,

Horrida Maioris tractare ferociter arma,

Hostilique suam temerare in sanguine dextram,

and therefore were wholie bent to spoile and ransacke the houses of the people without pittie or compassion, besides the robberies, spoiles and great outrages byed by the souldiers generallie against the common people. Few there were in that countrie of great linage or wealth, whom the king for their assembling themselves with the barons either spoiled not, or put not to execution. Thus with his armie (to the great desolation of the countrie) he passed forth to the borders of Scotland, and entering that realme, took the castell of Warwike, and other places of strength in those parts, meaning to haue wone more from the Scots, if other urgent businesse had not called him backe againe. This being done, he committed the countrie which lieth betwixt the riuier of These, and the confines of Scotland, to the keeping of Hugh de Ballioll and Philip de Pulcotes, assigning to them

March. Paris
The barons
denounced as
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popes con
mandement.

March. Paris
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mandement.

such conuenient number of men of warre as was thought expedient, and the custodie of the castels in Pockeshire he deliuered to Robert de Depount, to Brian de Lisle, and to Geoffrey de Lucie.

Finallie, when he had so ordered things in the North parts as stood with his pleasure, so that there remained no more but two castels, that is to saie, Mountfozell, and another in Pockeshire that appertained to Robert de Roos in possession of the barons, he returned by the borders of Wales into the south parts: and by all the way as he passed, he shewed great crueltie against his aduersaries, besieging and taking their castels and strong houses, of the which some he caused to be fortified with garrisons of souldiers to his owne vse, and some he rased. The like feats were wrought by the other armie in the parts about London: for William earle of Salisburie, and Foukes de Bzent, with the other capteins which the king had left behind him there, perceiuing that the citie would not easilie be wone by anie siege, first furnished the castell of Windsoze, Hertford, and Barkhamsted, with such strong garrisons of souldiers as might watch, vpon occasion giuen to assaile those that should either go into the citie, or come from thence: they marched forth with the residue of the armie, and passing through the counties of Essex, and Hertford, Middlesex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, they wasted the countries, and made the townes become tributaries to them. As for the houses, manour places, parkes, and other possessions of the barons, they wasted, spoiled and destroyed them, running euen hard to the citie of London and setting fire in the suburbs.

In this meane time, whilst the king went forwards on his iourne northwards, vpon the 18 of December last past, the castell of Handlap was taken by Foukes de Bzent, which appertained unto William Handuit. On the same day also was the castell of Tunbridge taken by the garrison of Rochester, which castell of Tunbridge belonged to the earle of Clare. Whereouer, the foresaid Foukes de Bzent comming vnto Bedford, toan both the towne and castell: for they that had the castell in keeping, after 7 daies respite (which they obtained at the hands of the said Foukes) when rescue came not from the lord William Beauchampe their master, they deliuered it vnto the said Foukes. Vnto whom S. John gaue not onlie that castell, but also committed to his keeping the castels of Northampton, Driford and Cambridge.

The king had this Foukes in great estimation, and amongst other waies to aduance him, he gaue to him in marriage Margaret de Riuers, a ladie of high nobilitie, with all the lands and possessions that to hir belonged. Whereouer, to William earle of Albemarle the king deliuered the custodie of the castels of Rockingham, Sawey and Wiham. To one Ranulfe Teutonicus, the castell of Barkehamsted, and to Walter Godzenill seruant to Foukes de Bzent, he betooke the keeping of the castell of Hertford. Thus that on the one part, and that on the other, the barons lost in manner all their possessions from the south sea vnto the borders of Scotland, the king seising the same into his hands, and committing them to the keeping of strangers, and such other as he thought more trustie and conuenient. All this while the barons laie at London banketting and making merrie, without attempting anie exploit praise-worthy. But yet when they heard by certeine aduertisement, that hanoche and destruction was made of their houses & possessions abroad, they could not but lament their miseries, and amongst other their complaints which they vttered one to another, they soze blamed the pope, as a cheefe cause of all these

Robert de Depount, Brian de Lisle, Geoffrey de Lucie.

Mountfozell betwixt Leicester & Lugsborough.

The earle of Salisburie with his armie inuader the countries about London.

The castell of Handlap.

Tunbridge castell.

Bedford takē by Foukes de Bzent.

Will. Beauchampe.

Castels deliuered to the keeping of Foukes de Bzent.

Foukes de Bzent aduanced by marriage. Rockingham, Sawey, and Wiham.

Barkhamsted Hertford castell.

these evils, for that he maintained and defended the King against them.

The barons
accused by
name.

Indeed about the same time pope Innocent , who before at the instant suit of king John had excommunicated the barons in generall, did now excommunicate them by name, and in particular, as the first all the citizens of London which were authors of the mischief that had happened by the rebellion of the said barons. Also Robert Fitz Walter, Sær de Quincie earle of Winchester, R. his sonne, G. de Mandeville, and W. his brother the earle of Clare, and C. his sonne, W. earle of Hereford, R. de Percie, C. de Cleve, J. constable of Chester, W. de Mowbray, Will. de Albemarle, W. his sonne, W. de Wyke, R. de Tressep, J. his sonne, Manasse Fitz Robert, K. earle Bigot, W. his sonne, Robert de Here, Foulke Fitz Warren, W. Mallet, W. de Mountacute, W. Fitz Barthall, W. de Beauchampe, S. de Kine, R. de Montbigons, and Nicholas de Stuteville, with diuerse other.

Rafic Cog.

The arme which king John had left behind him in the south parts, under the leading of the earle of Salisburie and other, laie not idle, but scowring the countries abroad (as partlie y^e haue heard) came to S. Edmundsburie, and hauing intelligence there, that diuerse knights, ladies and gentlewomen that were there before their comming, had fled out of that towne, and for their more safetie were withdrauene into the Ile of Elie, they followed them, besieged the Ile, and assailed it on eche side, so that although the withyn had fortified the passages, and appointed men of warre to remaine vpon the gard of the same in places where it was thought most needfull; yet at length they entred vpon them by force, Walter Bucker with his Breabanders being the first that set foot withyn the Ile towards Herbie. For by reason the waters in the fenes and ditches were hard frozen, so that men might passe by the same into the said Ile, they found means to enter, and spoiled it fro side to side, together with the cathedrall church, carieng from thence at their departure a maruelous great prey of goods and cattell.

The Ile of
Elie spoiled.
Polydor.
Bernewell.

The barons of the realme being thus afflicted with so manie mischeeses all at one tyme, as both by the sharpe and cruell warres which the king made against them on the one side, and by the enmitie of the pope on the other side, they knew not which way to turne them, nor how to seeke for reliefe. For by the losse of their complices taken in the castell of Rochester, they saw not how it shoud any thing auaille them to ioine in battell with the king. Therefore considering that they were in such extremitie of despair they resolu'd with themselves to seeke for aid at the enemies hands, and there vpon Saer earle of Winchester, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their seales were sent vnto Lewes the sonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and sufficient pledges for performance of the same, and other couenants to be agreed betwixt them, requiring him with all speed to come vnto their succour. This Lewes had married (as before is said) Blanch daughter to Alonse king of Castile, neere to king Iohn by his sister Eliano.

The lords
send to the
French kings
sonne, offering
to him the
crowning.

Now king Philip the father of this Letwes, being glad to haue such an occasion to intuate the reigne of England, which he neuer loued, promised willinglie that his sonne should come vnto the aid of the said barons with all convenient speed (but first he received foure and twentie hostages which he placed at Campaine for) further assurance of the covenants accorded) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerse ships to transport his sonne and his armie ouer into England. In the meane time, and to put the barons in comfort, he sent ouer a certeine number

of armed men, under the leading of the chateleine of
saint Omers, and the chateleine of Arras, Hugh
Baron, Guesard de Bessille, Baldwin Brecht, Wil-
liam de Calmes, Giles de Picun, Will de Beaumont,
Giles de Herbie, Wilel de Fersie, and others, the
which taking the sea, arrived with one and forty
ships in the Thames, and so came to London the sea-
uen and twentieth of Februarie, where they were re-
ceived of the barons with great ioy and gladnesse.
Whereupon the said Lewes wrote to the barons, that
he purposed by Gods assistance to be at Calice by a
day appointed, with an armie redie to passe over with
all speed into their incourrs.

The Saturday
after the Ep
phantom
Hate Co.

The fiftaie before Candlemasse day, Sauarie de
 Hauleon, and other capteines of the kings side, laid
 siege to the castell of Colchester, but hauing intelli-
 gence that the barons which laie at London made
 forwarde with all speed to come to succour that castell,
 on the Wednesday after Candlemasse day, being
 20 the third of februarie, they raised their siege, and
 went backe towards S. Edmundsburie.

In the meane while, the B. being gone (as yee haue heard) to the borders of Scotland, a brute was raised that he was dead, and secretly buried at Reading. But this rumour had not time to worke any great alteration, for after he had dispatched his businesse in the north, as he thought erpebient, he returned, and comming into the east parts about the midd of Lent himselfe in person besieged the castell of Colchester, and with in a few daies after his comming thither, it was deliuered vnto him by Frenchmen that kept it, with condition that they might depart with all their gods and armour, vnto their fellows at London, and that the Englishmen there in companie with them in that castell, might likewise depart vpon reasonable reasons.

40 But although that covenant was kept with the Frenchmen, yet the Englishmen were staied and committed to prison. Whereupon when the Frenchmen came to London, they were apprehended and charged with treason for making such composition, whereby those Englishmen that were fellows with them in arms were secluded from so beneficiall conditions as they had made for themselves. They were in danger to haue bene put to death for their euill dealing herein, albeit at length it was concluded that they should remaine in prison till the comming of Lewes, vnto whose pleasure their cause should be referred.

50 After this the castell of Wyndingham was toone,
which belonged unto earle Robert de Clare. Then the
king prepar'd to besiege London, but the London-
ners were of such courage, that they set open their
gates, and bearing of the kings approach, made readi-
e to issue forth to give him battell: whereof the king
being advertised, withdrew backe, But Sauerie de
Pauleon was suddenly set vpon by the Londoners,
lost manie of his men, and was sore hurt and wound-
ed himselfe.

60 The king perceiving that it would not preuaile him to attempt the winning of the citie at that time, drew alongſt the coaſt, fortified his caſtles, and prepared a great nauiie, meaning to encounter his enimie Lewis by ſea : but though tempeſt the ſhips which he had got together from **W**armouth, **D**unwich **E**lin, and other hauens, were diſperſed in ſunder, and manie of them caſt aſwaie by rage and violence of the outrageous winds.

Somewhat before this time also, when he heard of the compact made betwixt the barons and his adheraries the Frenchmen, he dispatched a messenger in all hast to the pope, signifying to him what was in hand and practised against him, requiring furthermore the said pope by his authority to cause **Alvares** to

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to staie his iourne, and to succour those rebels in England which he had already excommunicated. This he needed not have done, had he bene indued with such prudence and prowesse as is requisite to be planted in one that beareth rule, of whom it is said,

*Cui quando Deus rerum permittit habenas,
Imperij decus, tunc aurea secula sunt,
Tunc floret virtus, terrisque Astrea reuulsi,
Pax viget, & vitium auris cohibetur habenis,*

whereas by meanes of defects in the contrarie, he bare to low a saile, in that he would be so solified as being a king, to suffer usurped supremacie to be carrier of his kingdome. But let vs see the consequence. The pope desirous to helpe king Iohn all

that he might (because he was now his vassall) sent his legat Gualo into France, to dissuade king Philip from taking any enterprise in hand against the king of England. But king Philip though he was content to heare what the legat could saie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpose, alledging that king Iohn was not the lawfull king of England, hauing first usurped and taken it awaie from his nephue Arthur the lawfull inheritor, and that now sithe as an enemy to his owne roiall dignitie he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not do without consent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie deprived of all his kinglie honor. For the kingdome of England (saith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at any time shall. For admit that he were rightfull king, yet neither he nor any other prince may giue awaie his kingdome without the assent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same, and the prerogative roiall, to the uttermost of their powers. Furthermore (saith he) if the pope doe meane to mainteine this error, he shall giue a perillous example to all kingdomes of the world. Herewithall the

nobles of France then present, protested also with one voice, that in defense of this article they would stand to the death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleasure might giue awaie his kingdome, or make it tributarie to any other potentate, whereby the nobles should become thral or subiect to a forren gouernour. These things were done at Lyons in the quindene after Easter.

Lewes on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill, by his fathers procurement, came into the counsell chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat, where by his procurator he defended the cause that moued him to take vpon him this iourne into England, disprouing not onelie the right which king Iohn had to the crowne, but also alledging his owne interest, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but also in the title of his wife, whose mother the queene of Castile remained onelie aliue of all the brethren and sisters of Henrie the second late king of England (as before ye haue heard.) The legat made answer herevnto, that king Iohn had taken

vpon him the crosse, as one appointed to go to warre against Gods enemies in the holie land, therefore he ought by decree of the generall counsell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in sacertie vnder protection of the apostolike see. But Lewes replied thereto, that king Iohn had by warre first inuaded his castles and lands in Picardie, and wasted the same, as Buncham castle and Liens, with the countie of Guisnes which belonged to the see of the said Lewes.

But these reasons notwithstanding, the legat warred the French king on paine of cursing, not to suffer his sonne to go into England, and likewise his sonne, that he should not presume to take the iourne in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his

father had nothing to do to forbid him to prosecute his right in the realme of England, which was not holden of him, and therefore required his father not to hinder his purpose in such things as belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to seeke the recouerie of his wiues right, which he meant to pursue with perill of life, if need should require.

The legat perceiuing he could not preuaile in his sute made to king Philip, thought that he would not spend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but sped him forth into England, obtaining yet a safeconduct of the French king to passe through his realme. Lewes in like maner, purposing by all

meanes to preuent the legat, first dispatched forth ambassadours in all hast vnto the court of Rome to excuse himselfe to the pope, and to render the reasons that most speciallie moued him to proceed forward in his enterprise against king Iohn, being called by the barons of England to take the crowne thereof vpon him. This done, with all conuenient speed he came downe to Calice, where he found 680 ships well appointed and trimmed, which Eustace

surnamed the monke had gathered and prepared there readie against his coming.

Lewes therefore forthwith imbarcking himselfe with his people, and all necessarie prouisions for such a iourne, toke the sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchoze in the Ile of Lenet, vpon the 21 day of Maie, and shortly after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he also incamped vpon the shore by the space of three daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of those lords and gentlemen which had sent for him, and there euerie one apart and by himselfe swore fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had bene their true and naturall prince.

King Iohn about the same time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduersaries by the way as they should come forward towards London. But yet vpon other aduisement taken, he changed his purpose, because he put some doubt in the Flemings and other strangers, of whome the most part of his armie consisted, because he knew that they hated the French men no more than they did the English. Therefore furnishing the castell of Douer, with men, munition, and victuels, he left it in the keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowesse & valiancie, and returned himselfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence toke the high waie towards Winchester. Lewes being aduertised that king Iohn was retired out of Kent, passed through the countie without any encounter, and toan all the castles and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win.

At his coming to Rochester, he laid siege to the castell there, and won it, causing all the strangers that were found within it to be hanged. This done, he came to London, and there receiued the homage of those lords and gentlemen which had not yet done their homage to him at Sandwich. On the other part he toke an oth, to mainteine and performe the old lawes and customes of the realme, and to restore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands, requirring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, assuring them to bring things so to passe, that the realme of England should recouere the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties, sponser he vfed them to courtesie, gaue them so faire words, and made such large promises, that they beleued him with all their hearts. But alas, *Cuius vincit opinio verum?*

The rumour of this pretended outward courtesie being once spread through the realme, caused great numbers of people to come flocking to him, among whom

The French kings sonne tendereth to the pope.

The cometh to Calice.

He taketh the sea.

He landeth in Kent.

The lords doe homage vnto him.

Math. Paris

Rochester castell wonne.

Lewes cometh to London.

Anno. Reg. 18.
Cardinall
Gualo.
Math. Paris.

The French kings allega-
tions to the
pope's legat
Gualo.

Math. West.

Math. Paris.

Lewes the
French kings
sonne main-
taineth his
pretended ti-
tle to the
croune of
England.

The privilege
of those that
take vpon
them the
crosse.

Math. Paris.

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Cog.

Noblemen
retracting fro
m. Iohn un-
to Lewes.

Simon Lang-
ton chancello-
r to Lewes.

Cardinal
Gualo com-
meth ouer in-
to England.

The more
part of the
strangers de-
part from the
service of K.
Iohn.

Castels won
by Lewes.

William de
Collingham
a gentleman
of Suffex.

Castels forti-
fied by king
Iohn.

Whome were diuerse of those which before had taken part with king Iohn, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Salisbury, William Marshall the younger, and diuerse other, supposing verelie that the French kings sonne should now obtaine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeined Simon Langton afore mentioned, to be his chancelour, by whose preaching and exhortation, as well the citizens of London as the barons that were excommunicated, caused diuine seruice to be celebrated in their presence, induced thereto, because Lewes had already sent his procurators to Rome before his coming into England, there to shew the goodnesse of his cause and quarrell.

But this auailed them not, neither took his excuse any such effect as he did hope it should: for those ambassadors that king Iohn had sent thither, replied against their assertions, so that there was hard hold about it in that court, albeit that the pope would decree nothing till he had further from his legat Gualo, who the same time (being advertised of the proceedings of Lewes in his iourney) with all diligence hastened ouer into England, and passing through the middle of his aduersaries, came vnto king Iohn, then sojourning at Gloucester, of whome he was most iofullie receiued, for in him king Iohn reposed all his hope of victorie. This legat immediatlie after his coming did excommunicate Lewes by name, with all his fauours and complices, but speciallie Simon de Langton, with bell, booke, and candle, as the manner was. Howbeit the same Simon, and one Cernac de Hobyng deane of St. Pauls in London, with other, alleged that for the right and state of the cause of Lewes, they had already appealed to the court of Rome, and therefore the sentence published by Gualo they took as void.

At the same time also, all the knights and men of warre of Flanders and other parts beyond the seas, which had serued the king, departed from him, the Poitouins onelie excepted: and part of them that thus went from him resorted vnto Lewes, and entered into his wages; but the residue repaired home into their owne countries, so that Lewes being thus increased in power, departed from London, and marching towards Winchester, he won the castels of Riga, Gilsford, and Farnham. From thence he went to Winchester, where the citie was yielded vnto him, with all the castels and holds thereabout, as Colchester, Doham, and Beaumere.

¶ Whilest the said Lewes was thus occupied in Suffex, about the subduing of that countrey vnto his obedience, there was a young gentleman in those parts named William de Collingham, being of a valorous mind, and loathing foren subiection, who would in no wise do fealtie to Lewes, but assembling together about the number of a thousand archers, kept himselfe within the woods and desert places, wherof that countrey is full, and so during all the time of this warre, shewed himselfe an enimie to the Frenchmen, slaying no small numbers of them, as he took them at any aduantage. ¶ Worthie gentleman of English blood! And

Grandia que aggreitur fortis discrimina virtus!

In like manner, all the fortresses, towne, and castels in the south parts of the realme were subdued vnto the obedience of Lewes (the castels of Dover and Windsor onelie excepted.) Within a little while after, Will. de Mandeville, Robert Fitz Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a great power of men of warre, did the like vnto the countries of Essex and Suffolke. In which season, king Iohn fortified the castels of Wallingford, Colfe, Warham, Wiltshire, the Isles, and diuerse others with munition and vittels. About this time letters came also

vnto Lewes from his procurators, whom he had sent to the pope, by the tenor whereof he was advertised, that notwithstanding all that they could doe or say, the pope meant to excommunicate him, and did but onelie staie till he had receiued some advertisement from his legat Gualo.

The chiefest points (as we find) that were laid by Lewes his procurators against king Iohn were these, that by the murder committed in the person of his nephew Arthur, he had bene condemned in the parlement chamber, before the French king, by the peeres of France, and that being summoned to appeare, he had obstinatelie refused so to doe, and therefore had by good right forfeited not onelie his lands within the precinct of France, but also the realme of England, which was now due vnto the said Lewes as they alleged, in right of the ladie Blanch his wife, daughter to Cliaoz quene of Spaine. But the pope refelled all such allegations as they produced for proofe hereof, & seemed to defend king Iohns cause verie pitifully; but namely, in that he was vnder the protection of him as supreme lord of England: againe, for that he had taken vpon him the crosse (as before ye haue heard.) But now to returne where we left.

About the feast of saint Margarete, Lewes with the lords came againe to London, at whose coming, the tower of London was yielded by to him by appointment, after which the French capteins and gentlemen, thinking themselves assured of the realme, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred toward the Englishmen, and forgetting all former promises (such is the nature of strangers, and men of meane estate, that are once become lords of their desires, according to the poets words,

Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum)

they did manie excessive outrages, in spoiling and robbing the people of the countrey, without pittie or mercie. Moreover they did not onelie breake into mens houses, but also into churches, and took out of the same such vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, as they could laie hands vpon: for Lewes had not the power now to rule the greedie soldiers, being wholly giuen to the spoile.

But most of all their tyrannie did appeare in the east parts of the realme, when they went through the countries of Essex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miserablie spoiled the towne and villages, reducing those quarters vnder their subiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in most seruile and slauih manner. Furthermore, at his coming to Norwich, he found the castell void of defence, and so took it, without any resistance, and put into it a garison of his soldiers. Also he sent a power to the towne of Lin, which conquered the same, and took the citizens prisoners, causing them to paie great summes of monie for their ransoms. Moreover, Thomas de Burgh, chateleine of the castell of Norwich, who vpon the approach of the Frenchmen to the citie, fled out in hope to escape, was taken prisoner, and put vnder safekeeping. He was brother vnto Hubert de Burgh chateleine of Deuer castell.

Now when Lewes had thus finished his enterprises in those parts, he returned to London, and shortly therevpon created Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincoln, appointing him to go thither with all convenient speed, that he might resist the issues made by them which did hold the castels of Nottingham and Newark, wasting and spoiling the possessions and lands belonging to the barons nere adioining to the same castels. This Gilbert de Gaunt then, together with Robert de Kopeley, coming into that countrey, took the citie of Lincoln, and brought all the countrey vnder subiection (the castell onelie excepted.)

After

The points
wherevnto
king Iohn
was charged,

The French
men beginne
shew them-
selues in
their kind.
Iamen. 3. 9.

The castell of
Norwich left
for a prey to
Lewes.

Thomas de
Burgh taken
prisoner.

Gilbert de
Gaunt made
earle of Lin-
colne.

Lincolne
won.

Holland in
Lincolnshire
invaded.

Yorkshire
subdued to
Lewes.

e points
re South
3 John
3 charged,

After that, they invaded Holland, and spoiling that
countrie, made it also tributarie unto the French.
Likewise, Robert de Wos, Peter de Wuis, and Ri-
chard Perrie, subdued Pothe and all Potheshire,
brynging the same under the obedience of Lewes.
The king of Scots in like sort subdued unto the said
Lewes all the countrie of Northumberland, except
the castels which Hugh de Balliol, and Philip de Bul-
cotes valiantlie defended against all the force of the
enemie.

And as these wicked rebels made a prey of their
owne countrie, so the legat Guallo not behind for his
part to get something yett all should be gone, upon a
falconish or wolous appetite sliced the church, con-
fiscating that,

Η δ' ἄν παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μὴ δέ τοι ὄργον,
μελέτη δέ τι ὄργον φέλλει.

The legat
Guallo gather-
eth process.
Sequestration
of benefices.

and toke pories of everie cathedrall church & house
of religion within England, that is to say, for everie
pore fiftie shillings. Moreover, he sequestered all the
benefices of those persons and religious men, that
either aided or counselled Lewes and the barons, in
their attempts and enterprises. All which benefices
he speedilie converted to his owne use, and to the use
of his chapleins.

In the meane time, Lewes was brought into
some good hope thorough meanes of Thomas de
Burgh, whom he toke prisoner (as before you have
heard) to persuade his brother Hubert to yield up
the castell of Dover, the siege whereof was the next
enterpryse which he attempted. For his father king
Philip, hearing that the same was kept by a garri-
son, to the behoofe of king John, wrote to his sonne,
blaming him that he left behind him so strong a for-
tresse in his enemies hands. But though Lewes in-
forced his whole endeavour to win that castell, yett all
his travell was in vaine. For the said Hubert de
Burgh, and Gerard de Sotigam, who were these
captains within, did their best to defend it against
him and all his power, so that despairing to win it by
force, he assaied to obtaine his purpose, by threatening
to hange the captains brother before his face, if he
would not yield the sooner. But when that would not
serve, he sought to win him by large offers of gold
and silver. Howbeit, such was the singular constan-
cie of Hubert, that he would not give anie eare unto
those his flatering motions. When Lewes in a great
furie menaced that he would not once depart from
thence, till he had won the castell, and put all them
within to death, and began to assaile it with more
force than before he had done.

The barons also, which at this season lay at Lon-
don, making a rode to Cambridge, toke the towne,
and after went forth into Northfolke and Suffolke
(as it were to gather up such scraps as the French
had left spoiling those countries verie pitifullie, churches
and all. They constrained the townes of Ber-
mouth, Dunwich & Ipswich, to pay to them great
summes of monie by waie of ransoming. And at
length returning by Colchester, they used like prac-
tises there. From thence they returned to London,
and shortly after, under the conduct of the earle of
Bevers (upon a sudden) going to Winchelsea, they
laid a strong siege about that castell; in the which
was captaine Ingelard de Athie, with fiftie valiant
knights, & other men of war of their suit, the which
manfullie stood at defense.

In the month of August, Alexander king of
Scotland came through the countrie unto the siege
of Dover, and there did homage unto Lewes, in
right of his tenure holden of the kings of England,
and then returned home, but in his coming up, as
he came by castell Bernard in the countrie of War-
wickshire (which appertained unto Hugh de Ba-

Alexander k.
of Scots doth
homage to R.
Lewes.

incolne
etc.

lioll) he lost his brother in law the lord Constance de
Wescie, who was stricken in the forehead with a quar-
rell, as he rode in companie of the king nere unto
the same castell, to view if it were possible upon a
nie side to win it by assault.

About the same time, or rather in the yeare last
past as some hold, it fortuned that the vicount of
Melune a French man, fell sicke at London, and
perceiving that death was at hand, he called unto
him certeine of the English barons, which remained
in the citie, upon safegard thereof, and to them made
this protestation: I lament (saith he) your destruc-
tion and desolation at hand, because ye are ignorant
of the perils hanging over your heads. For this un-
derstand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and
barons of France, have secretlie swoyne (if it shall
fortune him to conquere this realme of England,
& to be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and
confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now
do serve under him, and persecute their owne king)
as traitours and rebels, and furthermore will dispo-
se all their lineage of such inheritances as they
now hold in England. And because (saith he) you shall
not have doubt hereof, I which lie here at the point
of death, do now affirme unto you, and take it on the
perill of my soule, that I am one of those fifteen that
have swoyne to performe this thing: wherefore I ad-
vise you to provide for your owne safeties, and your
realmes which you now destroy, and keepe this thing
secret which I have uttered unto you. After this
speech was uttered he straightwaies died.

When these words of the lord of Melune were de-
pended unto the barons, they were, and not without
cause, in great doubt of themselves, for they saw
how Lewes had alreadie placed and set Frenchmen
in most of such castels and to wones as he had gotten,
the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And be-
cause it grieved them much to understand, how be-
sides the hatred of their prince, they were everie sun-
day and holiedaie openlie accursed in everie church,
so that manie of them inwardlie relented, and could
have bin contented to have returned to king John,
if they had thought that they should thankfullie have
bene received.

In this yeare, about the 17 of Julie, pope Inno-
cent died, at whose death (being knownen in England)
all they that were enemies to king John greatlie re-
joiced, for they were in great hope that his succes-
sor would have rather inclined to their part, than
to the kings. But it fell out otherwise, for Honorius
the third that succeeded the same foresaid Innocent,
maintained the same cause in defense of king John,
as earnestlie or rather more than his predecessour
had done, sending with all speed his bulls over into
England to confirme Gualo in his former authoritie
of legat, commanding him with all endeavour to pro-
ceed in his businesse, in maintaining the king a-
gainst Lewes, and the dissolall English nobilitie
that aided the said Lewes. But now to our purpose,

King John lieng all this while at Winchelsea, and
having knowledge how his aduersaries were daily
occupied in most hard enterprises, as in besieging
sundry strong and invincible places, sent forth his
commissioners to assemble men of warre, and to al-
lure unto his service all such, as in hope of prey,
were minded to follow his standard, of the which
there resorted to him no small number. So that ha-
ving gotten together a competent armie for his pur-
pose, he brake forth of Winchelsea, as it had bene an
hideous tempest of weather, beating downe all
things that stood in his waie, sending forth his peo-
ple on ech side to waite the countries, to burne by the
townes and villages, to spoile the churches & church-
men, with which successe still increasing his furie,
he

This Constance
had married
the sister of R.
Alexander.

Math. Paris.

The vicount
of Melune
discovers
the purpose
of Lewes.

The vicount
of Melune
died.

The English
nobilitie be-
ginmeth to
mislike of
the match
which they
had made
with Lewes.

The death
of pope In-
nocent.

Honorius the
third chosen
pope.

The hamocke
which king
John made in
the possession
of his ances-
tors.

he castell of
Winchelsea
was.

1.
Thomas de
Burgh taken
prisoner.

Hubert de
Burgh made
prisoner.

Northfolke
and Suffolke.

The siege
raised from
Windsor.

Gilbert de
Gaunt fleth
from the face
of king Iohn.

Lin.
The abbies
of Peter-
burgh & Crow-
land spoiled.
Bernewell.

The losse of
the kings
carriages.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. West.

King Iohn
fallerh sicke
of an ague.
Matth. Paris.

Laforb.
Matth. West.
Matth. Paris.

King Iohn
departed this
life.

he turned his whole violence into Cambridgeshire, where he did exceeding great hurt. When entering into the counties of Northfolke and Suffolke, he committed the like rage, wast, and destruction, in the lands and possessions that belonged unto the earle of Arundell, to Roger Bigot, William de Huntingfield, and Roger de Cressley.

The barons in the meane time that lay at siege before the castle of Windsor, hearing of that hanoche which king Iohn had made in the east parts of the realme, secretly in the night season raised their camps, and leaving their tents behind them, with all speed made towards Cambridge. But king Iohn by faithfull espials, hauing aduertisement of their intent, which was, to get betwixt him and the places of his refuge, withdrew to him and got to Stamford, yer they might reach to Cambridge, so that missing their purpose, after they had taken some spoiles abroad in the countrie, they returned to London. King Iohn from Stamford, marched toward Lincoln, because he heard that the castell there was besieged.

But those that had besieged it, as Gilbert de Gaunt, and others, hearing that king Iohn was coming towards them, durst not abide him, but fled, and so escaped. The king then turned his iourne towards the marches of Wales, and there did much hurt to those places that belonged to his aduersaries. After this also, and with a verie puissant armie he went eastward, and passing through the countries, came againe into the counties of Northfolke and Suffolke, wasting and afflicting all that came in his waie, and at length coming to Lin, was there ioufullie receiued. Then keeping forth northward, he spoiled the towines and abbies of Peterburgh and Crowland, where a number of the kings enemies were withdrawn into the church, but Sauerie de Spanleon, being sent forth to seeke them, found them in the church the morrow after. So he called, and drew them out by force, spoiled the house, and getting a great bottie and prey of cattell and other riches, he with his people conueied the same awaye at his departing, after he had ransacked euery corner of the church, and other the houses and places belonging to that abbey.

Thus the countrie being wasted on each hand, the king hastened forward till he came to Wellesstremesands, where passing the washes he lost a great part of his armie, with horses and carriages, so that it was iudged to be a punishment appointed by God, that the spoile which had bene gotten and taken out of churches, abbies, and other religious houses, should perish, and be lost by such means together with the spoilers. Yet the king himselfe, and a few other, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as some haue written, he took such greafe for the losse sustained at this passage, that immediately thereupon he fell into an ague, the force and heat whereof, together with his immoderate feeding on rawe peaches, and drinking of newe ster, so increased his sicknesse, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter presently made of twigs, with a couch of strawe vnder him, without any bed or pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincoln, but the disease still so raged and grew vpon him, that he was enforced to staie one night at the castle of Laforb, and on the next day with great paine, caused himselfe to be carried vnto Peterwarke, where in the castell through anguish of mind, rather than through force of sicknesse, he departed this life the night before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after he had reigned seauentene yeares, six moneths, and seauen and twentie daies.

¶ There be which haue written, that after he had lost

his armie, he came to the abbey of Swineshead in Lincolnshire, and there understanding the dearth, neede and plenty of corne, shewed himselfe greatly displeased therewith, as he that for the hatred which he bare to the English people, that had so traitorously revolted from him into his aduersarie Ales, wished all miserie to light vpon them, and thereupon said in his anger, that he would cause all kinde of graine to be at a farre higher price, per manitades, should passe. Whereupon a monke that heard him speake such words, being moued with zeale for the oppression of his countie, gave the king poison in a cup of ale, whereof he first took the draught, to cause the king not to suspect the matter, and so they both died in manner at one time.

There are that write, how one of his stone seruants did conspire with a conuert of that abbey, and that they prepared a dish of peares, which they poisoned, three of the whole number excepted, which dish the said conuert presented vnto him. And when the king suspected them to be poisoned indeed, by reason that such precious stones as he had about him, cast forth a certaine sweat, as it were bewailing the poison, he compelled the said conuert to tast and eat some of them, who knowing the three peares which were not poisoned, took and eat those three, which when the king had sene, he could no longer abstaine, but fell to, and eating greedilie of the rest, died the same night, no hurt happening to the conuert, who thorough helpe of such as bare no good will to the king found shift to escape, and conueied himselfe awaye from danger of receiuing due punishment for so wicked a deed.

Beside these reports which ye haue heard, there are other that write, how he died of surfeiting in the night, as Rafe Niger, some, of a bloudie stir, as one saith that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houedeni, And Rafe Cogheshall saith, that coming to Lin, (where he appointed Sauerie de Spanleon to be captain, and to take order for the fortifying of that towne) he took a surfet there of immoderat diet, and withall fell into a laske, and after his laske had left him, at his coming to Laforb in Lindsey, he was let blood: furthermore to increase his other graues and sorowes for the losse of his cariage, ieiuels and men, in passing ouer the washes, which troubled him sore; there came vnto him messengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam captains of Dover castell, aduertising him, that they were not able to resist the forceable assaults and engines of the enemies, if speedie succour came not to them in due time. Whereat his greafe of mind being doubled, so as he might seeme even oppressed with sorrow, the same increased his disease so vehementlie, that within a small time it made an end of his life (as before ye haue heard.)

The men of warre that serued vnder his ensignes, being for the more part hired souldiers and strangers, came together, and marching forth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike order, conueied it vnto Worcester, where he was pompously buried in the cathedrall church before the high altar, not for that he had so appointed (as some write) but because it was thought to be a place of most suertie for the lords and other of his friends there to assemble, and to take order in their buisnesse now after his deceasse. And because he was somewhat fat and corpulent, his bowels were taken out of his bodie, and buried at Croxton abbey, a house of monks of the order called *Premonstratenses*, in Staffordshire, the abbat of which house was his physician.

¶ How soeuer or where soeuer or when soeuer he died, it is not a matter of such moment that it should impeach

Caxton.

Gisburn & alij

The variouse
reports of
Suziers, con-
cerning the
death of king
Iohn.

Plaw, in Prof.

Bernewell.

impeach the credit of the storie: but certeine it is that he came to his end, let it be by a surfet, or by other meanes ordeined for the shortening of his life. The manner is not so materiall as the truth is certeine. And suerlie, he might be thought to haue procured against himselfe manie molestations, manie angusties & verations, which nippt his hart & gnawd his very bowels with manie a soze symptome or passion: all which he might haue withstood if fortune had bene so fauourable, that the loialtie of his subiects had remained towards him inuolable, that his Nobles with multitudes of adherents had not with such shameful apostasie withstood him in open fight, that foren force had not weakened his dominion, or rather robbed him of a maine branch of his regiment, that he himselfe had not sought with the spoile of his owne people to please the imaginations of his ill affected mind; that courtiers & commoners had with one assent performed in dutie no lesse than they pretended in veritie, to the preservation of the state and the securitie of their soueraigne: all which presupposed plagues concurring, that happinesse could the king arrogate to himselfe by his imperiall title, which was through his owne default so imbezelled, that a small remanent became his in right, when by open hostilitie and accursed papasie the greater portion was plucked out of his hands.

Here therefore we see the issue of domesticall or homebred broiles, the fruits of variance, the gaine that riseth of dissention, whereas no greater nor safer fortification can betide a land, than when the inhabitants are all alike minded. By concord manie an hard enterprise (in common sence thought impossible) is achieved, manie weake things become so defended, that without manifold force they cannot be dissolved. From diuision and mutinies do issue (as out of the Troiane horse) ruines of roialties, and decays of communalities. The sinewes of a realme is supposed of some to be substance and wealth; of other some policie and power; of other some conuenient defenses both by water and land: but a most excellent description of a well fortified countrie is that of Plautus, set downe in most pithie words and graue sentences; no lesse worthy to be written than read and considered. The description is this.

Plaut. in Pers.

*Si incola bene sent morat pulchre munitione regni arbitror:
Perfidia & peculatus ex urbe & auaritia si exulent,
Quarta inuidia, quinta ambitio, sexta obtrectatio,
Septimum periurium, octaua indulgentia,
Non inuiriā, decima quod pessimum aggressus scelus:
Hæc nisi inde aberit, complexurus res secundis parū est.*

And therefore no maruell though both courtiers and commoners fell from king John their naturall prince, and took part with the enemie; not onelie to the disgrace of their soueraigne, but euen to his overthrow, and the depopulation of the whole land; sith these maine bulwarks and rampiers were wanting; and the contrarie in most ranke sort and detestable manner extended their virulent forces.

But we will surceasse to aggrauate this matter, sith the same is sufficientlie viced in the verie course of the historie concerning his acts and deeds, continued to the verie day of his death, and the verie time of his buriall, whereof I saie thus much, that whether it was his will to be interred, as is aforesaid, or whether his corpse being at the disposing of the survivors, to elea the place as a conuenient house for a princes bones, I leaue it as doubtful, and therefore undetermined, esteeming the lesse to labour therein, because the truth can hardlie by certeinie be winnowed out, but by coniecturall supposals aimed and shot at. Notwithstanding, in my poore iudgement it is verie likelie (first in respect of the time which was superstitious and popish; secondlie by reason of the

custome of funerall rites then commonlie vsed) that he was buried in the said place for order sake, & his bodie (if I may presume so farre by warrant of mine author) wrapped in a monks cowle and so laid in his graue or toome. For the manner was at that time, in such sort to burie their Nobles and great men, who were induced by the imaginations of monks and fond families of freres to beleaue, that the said cowle was an amulet or defensible to their soules from hell and hellish hags, how or in what sort they died; either in sorrow and repentance for sinne, or in blasphemie, outrage, impatiencie, or desperation.

This forme of funerals was frequented in Wales, hauing bene first vsed and broched in England, from whence (if we may giue credit to our late Chronographers) as from a poisoned spring it spred it selfe into Wales. For the first abbete or frerie that is read to haue bene erected there, since the dissolution of the noble house of Wango, which sauoured not of Romish dregs, was the Twy Clwyn, which was builded in the yeare 1146. Afterwards these vermine swarmed like bees, or rather crawled like lice ouer all the land, and drew in with them their lowlie religion, tempered with I wot not how manie millions of abominations; hauing vtterlie forgotten the lesson which Ambrosius Telsinus had taught them [who writ in the yeare 40, when the right Christian faith (which Ioseph of Arimathea taught the Isle of Aualon) reigned in this land, before the proud and bloodthirstie monke Augustine infected it with the poison of Romish errors] in a certeine ode, a part whereof are these few verses insuing,

Gwaer offeiriad byd,
Nys angreiffia gwyd,
Ac nyphregetha:
Gwaeny cheidw cy gail,
Ac efyn vigail,
Ac nys areilia:
Gwaeny theidw cy dheuaid,
Rhae bleidhie Rhiefeniaid,
Aifson grewppa,

Wo be to that preest yborne,
That will not cleanelie weed his corne,
And preach his charge among:
Wo be to that shepheard (I saie)
That will not watch his fold alwaie,
As to his office dooth belong:
Wo be to him that dooth not keepe,
From rauening Romish wolues his sheepe,
With staffe and weapon strong.

This in English almost word for word.

This (as not impertinent to the purpose) I haue recorded, partlie to shew the palpable blindness of that age wherein king John liued, as also the religion which they reposed in a rotten rag, esteeming it as a Scala coeli or ladder to life; but speciallie inferred to this end, that we may fetch some light from this cleere candle (though the same seeme to be dusky & dim) whereby we may be lead to conceiue in reason and common sence, that the interment of the king was according to the custome then in vse and request, and therefore by all likelihoods he was buried as the pères and states of the land were wont to be in those dates, after the manner aboue mentioned.

But to let this passe as a cold discourse of a cossen of bones covered with clods of clau; you shall understand that he left behind him posteritie of both sexes. For he had issue by his wife quene Isabella two sonnes, Henrie who succeeded him in the kingdom, and Richard; three daughters, Joane married to Alexander king of Scotland, Isabella coupled in matrimonie with the emperour Frederike the second,

King Johns children.

on.

urn & alij

variable
ts of
ra, con-
ng the
of king
1.

well.

cond, and Elianor whome William earle of Gloucester had to wife. He had also another daughter (as some haue left in writing) called Elianor.

He was comelie of stature, but of loke and countenance displeasing and angrie, somewhat cruell of nature, as by the wyters of his time he is noted, and not so hardie as doubtfull in time of perill and danger. But this seemeth to be an enuious report uttered by those that were giuen to speake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated. Whobett some giue 10 this witnesse of him (as the author of the booke of Bernewell abbete and other) that he was a great and mightie prince, but yet not verie fortunate, much like to Sparius the noble Romaine, tastig of fortune both wayes: bountifull and liberall vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their baslie treasons practised towards him) a great oppressour, so that he trusted moze to forreiners than to them, and therfore in the end he was of them vtterlie forsaken.

¶ Werelie, whosoener shall consider the course of the historie written of this prince, he shall find, that he hath bene little beholden to the wyters of that time in which he liued: for scarcelie can they asoyd him a good word, except when the trueth inforseth them to come out with it as it were against their willes. The occasion whereof (as some thinke) was, for that he was no great friend to the clergie. And yet vndoubtedly his deede shew he had a zeale to religion, as it was then accounted: for he founded the abbete of Beaulieu in the new forrest, as it were in recompense of certeine parish churches, which to enlarge the same forrest he caused to be throwne downe and ruined.

He builded the monasterie of Farendon, and the abbete of Bales in Shropshire; he repaired Cobslow where his fathers concubine Rosamund laie interred; he was no small benefactor to the minster of Lichfield in Staffordshire; to the abbete of Crowland in the same shire, and to the chappell at Anketburgh in Northshire. So that (to say what I thinke) 40 he was not so bold of deuotion towards the church, as diuers of his enemies haue reported, who of mere malice conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices; but are plentifull enough in setting forth the same to the vttermost, and interpret all his doings and sayings to the worst, as may appeare to those that aduisedlie read the works of them that wrote the order of his life, which may seeme rather an inuective than a true historie: neuerthelesse, sith we cannot come by the truth of things through the malice of wyters, we must content our selues with this vnfriendly description of his time. Certeinlie it should seeme the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithfull subiects to haue assisted him in reuenging such wrongs as were done and offered by the French king and others.

Whoeuer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogative of his princelie rule and gouernement. True it is, that to

mainteine his warres which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constrained to make all the shift he could deuise to recover monie, and because he pinched their purses, they conceived no small hatred against him, which when he perceived, and wanted peradventure discretion to passe it ouer, he discovered now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to hidle his affections, a thing verie hard in a stout stomach, and thereby missed now and then to compasse that which otherwise he might verie well haue brought to passe.

It is written, that he meant to haue become feudarie (for maintenance sake against his owne disloyall subiects, and other his aduersaries) vnto Pirrammeline the great king of the Saracens: but for the truth of this report I haue little to saie, and therefore I leaue the credit thereof to the authors. It is reported likewise, that in time when the realme stood interdicted, as he was abroad to hunt one day, it chanced that there was a great stag or hart killed, which when he came to be broken vp, proued to be verie fat and thicke of flesh; wh (saith he) what a pleasant life this deere hath led, and yet in all his daies he neuer heard masse. To conclude, it may seeme, that in some respects he was not greatlie superstitious, and yet not bold of a religious zeale towards the maintenance of the cleargie, as by his bountifull liberalitie bestowed in building of abbetes and churches (as before ye haue hard) it may partlie appeare.

In his daies manie learned men liued, as Geoffrey Chaucer, Simon Frayniss *alias* Ath, Adamus Dozenis, Walter de Constantins first bishop of Lincoln and after archbishop of Rouen, John de Erford, Colman surnamed Sapient, Richard Canonikus, William Peregrine, Alane Tenkelburie, Simon Thurnais, who being an excellent philosopher but standing too much in his owne conceit, vpon a sudden did so forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the most ignorant of all other, a punishment (as was thought) appointed him of God, for such blasphemies as he had wickedlie uttered, both against Moses and Christ. Cernassius Dozobernensis, John Wantwill, Nigel Woreker, Gilbert de Holland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Paruns a monk of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, Hubert Walter, first bishop of Salisbury and after archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander Theologus, of whome ye haue heard before, Cernassius Tilberienensis, Splucker Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote manie treatises, Joseph Denonius, Walter Apis, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauricius Porzantius, Walter Porzantius, John de Forderham, William Leicester, Joceline Bakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White *alias* Candous that wrote an historie intituled *Historia Petreburchensis*, John de saint Omer, Adam Barking, John Cray an historiographer and bishop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulfus Niger, &c. See Bale *Scriptorum Britannia centuria tertia*.

Matth. Paris.
Polydor.
& alij.

Matth. Paris.

Inno Reg.

1 2 1

William de
all earle c
denbyrabe

Bale.

Matth. Paris.

Thus farre king Iohn.



Henric



Henrie the third, the eldest sonne of king Iohn.

Anno Reg. 1.

1216

William Marshall
earle of Pembroke.

Mach. Paris.



Henrie, the third of that name, the eldest sonne of K. Iohn, a child of the age of nine yerres, began his reigne ouer the realme of England the nineteenth day of October, in the yere of our Lord 1216, in the seventh yere of the emperour Frederike the second, and in the 36 yere of the reigne of Philip the second king of France.

Immediatlie after the death of his father king Iohn, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, general of his fathers armie, brought this yong prince with his brother and sisters into Glocester, and there called a counsell of all such lords as had taken part with king Iohn. Anon after it was once openlie knowne, that the sonnes and daughters of the late deceased prince were brought into a place of safetie, a great number of the lords and chiefe barons of the realme hasted thither (I meane not onelie such as had holden with king Iohn, but also diuerse other, which vpon certeine knowledge had of his death, were newlie reuolted from Lewes) in purpose to aid yong king Henrie, to whome of right the crowne did apperteyne.

Whither also came Guallo or Guallo the popes legat (an earnest defender of the kings cause) with Peter bishop of Winchester, & Jocelin bishop of Bath: also Ranulph earle of Chester, William Ferrers earle of Derby, John Marshall, and Philip de Albemarle, with diuerse other lords and peeres of the realme, and a great number of abbats and priors, who by and by fell to counsell together what waie should be best to take, for the god order of things now in so doubtfull and perilous a time as this. The peeres of the realme being thus assembled, William earle of Penbroke, bringing the yong king into their presence, and setting him before them, spake these wordes following.

The earle of Penbroks short and
*sweet oration as it is borrowed out
of maister Fox.*

Behold right honourable and wel-beloued, although we haue persecuted the father of this yong prince for his euill demeanour, and wortheilie, yet this yong child to whome here you se before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from those his fathers dowings. Wherefore, in so much as euerie man is charged onelie with the burthen of his owne works and transgressions, neither shall the child (as the scripture

teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therefore of dutie and conscience to pardon this yong and tender prince, and take compassion of his age as ye se. And now, for so much as he is the kings naturall and eldest sonne, and must be our souereigne king, and successour in this kingdome, come and let vs appoint him our king & gouernour, let vs remoue from vs this Lewes the French kings sonne, and suppress his people, which are a confusion and shame to our nation: and the yoke of their seruitude let vs cast from off our shoulders.

When the barons had heard this earles wordes, after some silence and conference had, they allowed of his sayings, and immediatlie with one consent, proclaimed the yong gentleman king of England, whome the bishops of Winchester and Bath did crowne and annoint with all due solemnities at Glocester, vpon the day of the feast of the apostles Simon & Jude, in presence of the legat. Being thus crowned, he was committed to the gouernance of his brother in law, the foresaid William Marshall earle of Penbroke, who to win the god will of the people towards the yong king, sent forth messengers with letters into all parts of the realme, to signify the newes of the kings coronation, with an offer also of pardon to all such of the barons side as would turne to his part: and likewise of great rewards to those, which hauing hitherto continued faithfull, would so remaine untill this trouble should be ouerpast. By this means it came to passe, that his freends greatlie reioiced at these newes, and manie of those which till that time had aided the Frenchmen, reuolted from them, and in hope of pardon and reward turned to king Henrie.

It is reported by writers, that amongst other things, as there were diuerse which withdrew the hearts of the Englishmen from Lewes, the consideration of the confession which the vicount of Melun made at the houre of his death, was the principall. The order whereof, in the later end of the life of king Iohn, ye haue heard. Cruellie how little god will inwardlie Lewes and his Frenchmen bare towards the English nation, it appeared sundrie waies. And first of all, in that they had them in a manner in no regard or estimation at all, but rather sought by all means to spoile and keepe them vnder, not suffering them to beare anie rule, nor putting them in trust with the custodie of such places as they had brought them in possession of. Secondlie, they called them not to counsell, so often as at the first they vied to do, neither did they proceed by their directions in their businesse, as before they were accus-
S. J. m. d.

* See pag.
193. col. 2.

The pride of
the French
men procured
them their
honor.

med. Thelie, in all manner of their conuersion,
neither Leues nor his Frenchmen vled them so fa-
miliarly, as at their first comming; but (as their ma-
ner is) shewing more loftie countenances toward
them, they greatlie increased the indignation of the
English lords against them, who might euill abide
to be so ouer-ruled.

To conclude, there great promises were made at
their entring into the land, they were slowe enough
in performing the same, so as the expectation of the
English barons was quite made void: for they per-
ceived daily that they were despised & scoffed at for
their disloyaltie shewed to their owne naturall prince,
hearing now and then nips and talents openlie by
the Frenchmen, that as they had shewed themselves
false and vntruffie to their owne lawfull king, so they
would not continue any long time true vnto a
stranger. Thus all these things laid together, gaue
occasion to the English barons to remember them-
selves, and to take iust occasion to renolt vnto king
Henrie, as before we haue mentioned. But now to
the purpose of the historie.

We haue heard how Leues had spent long time
in vaine about the besieging of the castell of Dover,
so: although he plagued them within verie soye, yet
Hubert de Burgh and Gerard de Sotigam bare
themselves so manfully, and therewith so politike-
lie, that their aduersaries could not come to vnderstand
their distresse & danger within the castell, in so much
that despairing to win it in any short time, euen be-
fore the death of king John was knowne (as some
say) Leues was contented to grant a truce to
them that kept this castell, till the feast of Easter
next ensuing: but as it appeareth by other, this truce
was not concluded till after the death of king John
was signified to Leues, who greatlie reioicing there-
at, supposed now within a short time, to bring the
whole realme vnder his subiection: and therefore rat-
ifying his siege from Dover, in hope to compasse en-
terprises of greater consequence, he came backe un-
to the citie of London.

When they within the castell of Dover saw the
siege removed, they came forth, and burnt such hou-
ses and buildings as the Frenchmen had raised be-
fore the same castell, and comming abroad into the
countie, got together such vittels and other necessa-
rie provision, as might serue for the furnishing of
their fortreffe for a long season. After that Leues
was returned vnto London, he remained not long
there, but with a great armie marched south vnto
Hertford, where he besieged the castell, which was in
the keeping of Walter de Godardule seruant in
household vnto Fienks de Bcent, who defended the
place from the feast of S. Martine, vntill the feast of
S. Nicholas, and then deliuered it by composition,
that he and his people might depart with all their
goods, horse and armour. From thence Leues went
vnto Berkehamsted, and besieged the castell, which
was valiantly defended by a Duch capteine named
Waleron, who with his people behaved himselfe so
manfully, that a great number of Frenchmen and
other of them without, were left dead in the ditches.
At an issue also made vpon the side, towards the
north where the barons lay, they spoiled the carriage
and trusse of the said barons, and toke therewithall
the standard of William Marston. Finally about
the 20 day of December, they yet yielded the place
vnto Leues, because they were no longer able to
haue it their liues, goods, horse and armour saved.

Leues hauing furnished this castell with a suffi-
cient garrison, returned backe towards London, and
comming to S. Albons, constrained the abbat to
give vnto him foure score marks of siluer, for a fine,
in recognizance of doing his homage till the feast

of the purification of our ladie next ensuing. Which
pope abbat was made to beleue, that he ought to
take this dealing to be an act of great courtisie, the
earle of Winchester being an earnest meane for
him that he might so easilie escape. About the same
time was a generall truce taken betwixt the king
and Leues, and all their partakers, till the 20 day af-
ter Christmasse, for the obtaining of which truce (as
some write) the castell of Berkehamsted was sur-
rendered vnto the same Leues, as before ye haue
heard.

After Christmasse, and whilst the truce yet durd,
Leues and the barons assembled at the counsell
which they held at Cambridge, & the lords that toke
part with the king met likewise at Oxford, and
much talke there was, and great trauell imploied to
haue concluded some agreement by composition be-
twixt the parties, but it would not be, nor yet ante
longer truce (which was also sought for) could be
granted: whereupon Leues besieged the castell of
Hidingham, the which together with the castells of
Norwich, Colchester, and Oxford, were surrendered
vnto him, to haue a truce granted vntill a moneth
after Easter next ensuing. And so by this meane all
the east part of the realme came vnto the possession
of Leues. For the Ile of Cle was won by his peo-
ple a litle before the last truce, whilst he himselfe lay
in siege at Berkehamsted, except one fortreffe be-
longing to the same Ile, into the which the soldiers
that serued there vnder the king were withdrawen.
But yet although Leues might seeme thus partlie
to preuaile, in hauing these castells deliuered into his
hands, yet being aduertised that daily there re-
uolted diuerse of the barons of England vnto king
Henrie, which before had taken part with him: he
stood in great doubt and feare of the rest, and there-
fore furnished all those castells which he had toome
with conuenient garrisons, and namelie the castell
of Hertford, and after went to London, there to un-
derstand what further trust he might put in the rest
of the English lords and barons: for as diuerse had
already forsaken him, as it is said, so the residue
were doubtful what they were best to do.

For first they considered, that the renouncing of
their promised faith vnto Leues, whome they had
sworne to mainteine as king of England, should be
a great reproch vnto them: and againe they well
saw that to continue in their obedience towards
him, should bring the realme in great danger, sith it
would be hard for any louing agreement to continue
betwixt the French & Englishmen, their natures
being so contrarie. Wherefore, they had somewhat in
feare of the popes curse, pronounced by his legat,
both against Leues and all his partakers. Albeit on
the other side, to renolt vnto king Henrie, though the
loue which they did beare to their countie, and the
great towardnesse which they saw in him greatlie
moued them: yet sith by reason of his yong yeares,
he was not able either to followe the wars himselfe, or
to take counsell what was to be done in publicke go-
uernement, they iudged it a verie dangerous case.
For whereas in wars nothing can be more expect-
ent than to haue one head, by whose appointment all
things may be gouerned: so nothing can be more
hurtfull than to haue manie rulers, by whose autho-
ritie things shall passe and be ordered.

Wherefore these considerations staied and kept
one part of the English lords still in obedience to
Leues, namelie so: that diuerse of the considerats
thought that it stood not with their honours so to for-
sake him, till they might haue some more honorable
colour to renolt from their promises, or that the mat-
ter should be taken up by some indifferent agree-
ment to be concluded out of hand betwixt them. Her-
by on

Berkehamsted
truce.

S. Alb
castell

March Pa
Hobbe m
renolting
Leues.

Polydor.

The popes
curse in which
the barons
stand.

March, Paris:
The earle of
Chert.

The castell
of Hidingham
besieged.
Henrie 3rd
byoke.

Henrie de
Quince
erie of win-
chester.

March, Paris.

Hertford cas-
tell deliuered
to Leues.

The castell of
Berkeham-
sted surren-
dered.

March, Paris.

upon they resorted in like maner vnto London, and there with Lewes toke counsell what was to be done with their businesse touching the whole state of their cause. ¶ Here ye shall note, that befoze the concluding of this last truce, Fouks de Went the capitaine of the castell of Bedford gat together a number of souldiers out of the garrisons of the castles of Oxford, Portsmouth, Bedford, and Windsor, and comming with them to S. Albons the 22 of February, he spoiled the towne & abbey, in like maner as he had done all the towne and villages by the way as he passed through the countrey, from Bedford vnto S. Albons.

The messengers which Lewes had remaining in the court of Rome, signified vnto him about the same time, that except he departed out of England, the sentence of excommunication, which Gualo or Walo the legat had pronounced against him, should be confirmed by the pope on Maundie thursdaie next ensuing. Whereupon Lewes was the more inclined to yield to the truce before mentioned, that he might in the meane time go ouer into France to his father, who had most earnestlie written and sent in commandement to him, that in any wise he should returne home to talke with him, and so about midlent after the truce was concluded, he prepared himselfe, and sailed ouer into France, and as Polydor saith (but with what authoritie I knowe not) the king of Scots went also with him.

Math. Paris.
Poble men
reuoiting fro
Lewes.

After his departure ouer, William earle of Salisbury, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Warren, and diuerse other reuolted to king Henrie. Moreover, William Sparthall earle of Penbroke so trauelled with his son William Sparthall the younger, that he likewise came to take part with the young king: whereby the side of Lewes and his Frenchmen was soze weakened, and their hearts no lesse appalled for the sequelle of their affaires. Lewes returned yet into England before the truce was expired. The lords that held on the kings side in the absence of Lewes, were not forgetfull to vse opportunitie of time: for beside that they had procured no small number of those that befoze time held with Lewes to reuolt from him to the kings side, they at one selfe time besieged diuerse castles, and recovered them out of their aduersaries hands, as Marleborough, Farnham, Winchester, Cicester, and certeine other, which they ouerthrew and rased, because they should not be taken and kept againe by the enimie. For ye must vnderstand, that the going ouer of Lewes now at that time, when it stood him most by on to haue bene present here in that troublesome season (which he ought to haue regarded with singular circumspection, and warlike to haue watched, for

ut non est, ubi occasio admoget, difficere)

brought no small hinderance to the whole state of all his businesse, in so much that he was neuer so highlie regarded afterwards among the Englishmen as befoze.

Math. Paris.
The earle of
Chester.

The castell of
Moutfozell
besieged,
Henrie Sparthall
byoke.

Saer de
Quince
earle of win-
chester.

About the same time Ranulfe earle of Chester, William earle of Albermarle, William earle of Ferrers, Robert de Weipount, Brian de Lisle, William de Cantlow, Philip de Barr, Robert de Gaigi, Fouks de Went, & others assembled their powers, and comming to Moutfozell beside Roughton in Leicestershire, besieged the castell there: the capitaine thereof was one Sirte de Baillone. This Henrie defended the place right manfully, and doubting to be in distress by long siege, sent with all speed to the earle of Winchester, Saer de Quince as then being at London with the Frenchmen, requiring him to send some succour to relieve the castell. Whereupon the earle of Winchester, to whom that castell belonged, requiered Lewes that some conde-

nent powder might be sent, whereby the siege might be removed. Wherefoze upon counsell taken with deliberate aduise, it was ordeined that an armie should be sent thither with all speed, not onlie to raise the siege, but also to subdue that countrey vnto the obedience of Lewes. Herewith there went out of London 600 knights, and with them aboute twentie thousand men in armour, grædie (as it seemed) to haue the spoile of other mens goods.

Their chiefe captaine was these: Saer de Quince earle of Winchester, Robert Fitzwater, and others, and they did set forward upon the last of April, which was the mondaie befoze the Ascension daie, passing through S. Albons, where they lodged the first night, and so to Dunstable, and by the waie such souldiers as were bled to spoile and pillage, plaid their parts, not sparing to rob and ransacke as well religious houses as other. From Dunstable keeping on their iourne northwards, at length they came to Moutfozell, but the earle of Chester and the other lords, aduertised of their approach, were retired befoze to Mouttingham, determining there to abide, till they might vnderstand what waie the enimies would take.

The earle of
Chester rais-
eth his siege.

In the meane time the earle of Winchester and the other barons, finding their enimies departed and the siege raised, determined forthwith to go vnto Lincolne, where Gilbert de Gaunt and other had kept siege a long time befoze the castell, but yet in vaine. For there was a noble ladie within that castell named Pichola, who demeaned hir selfe so valiantlie in resisting all assaults and enterprises, which the enimies that besieged hir could attempt by anie meanes against hir, that they rather lost than won honour and estimation at hir hands daillie. Therefore Robert Fitzwater and the other leaders of this armie, to the end they might get that castell out of hir and other their enimies hands, toke their iourne forthward, and passing through the vale of Beauuere, all things there that came to sight fell into the hands of the grædie souldiers. For the French souldiers, which were as it had bene the scum & refuse of their countrey, least nothing vntouched that they might lay hands vpon, not sparing church or churchyard, nor hallowed place more than common or prophane. For they were so poyze and ragged, that they had scarce anie tatters to couer their priue parts withall. Finally comming vnto Lincolne, they assaulted the castell with all maner of engins, and assailed by all waies possible whereby they hoped to aduance their purpose.

The poyze
estate of the
French souldiers.

Thus whiles the barons with the Frenchmen were much busied about the siege of Lincolne castell, W. Sparthall earle of Penbroke, by the aduise of the legat Gualo or Walo, and of Peter bishop of Winchester, and other of the counsell with king Henrie, caused summons to be given to all captaine and chateleins on the kings part, to be at Newburke vpon mondaie the Whitsuntide, with such powder as they might make, from thence to march to Lincolne, there to raise the siege, and deliuer the countrey from imminent oppression. Whereupon there assembled at the daie and place prescribed, a great puissance of people desirous to fight for the defense of their countrey against the Frenchmen and other aduersaries, rebels to the pope, and excommunicated persons, so that when the matter was taken, there was numbered 400 knights, 250 crossebowes, besides banners and horsemen in great numbers, which for need might haue supplid and serued in stead of men of armes, being verie well furnished for the purpose, and armed at all points.

Summons
to raise an ar-
mie for the
king.

The chiefe captaine of this companie were these: William Sparthall earle of Penbroke, and his son S. H. William

The captaine
of the kings
armie.

William Marshall the younger, Peter bishop of Winchester, a man right skillfull in feats of warre, Ranulph earle of Chester, William earle of Salisburie, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Albemarle, besides barons, as William de Albennie lately released out of captiuitie, John Marshall, William de Cantlow, and William his sonne, Fouks de Bzent, Thomas Waller, Robert de Weipount, Brian de Lisle, Geoffrey de Lucie, Philip de Albennie, with manie other chateleins and constables of sundrie castles.

The legat accursed Lewes & his companions.

The legat being there present also on the fridaie in the Whitsunwæke aforesaid, reuested in a white albe, accompanied with the cleargie, accused in solemne wise Lewes the French kings sonne, with all his fauours and complices, & especiallie those which held siege before the castell of Lincolne, with all the citie: and the more to incourage all those that should passe forth in this armie, to raise the siege, he granted to them free remission of all their sins, whereof they were trulle confessed, and by authoritie which he had from almightie God, and the apostolike see, he promised to them the guerdon of euertlasting saluation. Herewith when the armie had receiued absolution, and the legats blessing, euerie man marched forth in his order and place appointed, and coming to Stow, an eight miles from Lincolne, they lodged there all night.

In the morning they passed forth towards Lincolne, under the conduct of the said earle of Penbroke as generall of the whole armie, who being come thither, compassed about the citie with his armie. And to cause the enimie the sooner to leaue the siege of the castell, he assaulted the gates of the citie, forcing his power to beare downe and breake them open. The Frenchmen perceiuing all the danger to be about the gates, withdrew a little from the assailing of the castell, and resorting to the walles of the citie, did their best with shooting and casting of stones and other things, to driue their aduersaries from the gates.

Fouks de Bzent.

Thus whiles they were occupied on both parts, Fouks de Bzent entered into the castell by a posterne gate on the backside, and a great number of souldiers with him, and rushing into the citie out of the castell, he began a fierce battell with the citizens within the citie: which when the Frenchmen perceiued, by the noise and cry raised at their backs, they ran to the place where the skirmish was, doing their best to beat backe the aforesaid Fouks de Bzent with his companie. But in the meane time the Englishmen, under the leading of Sauerie de Pauleon, a Poitouin (of whom you haue heard in the life of king John) brake open the gates and entred the citie. When the fight was so increased and maintained for a time with great furie: so that it was hard to iudge who should haue the better. But at length the Frenchmen and those English lords that were with them, being soze laid on on each side, began to retire towards the gates, and finallie to turne their backs and so fled awaie: but being beset round about with the kings hoisemen, they were streightwaies either slaine or taken for the most part of them.

The Frenchmen put to flight at Lincolne.

The earle of Perch slaine.

Noble men taken prisoners.

Gilbert de Gaunt by the gift of Lewes.

Amongst other that were there slaine, the earle of Perch a Frenchman was one, who being gotten into a churchyard manfullie defended himselfe till his horse was killed under him, and lastlie himselfe was also beaten downe and slaine. There were taken of Englishmen, Saer de Quincie erle of Winchester, and Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford, Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincoln by the gift of Lewes, Richard de Montichet, William de Spowbaie, William de Beauchampe, William de Span-

duit, Oliver de Harecourt, Roger de Cressie, William de Colenill, William de Ros, William de Kopeley, Rasse Chanduit, and diuerse other: so that of knights there were taken to the number of foure hundred, beside such multitude of demillances, and other hoisemen and footmen, as could not well be numbered. Moreover, all the prouision, trusse, and baggage laden in carts, clothacks, and males belonging to the barons and Frenchmen was taken, and the citie was spoiled, rifled and sacked.

This enterprise and discomfiture at Lincolne, which was in derision called Lewes his faire, chanced the 14 kalends of June, being saturday in the Whitsunwæke. Many honest matrons of the towne were drowned, as they were got into boates to avoid the danger of their persons, wanting skill how to guide the same boates. The earle of Penbroke the same daie before he receiued any repast, rode backe in post to the king, whom he had left at Stow, and there declared the soillful newes of his good speed, in vanquishing of the enimies. On the next morrow, newes came to the king, that they which had kept the castell of Spoutfozell were fled out of the same, and had left it void. Whereupon immediatlie he sent in commandement vnto the shiriffe of Spotinghamshire, that going thither in his owne person, he should rui- nat the said castell, & make it plaine with the ground.

The Frenchmen which escaped with life from the slaughter of Lincolne, as the Marshall of France, the chateleine of Arcas, with others, made towards London with all possible speed, in hope to escape so well as they might: but manie of them, and namelie the footmen were slaine by the countrie people where they passed, and that in great numbers: for the husbandmen fell vpon them with clubs and swords, not sparing those whom they got at advantage. Two hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) getting to London, presented vnto Lewes the sozowfull report of their misadventure, and were of him not moaned, but blamed and soze rebuked, for that they had fled, and shamefullie left the residue of their companies to be distressed, taken, and slaine by the aduersaries, where if they had manfullie stood to it, they might happilie haue saued their fellows, and obtained victorie.

The chronicle of Dunstable sheweth in deed that Simon de Deschies and Henrie Walbyoc, perceiuing that Fouks de Bzent was entered into the citie, and that they were now assailed both afront, and on the backs, they withdrew, and getting together 80 French knights or men of armes (if we shall so call them) departed out of the citie, and fleeing through the countrie by Lin and saint Edmundsburie, at length got through to London. How sauer they were welcomed of Lewes, certeine it is, that the lords that took part with king Henrie, were put in no small hope by the atchining of this so great a victorie, to bring within a short time all the realme to the obedience of king Henrie: and hereupon marching forth into the countrie, put the people in such feare, that they submitted themselves vnto the gouernment of king Henrie in all places where soener they came.

On the other part, Lewes who all this season remained at London, being soze dismayed for the losse of his people, began to feare euerie daie more and more, least by some practise he should be betrayed and deliuered into his enimies hands. Therefore he went about to make himselfe as strong as was possible, & fortifying the citie, sent messengers into France, to requies his father to send him more aid. His father soze to heare of his sons distresse, and loth that he should take the soile, caused his daughter the wife of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the same might

Lewes his faire.

Polydc

The bi of the e

The R. com mandeth y e

Asym in

Manch. I

Whitnes

Chr. Danb

Hubert Burgh lady of French

The fi det is b quithen.

Manch. P

Enforce might and help

Richard (some t) John. Enforce moure h be was.

Lewes (some t) deth to his h ther for

might passe with all speed ouer into England to the aid of his husband. For the French king himselfe would not seeme to aid his sonne, because he was excommunicated: but his daughter in law, hauing licence and commission thereto, gat together three hundred knights, or men of armes, whome with a great number of other souldiers and armed men, she sent downe to Caleis, where Eustace the monke had provided a nauie of ships to conueie them ouer into England. But how they sped you shall heare anon.

In armie prepared in France to come to the succour of Lewis.

Polydor.

The diligence of the earle of Pembroke.

e. R. come ideth & ca. of Shroun il tobera

Infinipig.

Manh. Paris.

lites.

r. Dandab

Robert de Burgh al- lader the French fleet.

The French fleet is ban- quished.

Manh. Paris.

Eustace the monke taken and beheaded.

Richard bafe some to king John.

Eustace the monke was taken.

was sent to his

and therefore was now rewarded according to his demerits. For

Raro antecedentem scelerum

Deferuit pede pena claudis.

Hor. lib. 3. car. od. 2.

A rich spoils.

The spoils and prey of the French ships was verie rich, so that the Englishmen being laden with riches and honour, upon their safe returne home were receiued with great ioy and gladnesse. But Lewis, after he vnderstood of this mischance happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a litle to despaire of all other succour to come vnto him at any time hereafter: wherefore he inclined the sooner vnto peace, so that at length he took such offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued furthermore a sum of monie for the release of such hostages as he had in his hands, together with the title of the kingdome of England, and the possession of all such castles and holds as he held within the realme. ¶ The French chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunstable and Matthew Paris doe also agree) affirmeth that he receiued fiftene thousand marks. Moreover, the popes legat absolved Lewis and all those that had taken his part in the offense of disobedience shewed in attempting the warre against the popes commandement.

An accord betwixt R. Henrie & Lewis.

The English chronicle saith a thousand pounds.

Math. Paris.

Then Lewis with all his complices that had bin excommunicated swore vpon the holie euangelist, that they should stand to the iudgement of holie church, and from thenceforth be faithfull vnto the pope and to the church of Rome. Moreover, that he with his people should incontinentlie depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euill intent returne againe. And that so farre as in him lay, he should procure his father king Philip, to make restitution vnto king Henrie of all the right which he had in the parts beyond the sea: and that when he should be king of France, he should resigne the same in most quiet manner.

On the other part, king Henrie took his oath together with the legat, and the earle of Pembroke gouernour of the realme, that he should restore vnto the barons of his realme, and to other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the discord was moued betwixt the late king John and his barons. Moreover, all prisoners on both parts were released and set at libertie, without paying any rancome: yea and those which had covenanted to paie, and vpon the same were set at libertie before the conclusion of this peace, were now discharged of all summes of monie which then remained unpaid.

This peace was concluded on the eleventh day of September, not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuer of Thames, where Lewis himselfe, the legat Guallo, and diuers of the spiritualtie with the earle of Pembroke lord gouernour of the realme, and others, did meet and talke about this accord. Now when all things were ordered and finished agreeable to the articles and covenants of the peace, so farre as the time present required, the lords of the realme (when Lewis should depart homeward) attended him to Dover in honorable wise, as appertained, and there took leaue of him, and so he departed out of the realme about the feast of saint Michaell.

King Henrie by this means being put in full possession of the realme, according to the prescript of that article contained in those conditions of the peace lately specified, pardoned all those that had aided his aduersarie Lewis during the wars, except certaine of the spiritualtie, which were put to such fines, that they were compelled to laie all that they had to pledge, to leaue such summes of monie, as they might with the same obtaine the kings fauour againe: and beside that, to sue to Rome for their entier absolution

The prelates are fined.

S. ij.

At

Anno Reg. 2.
what the
uance the
legat made.

Fouks de
Brent.

Mayh. Paris.

The castell of
Newmarke re-
stored to the
bishop of Lin-
colne.

Mar. Paris.
The earle of
Chester goeth
into the holie
land.

Sonne to R.
John belike.

Anno Reg. 3.
1219
The decess of
the earle of
Penbroke.

He is buried
in the temple
church.

Handulph
made bishop
of Norwich.

The bishop of
Winchester
gouverneur to
the king.

Quene Fla-
bel married
to the earle
of Arth.

at the popes owne hands. Amongst other, Hugh bi-
shop of Lincolne returning into England, was
compelled to paie a thousand marks to the popes ble
for recouerie of his bishoprike, & an hundred marks
also to the legat of good and lawfull monie. Such the
uance made the legat amongst them of the church, as
well persons secular as regular, that he got together
twelve thousand marks towards his charges, where-
by it appeared, that he lost no time in England. But
to proceed.

The realme now being quiet and in all outward fe-
licitie, a number of unruly persons, such as delight-
ing in idlenesse, knew not how to live in time of
peace, assembled themselves together and (appointing
Fouks de Brent, who was a man of great stomach
and more rashnesse, to be their capteine and ring-
leader) began to make warre against the king, and to
spoil the townes and countries about them, so that
their euill doings might haue caused no small perill
to haue ensued by some great ciuill sedition, if the
earle of Penbroke had not in time prevented their
attempts. For he assembling the kings power, ha-
sted towards the rebels, and what by his owne au-
thoritie, and by the reuerend regard of some bishops
in his companie; more than by using any force of
armes, he staid the matter for that time, so that no
further mischefe followed of this mutinie.

Besides the foresaid Fouks de Brent, there were
other of the nobilitie also which practised the like dis-
order, as William earle of Albemarle, Robert de
Weipoint, Brian de Lisle, Hugh de Balloll, Philip
de Sparr, and Robert de Gaugi, the which Robert
withheld the castell of Newmarke that belonged to
the bishop of Lincolne, and would not deliuer it, till
the king with William Sparthall erle of Penbroke
had laine at siege before it an eight daies, in the end
of which terme by mediation of friends the matter
was taken up, and the bishop recovered his castell,
paying to the said Robert de Gaugi an hundred
pounds sterling for the victuals which he left within
the same castell.

Some after this, Ranulph earle of Chester was
sent into the holie land by king Henrie, with a good
lie companie of souldiers and men of warre, to aid
the christians there against the infidels, which at the
same time had besieged the citie of Damietta in Ae-
gypt, in which enterprize the baliance of the same
earle after his coming thither, was to his great
praise most apparant. There went with him in that
iourne Saer de Quince earle of Winchester,
William de Albennie earle of Arundell, besides di-
uerse barons, as the lord Robert Fitz Walter, John
constable of Chester, William de Barcourt, and di-
liuer Fitzroie sonne to the king of England, and di-
uerse other.

The next yeare, which was after the birth of our
lord 1219, William Sparthall the foresaid earle of
Penbroke died, gouernour both of the realme and
also of the kings person, a man of such worthinesse
both in stoutnesse of stomach and martiall know-
lege, as England had few then living that might be
compared with him. He was buried in the new tem-
ple church at London upon the Ascension day. The
same yeare also Walter of Guallo the legat return-
ed to Rome, and Handulph, who (as before is expre-
sed) did the message so stoutlie from pope Innocent
to king John, was also made bishop of Norwich.

After the death of William Sparthall the elder, earle of
Penbroke, was committed vnto Peter bishop of
Winchester: for the yong king was almost desti-
tute of any of his kindred that were worthy to haue
the rule of him: so much as his mother quene Fla-
bel was lately married to Hugh Bume the earle

of Arth in France, vnto whom she was promised
before king John took hir to wife, as in the life of
the same king John is mentioned.

The bishop of Winchester being now in the pos-
session of the kings person, doubting least he had ta-
ken a greater charge vpon him than he might well
answer, caused diuerse sage and honourable perso-
nages to be admitted of the kings counsell, to assist
him in the administration of the common-wealth
and good gouernance of the realme. Which being
done, a parlement was holden at London, where in
a subside was granted to the king of two shillings
to be gathered and leued of euerie ploughland with-
in his dominions, towards the relieving of the great
charges which he had sustained by the warres against
the foresaid Lewes.

About the same time also he began the building
of the new worke of the church at Westminster. In
which meane time the citie of Damietta afore menti-
oned, was twone by the christian princes, and Ra-
nulph earle of Chester returned home, leaving the
earle of Arundell with a great number of souldiers
behind him there in aid of the christians against the
Saracens, which dailie attempted the recouerie of
the same. Aftercouer, in the yeare ensuing, which was
of our lord 1220, and vpon the seauententh day of
Maie being Whitsunday, the king was crowned so-
lemnelie crowned at Westminster, to the end it
might be said, that now after the extinguisment of
all seditious factions, he was crowned by the gene-
rall consent of all the estates and subiects of his
realme.

The same yeare also was the bodie of Thomas
archbishop of Cantuarburie translated, and Hugh bi-
shop of Lincolne canonized for a saint. In like man-
ner in the vigile of Peter and Paule, the king find-
ing the castles of Rokingham and Sauerie at that
present unpurueied of victuals, took the same into
his hands against the will of William of Albemarle
which before held the same. This yeare also was a
proclamation made in London, and throughout all
the realme, that all strangers should auoid the land
before the feast of saint Michael then next following
except those that came with merchandise. Further,
more Ranulph earle of Chester, after he was come
from the holie land, began to build the castles of
Chartleie and Besson, and afterward he also builded
the abbey of Dieu Lencrese, commonlie called
Delacresse of the white order. Toward his charges
sustained about the building of which castles and ab-
beie, he took toll throughout all his lordships of all
such persons as passed by the same with any cattell,
chaffre or merchandise.

This yeare deceased Henrie de Boun earle of
Hereford, and Saer de Quince earle of Winche-
ster in their iourne which they made into the holie
land. Also the same yeare the priests or canons that
inhabited within the kings castell of old Salisburie,
remoued with the bishops see vnto new Salisburie,
which by the king was made a citie. The bishop Be-
chard procured this remouing, through the kings
helpe, who was verie willing therevnto, as it seemed
by his charters largelie granted in that behalfe. Af-
ter this, king Henrie held his Christmas at Dren-
ford, at what time William de Fitz earle of Albe-
marle meaning to trouble the kings peace, and to
set things in a new broile, departed from the court in
the night season, without leave or licence, and hastied
with all speed vnto the castell of Wexham, where he as-
sembled a sort of youthfull persons, given to lech-
erous and wearie of quietnesse (as to whom theft
and robberies were verie pleasant) by whose helpe
he spoiled diuers townes and villages about him, as
Tenham and Wexing, with others.

There

A parlement
and a subside.
R. Fabian.

The new
church of
Westm. begun

Anno. Reg. 4.
Matth. West.
The earle of
Chester retu-
neth home.
Polydor.

1220

The king crown-
ed the second
time.

The ca-
sodym.

The cal-
dham
bed.

Mar. Paris.

Mar. Paris.

Ran. Higd.
A proclamati-
on to auoid
strangers.

Matth. Pa-
Old seru
rememb.

The castles
of Chartley &
Besson built.
Ran. Higd.

The wel-
begin to il

Anno Reg. 5.
1221

Salisbury.

Mar. Par

Wexham
Dren.

Mar. Paris.

The earle of
Albemarle.

The castell
of Wexham.

Wexham
Dren.

Wexham
Dren.

There were of counsell with him also (as was thought) Foukas de Bient, Philip de Sparc, Peter de Spaulcon, Engellard de Athie, and manie other, who prouide sent men to his aid, and furthered him in his tumultuous affaires, that they might partcipat with him the sweetnesse of the spoile, which is the marke thereat enerie one sheweth that is

*inners & inops, qui uiuere luxuriose
rult quamuis nequeat, non respondente crumena,
Proinde animam vendit pretio, seseque periculis
Obicit, ut raptis alienis victor ouasque*

Ad proprios referat pradam & spolia ampla penates.

In the meane time the countrie people withdrew to the churches, and gat their goods into the church pards. Moreover, the peeres of the realme assembled themselves in counsell at Westminster where the king was present, whither the earle of Almarle was summoned to come, who taining as though he had meant to have gone thitherward directly, turned suddenlie his waie to the castell of Fordinghep, and take it upon the sudden, furnishing it also with a garrison of souldiers, to be kept hereafter to his owne vse. That castell was in the keeping of the earle of Chester, who at that instant had but few souldiers there in garrison, wherby it was the soner surpised. When these newes were brought to the king, he raised a powder and came with all speed to the castell of Wiham, upon the wednesday next after the feast of Candlemasse, and then compassing the same about with a strong siege, he constrained them within by force of such engins as they used in those daies, that finally on the eight daie of February they came forth, and submitted themselves and all that they had unto the kings pleasure. Who caused them to be safely kept, till he might take further advisement what should be done with them.

In the meane while also came the earle of Almarle, who by the helpe & means of the archbishop of Porke, and the legat Pandulph, purchased peace at the kings hands, the rather indeed because he had faithfully served both the king and his father king John in their wars, before that time. All those men of armes & souldiers also, which had submitted themselves and remained as prisoners, were pardoned. Which over-great clemencie caused other unruly persons to attempt the like offense of rebellion shortly after. At the very selfe same time the Welshmen began to stirre, and under their prince and leader Leolin they entered upon the English marches, and with great crueltie spoiled and robbed the same, whereupon it was determined by the counsell, that the king (as he was coming toward the castell of Wiham) should divide his armie, and so he did, sending one part thereof against the Welshmen: wherupon Leolin, after he understood that the kings powder came toward him, as one not able to resist the same, cast off his armour, and submitted himselfe to his mercie.

There be which write, that where prince Leolin had besieged the castell of Wuet belonging to Reginald de Bescuse, the same Reginald besought the king to helpe to remove that siege. The king contented with his request, came with a puissant armie into those parts, and therewith the siege was raised, for the Welshmen (according to their accustomed manner) fled. The king then entering further into the countrie, came to the place where Mountomerie now standeth, and perceiving the site of the same to serve well for fortification, he caused a castell to be builded there, to restraine the Welshmen from their accustomed trade of harrieng the countrie. And so after he had forsaied those quarters, and taken order for the full accomplishment of that castell, he returned, the Nobles granting to him of enerie knights

the two markes of silver.

Things being thus in quiet, the king (who by daily experience of matters grew to more knowledge from time to time) began now of himselfe to order his affaires for his owne behalfe, namelie touching the estate of his kingdome: and because he was minded to assaie the recourie of those places which his father had lost in France, he ordeined Sauerie de Spaulcon to be his lieutenant in Guien, wherof a great part as yet remained in his hands, and moreover sent ambassadours unto the French king, requiring of him restitution of those places which he had taken from his father.

These ambassadours being come into France, and admitted to the kings presence, received answer, that nothing ought to be restored, which by law of armes was rightlie conquered: and other redresse at that time would none be granted. ¶ But a marvell it was to consider here at home, in how short a space the state of the English common-wealth was changed, and from a troubled fourme reduced to a flourishing and prosperous degre: chiefely by the diligent heed and careful provision of the king himselfe. So much availeth it to have him that ruleth; to attend that which belongeth to his office.

After this, to the intent that while he might be occupied in warres abroad, he should not be troubled with civil discord at home, he devised to soine in affinity with the Scots, giving his sister Jane in marriage unto Alexander the king of Scotland, and Hubert of Burgh on the other side married the sister of the same Alexander called Margaret. These marriages were solemnized at Porke on the morrow after the feast of S. John Baptiste, in the presence of a great number of the Nobles both of England and Scotland. A counsell also was holden by the archbishop of Canturburie at Oxford for reformation of the state ecclesiasticall and the religion of monks. ¶ In which counsell two naughty felowes were presented before him, that of late had bene apprehended, either of them naming himselfe Christ, and preached manie things against such abuses as the cleargie in those daies used. Moreover, to prove their error to have a shew of truth, they shewed certeine tokens and signes of wounds in their bodies, hands and feet, like unto our saviour Jesus that was nailed on the crosse. In the end being well apposed, they were found to be but false dissemblers, wherefore by doome of that counsell, they were iudged to be nailed unto a crosse of wood, and so those to whom the execution was assigned, had them forth to a place called Arbozerie, where they nailed them to a crosse, and there left them till they were dead. The one of them was an Hermaphrodite, that is to say, both man and woman. Also there were two women condemned, of whom the one had taken upon hir to be that blessed virgine Marie, and the other fained hir selfe to be Marie Magdalene.

Ralph Coghsall sheweth this matter otherwise, and saith, that there were two men and two women brought before the archbishop at this counsell, of the which one of the men being a deacon, was accused to be an apostata, & for the love of a woman that was a Jew, he had circumcised himselfe: & being herof convicted & disgraced, he was committed to the secular powder, & so burnt by the servants of Foukas de Bient. The other being a young man, was accused of concerning the sacraments of the church, & that he suffered himselfe to be crucified, having the prints of the five wounds appearing in his bodie, and counterfeiting himselfe to be Christ, rejoiced to have the two women give out and spread the rumour abroad, that he was Christ in deed, one of the which women being verie aged, was also accused of witcherie, having

Polydor.

10
K. Henrie requirereth restitution of his right of the French king.

The French kings answer

Matt Westm.
Marrh. Paris.
Marriages concluded.

Anno Reg. 6.
1222
A counsell of synod at Oxford.

Two dissembling persons apprehended.
Matt. Westm.

They are executed.

Two women counterfeiting themselves to be the one our lady, the other Marie Magdalene.
Ralph Cog.

parlement
a subtilie
fabian.

ie new
rch of
stm. begun
no. Reg. 4.
th. West.
ie earle of
ester retur
y home.
ydon.
220

e K. crowe
the second
.

th. Paris.

th. Paris.

.Higd.
reclamati
a avoid
ages.

castles
bartley &
from built.
Higd.

5 Reg. 6.
1221

Donk.

1. Paris.

earle of
marle.

Mountgomerie
the castle built.

castell
hamp.

The castell of
Fordinghep.

The castell of
Wiham purch.
ced.

Matt. Paris.
Who service
remembered.

The Welshmen
begin to stir.

Polydor.

Matt. Paris.
Reginald de
Bescuse.

Mountgomerie
the castle built.

Exchange paid.

ning with his sorcerie and witchcraft brought that young man unto such wicked folie and madnesse. They two being herof convicted, were cloked by two other two wailles, where they remained till they died, the other woman being sister to the young man, was pardoned and let go, because she had revealed the devilish practise of the other.

March. Paris.

This yeare also was the building of the steeple belonging to the church of St. Paule in London finished. And this yeare also upon saint James day the citizens of London kept a plaie of defense and wrestling at the hospitall of saint James, against other their neighbours of the suburbs, and the quarters next adjoining. In the end thereof it so befell, that the Londoners had the upper hand: and amongst other that were put to the foile, the steward of the abbat of Westminster with his folkes went alwaie with the worst, to their great griefe. Whereupon the same steward devised an other game of wrestling to be holden at Westminster on Lammas day next following, and that whosoever could get the upper hand there, should have a ram for the price, which the steward had prepared.

March. Paris.
March. Weib.The first wedding
come late.

At the day appointed, there was a great assembly, and the steward had got together out of all parts the best wrestlers that might be heard of, so that there was hard hold betwixt them and the Londoners. But finally, the steward upon desire of reuenge, procured them to fall together by the eares without any iust cause, so that the Londoners were beaten and wounded, and constrained to flee hark to the citie in great disorder. The citizens sore offended to see their people so misused, rose in tumult, and rang the common bell to gather the more companie to them. Robert Scire maio: of the citie would have pacified the matter, persuading them to let the matter passe, till by orderlie plaint they might get redresse, as law and iustice should assigne. But a certaine stout man of the citie named Constantine Fitz Arnulfe, of good authoritie amongst them, advised the multitude not to harken unto peace, but to seeke reuenge out of hand (wherein he shewed himselfe so farre from true manhood, that he betrayed himselfe rather to haue had a womans heart,

Robert Scire
maio: of London.Constantine,
a citizen of
London pac-
cured the ci-
zens to re-
uenge their
cause by waie
of rebellion.
March. Paris.

*— quod vindicta
Non magis gaudet quam femina*

still prosecuting the strife with tooth and naile, and blowing the coles of contention as it were with full bellows, that the houses belonging to the abbat of Westminster, and namelic the house of his steward might be overthrowne and beaten downe flat with the ground.

The lord
cheese in-
three rebeth in
quiltion of
the riot.Constantine
apprehended.

He is executed

This lewd counsell was sore received and executed by the outrageous people, & Constantine himselfe being cheefe leader of them, cried with a loud voice, Mount top mount top, God be our aid and our Soueraigne Letwes. This outrageous part coming to the notice of Hubert de Burgh lord cheefe iustice, he gat together a powder of armed men, and came to the citie with the same, and taking inquisition of the cheefe offenders, found Constantine as constant in affirming the deed to be his, as he had before constantlie put it in practise, whereupon he was apprehended and two other citizens with him. On the next day in the morning Jonks de Went was appointed to haue them to execution: and so by the Thames he quiettie led them to the place where they should suffer. Now when Constantine had the halter about his necke, he offered fiftene thousand marks of silver to haue bene pardoned, but it would not be. There was hanged with him his nephew named also Constantine, and one Gessrey, who made the proclamation devised by the said Constantine. The crie also which Constantine bled to the sitting forward of his un-

lawfull enterprise in the name of Letwes most of all offended the kings friends, as the lord cheefe iustice and others, who not satisfied with the death of the three before remembred persons, but also entering the citie againe with their bands of armed men, apprehended diuerse of those whom they take to be culpable, not onelie putting manie of them into prison, but also punishing other of them, as some with losse of a foot, some of an hand, and other of their eye-sight. The king furthermore to reuenge this matter, deposed all the magistrats of the citie, and ordered new in their rooms. Which caused great hartburning against diuerse of the nobilitie, but cheeflie the lord Hubert and Jonks de Went, on whom in time they hoped to haue reuenge.

As this broile bered the citie of London, so in this yeare there chanced great tempest of thunder, lightning and raine, whereby much hurt was done in diuerse parts of the realme, and at sundrie times, as by the following downe of steeples, churches, and other buildings, with the rotting of trees, as well in woods as orchards, verie strange to consider, cheeflie on the eight day of February at Crantham in Lincolnshire, where there chanced (beside the thunder) such a stinke and filthie sauer to follow in the church, that the people fled out, for that they were not able to abide it. Likewise in the day of the exaltation of the crosse, a generall thunder happened throughout the realme, and thereupon followed a continuall season of foule weather and wet, till Candlemas next after, which caused a dearth of corne, so as wheat was sold at twelue shillings the quarter. Likewise on the day of saint Andrew an other terrible tempest of thunder happened thorough the realme, throwing downe and shaking buildings in manie places, in so much that at Millersdon in Warwickshire, in a knights house, the ladie thereof and six other persons were destroyed by the same. And a turbarie thereby compassed about with water and marresle was so dried up, that neither grasse nor mire remained, after which ensued an earthquake. Moreover on the euen of saint Lucie, a mightie wind raged, which did much hurt in sundrie places of the realme. Furthermore, about this time there appeared in England a wonderfull comet or blazing starre. The sea also rose with higher tides and springs than it had bene accustomed to do. All which wonders were afterwarde iudged to be token and signifie the losse which the christians suffered the same yeare in Egypt, when they were constrained to surrender the citie of Damietta into the Saracens hands, which latelie before (as yet haue heard) they had borne with long and chargeable siege. After the yielding up of Damietta, William de Albennie earle of Arundell (whome Ranulfe earle of Chester left behind him in the holie land) with manie souldiers and men of warre (when he returned from thence) came now homewards towards England, and died by the waie.

About the same time John the sonne of Dauid earle of Angush in Scotland, offers some unto Ranulfe earle of Chester, married the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales, as it were to procure a small accord betwene the said Leolin and Ranulfe. After which marriage, king Henrie held his Christmase at Orenford, and shortly after the twelfthe came to London: where assembling a counsell of his barons, he was earnestlie required by the bishop of Canturburie and other perces, to confirme the liberties, franchises, and free customes of the realme, for which the warres in his fathers time had bene moued: which to denie (as the archbishop seemed to alledge, & should haue bene ashamed so to open his mouth, to the disadvantage of his soueraigne, but that it is likelie he forgot the old poeie, namelic that,

Great tempest

A general
thunder.Great dearth
of corne.In other
part of thundr

Polydor.

A comet or
blazing star.The losse of
the citie of
Damietta.William de
Albennie earle of
Arundell
parted thusAnno Reg. 3.
John Scot
married the
daughter of
Leolin prince
of Wales.I 223
A counsell of
London.Note the re-
diness of the
bish. to best
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tion.

March. Par.

The earle
Penelope
conereth
cathels tak
by the ysa
of Wales.The pylme
Wales dis-
comfited.A conspiri
against th
lord cheefe
iustice.March. Paris.
The king
Jerusalem
conuerth in
England.The death
the French
king.
Ambassadors
sent into
France.

Imago rex est animata Dei.)

he might not with any reason, sith he had couenanted (and all the baronage with him) to see the same observed, by the articles of the peace concluded with Lewes, when the same Lewes departed the realme.

Whereupon William Brelwer one of the kings counsell, hearing the archbishop so earnest in these matters, told him, that sith these liberties were procured & extorted rather by force than otherwise, of the king being under age, they were not to be observed. Whereunto the archbishop replied, that if he loved the king, he would be loth to seeke to trouble the quiet state of the realme. The king perceiuing the archbishop to be chased, & taking the tale himselfe, made a courteous answer, and further aduise had in the matter, sent forth writs to the shiriffe of euerie countie, commanding them by inquirie of a sufficient iurie impanelled, to make certifiat within the quindene of Ester, what were the liberties in times past of his grandfather R. Henrie, used within the realme of England.

The same yere, whiles William Marshall earle of Penbrooke was busie in Ireland in war against Hugh Lacie, Leolin prince (or king) of Wales, as some haue intituled him, took by force two castles that belonged to the same earle: whereof when he was aduertised, with all speed he returned out of Ireland, raised an armie, and recovered the said castles, putting to death all such as he found in the same, to requite Leolin with the like damage as he had shewed him before in his absence. This done he entered into the land of Leolin, waisting and spoiling the same, whereof when the said Leolin was informed, he assembled an host of Welshmen, and comming into the field gaue battell, but the victorie rested on the earle of Penbrookes side: so that there were taken and slaine in this bickering to the number of 9000 Welshmen. There was in this yere a conspiracie also begun by the earle of Chester, and other noble men, against Hubert de Burgh lord chiefe iustice of England, by whose counsell (as it was thought) the king was more strict towards the nobilitie and other his subiects, in stateng his grant to confirme the charter of liberties, than otherwise he would haue done, if the same Hubert and other had not aduised him to the contrarie.

In this season also John de Wren king of Jerusalem, and the lord great maister of the knights hospitallers came into England, where they were honorable receiued of king Henrie, and liberally rewarded. The cause of their comming was to require aid of the king for the recoverie of the holie land out of the possession of the Saracens. In like manner about the same time Leolin prince of Northwales, with certaine English lords, as Hugh Lacie and others, upon an hatred which they bare towards king Henrie for his fathers sake, supposing that so euill a stocke as they took him to be, could not bring forth any good branch, sought by open warres to bring William Marshall earle of Penbrooke and other barons that were faithfull friends to the king unto their purpose: but the whole countie rising against them, they were disappointed to their owne confusion, and so they could neuer bring that to passe which they so earnestly intended.

In this yere Philip the French king departed this life, and after him succeeded Lewes his sonne, unto whom king Henrie sent in ambassage the archbishop of Canturburie with three other bishops to require, that (according to his oath made and receiued at his returne out of England) he would restore and deliuer by to him the dukedome of Normandie, with other such lands and possessions as his father in

times past had taken from king John, and still did wrongfullie withhold. R. Lewes answered hereto, that he held Normandie & the other lands by god right and iust title, as he could well proue and iustifie, if king Henrie would come to the parlement in France to heare it. And as touching the oath which he had swoyne in England, he affirmed that the same was first broken by king Henrie, both in that his men which had bene taken at Lincoln were put to greuous ransoms, and also for that their liberties for which the warre first began, were not observed, but denied to the English subiects, contrarie to that which was concluded at the agreement betwixt them at the same time made.

Moreover, king Henrie sent other ambassadours to Rome, who purchased a bull of the pope, whereby he was adiudged to be of age sufficient to receive the gouernement of the kingdome of England into his owne hands, thereby to order and dispose all things at his pleasure, & by the aduise of such counsellours as he should elect and chuse to be about him. Whereupon after the said ambassadours were returned, all those earles, barons and nobles, which held any castles, honors, manors or places appertaining to the king, were commanded to deliuer and resigne the same to his use, which caused much trouble, as after shall appeare. For diuerse noble men, whose hearts were filled with couetousnesse, would not obeye the popes order herein, but sore repined; yet not so much against the king as against the lord Hubert de Burgh, by whose counsell the king was most led and ruled. And therefore they did put him in all the blame, as one that should let the king against them, and staie him from suffering them to inioy those liberties, which they from time to time so much laboured to haue had to them granted and confirmed.

Upon this occasion therfore, they sued to the king for the restitution of the ancient lawes according to his promise, who to pacifie them for the time, gaue them a gentle answer, assuring them, that he would perfourme all that he had promised, so soone as opportunity would permit and suffer him so to do. Howbeit, afterwards by the aduise of certaine old counsellours, which had bene of the priue counsell with king John his father, he found a shift to disappoint them of their demands, by requiring them on the other side, to restore unto him those things which they had in times past receiued of his ancestors. Furthermore, because he would the more easilie obtayne his purpose, and make the residue afraid to follow a suit so displeasing and irksome, he thought best to begin with the chiefe authours and first procurers of the said petitions, and to take from them whatsoever they held belonging to his crowne.

Whereupon therfore assembling a great power about him, he demanded of Ranulph earle of Chester the restitution of certaine lordships which anciently appertained to the crowne of the realme, which earle not being as then able to resist, readily obeyed the kings pleasure, and resigned them all. By this entrance of the king into the execution of his purposes diuerse of the rest of the barons were brought into such feare, that they were contented also to do the like, so that by this meanes the lords being cut off and weakened in power, increased as then from molesting the king any further with the demand of other lands or liberties.

The archbishop of Canturburie also threatened them with the dart of excommunication, if they went about to disquiet the realme with any civil commotions, though no man was more desirous to haue that matter go forward than he, as appeared by his diligent travell therein (hoping as now in those process of time, and that by courteous meanes, to persuade

Anno Reg. 8.

Polydor.
The king giveth a gentle answer to his lords.

I 2 2 4

The king demanded restitution of parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne.

persuade the king to his purpose) but the king drove him off with faire words, and minded nothing lesse than to alter any one of the lawes which he knew to be profitable to himselfe and his successours after him. Whereupon diuerse mistaking his dealing herein, withdrew themselves secretly, some into one place, and some into an other, to the intent they might avoid the daile sight of such abuses, as they too the most part could not well abide to beare.

Whilest king Henrie thus politikelie provided for his affaires at home, Sauerie de Maulcon made provision in Guien to withstand such perils and dangers as he saw most likeli to insue by the practices of the Frenchmen. But as he was most busied occupied about the purueiance of such things as should be verie necessarie for his doings, there sprang a great dissention betwixt him and William the earle of Salisburie, who was sent ouer into that countrie with commission to surueie the state thereof, and by colour of the same commission, toke upon him to order all things at his owne pleasure. Whereas the foresaid Sauerie de Maulcon (being a man of high parentage in those parts where he was borne) indged it to be a matter nothing standing with his honour, that another man should order things at his will and commandment within the countrie, whereof he himselfe had the chiefe charge, as the kings lieutenant; and therefore determined not to suffer it any longer.

Whereupon verelie arose the contention betwixt them, which the English souldiers that were there, did greatly increase, fauouring the earle as the kings vncle, and condemning the lieutenant as a stranger borne, by meanes whereof the foresaid Sauerie doubting least if he should fight with his enemies, and through such discorde as was now amongst them, be put to the worse, the fault should be laid wholly on his necke: he secretly departed and fled to Lewis the French king, who was latelie come to the crowne of France by the death of his father king Philip, as you before haue heard: wherein he dealt wisely in respect of safetie. For

Quid poterit instatutur esse fuga?

About the same time Frouke de Bient, being a man of an vnquiet mind, ready to mischief and loth to liue in peace (as some saie) conspired against the king of England, and aduertised the king of France that if he would boldlie begin the warres against king Henrie in France, he would not faile but raise warre against him here in the midst of his realme of England, hauing diuerse noble men in a readinesse, that would willingly take his part. But how soeuer it fell out, certaine it is that this Frouke hauing fortified his castell of Bedford, attempted many enterprises greatlie to the prejudice of the kings peace, as well in robbing and spoiling the countrie about him, as otherwise.

And now fearing to be punished therefore by order of lawe, he showed his malice against such as had the execution of the same lawes chieflie in their hands. Whereupon he toke prisoner Henrie Watbroke, one of the kings iudices of his bench, and led him to his castell of Bedford, and there shut him up close as his lawfull prisoner. Indeed the said Henrie de Watbroke, with Martine de Patehill, Thomas de Spilston, and other of the kings iudices were come to kepe their circuit at Dunstable. Where, upon information giuen and presented before them, Frouke de Bient was condemned to the king at great summes of monie. Wherewithall this Frouke toke such indignation and displeasure, that he commanded his men of warre which late in the castell of Bedford, to ride vnto Dunstable, and there to apprehend the said iudices, and to bring them vnto Bed-

ford, where (as he said) he meant to commen further with them. But they hauing knowledge of his purpose, fled quicklie out of the towne, seeking to escape suerie man which waite he might best deuise. Holobet, the souldiers used such diligence, that Henrie de Watbroke fell into their hands, & so was brought captiue to Bedford as their maister had commanded them.

The king aduertised hereof by the græuous complaints of his subiects, was as then at Northampton (where he had assembled his parlement) and thereupon hauing gathered speedilie a power, with all expedition he passed towards Bedford. At his coming thither, he besieged the castell on eche side, and at length after two moneths, though not without much ado, he toke it, and hanged them all which were taken within, being in number 80 or about: and amongst other William de Bient, the brother of the said Frouke was one. There were but three that escaped with life, who were pardoned, upon condition they should passe into the holie land, there to serue among the Templers. The siege began on the Ascension euen, and continued till the 15 daie of August, being the feast daie of the assumption of our ladie.

Frouke himselfe, whilest the siege continued, late aloofe in the shire, and on the borders of Wales, as one watching to do some mischief: but after the castell was toke, he got him to Couentrie, and there was per long apprehended, and brought to the king, of whom he obtained pardon of life, but yet by the whole consent of the nobles and peeres of the realme, he was exiled the land for euermore, and then went to Rome, where he knew to purchase his pardon easilie inough for money, of what crime soeuer he should be iudged culpable. His wife, because she neuer consented to his doings, nor yet willinglie to the marriage had betwixt hir and him, was acquitted of all blame, and so likewise was his sonne Thomas.

Holobet at length the foresaid Frouke, hauing obtained his purpose at Rome (by meanes of his chapleine Robert Passew an Englishman, who was his solicitor there) as he returned towards England in the yeare ensuing, was poisoned and died by the waie, making so an end of his inconstant life, which from the time that he came to yeares of discretion was neuer bent to quietnes. Which may be reported of him, not to his honour or renoume (for alas what same is gotten by furing occasions of enill) but to his everlasting shame and infamie, for the same shall neuer die, but remaine in perpetuall memorie, as one saith right well,

Hominum immortalis est infamia,

Etenim tunc uiuit cum effretur mortuorum.

But now to leaue these things, and returne to the doings in France where we left. We shall understand, that after Sauerie de Maulcon was revolted to the French king, the said king with all speed determined to make warre upon king Henrie, and to win from him certaine townes and fortresses within the countrie of Poitou.

The French writers affirme, that king Lewis did couered out of the Englishmens hands the townes of Ploert, St. Johns d'Angell, & Rochell, before Sauerie de Maulcon revolted from the French part. In deed, the countie of Dunstable saith, that after the truce toke end, this yeare the French king raised an armie, and toke Ploert, and after they of St. Johns d'Angell submitted themselves vnto him. From thence he went to Rochell, within the which at that present was the said Sauerie de Maulcon with his gentrie knights, and Richard Craie, with Geoffrey Penill, who had in their retinue fiftie knights. These with the forces of the towne salued fight, & encountering with the French armie, shewd manye of their aduersaries,

Discorde betwixt Sauerie de Maulcon and the earle of Salisburie.

Sauerie de Maulcon revolted to the French king.

Math. Paris. Mart. Westm. Frouke de Bient an enemy to rest and quietnesse.

Math. Paris. Henrie Watbroke taken by Frouke de Bient, and imprisoned.

Bedford castle besieged.

Rochell won.

Math. Paris. Anno Reg. 9. Parlement. 1225.

15th granted to be king.

Magna Charta and Charta de Foresta confirmed.

Place in Persia.

Fortress.

Dunstable.

Math. Paris. Polydor.

Three hundred forty Gaguin.

uerfaries, and loſt ſome of their owne people. Yet after this, the French King beſieged the towne, and in the end won it, whileſt the king of England being occupied about the beſieging of Bedford caſtell, neglected to ſend them within Rochell neceſſarie ſuccours.

The Poitou
was ſent to
king Henrie.

But Polydor Virgil writeth, that now after that Hauerie de Mauléon was become the French king his man, the Poitouins ſent unto king Henrie, ſignifying, that they were readie to reuolt from the French kings ſubjection, and yeld themſelues unto him, if he would ſend unto them a power of men to defend their countrie from the French men. Now king Henrie hauing receiued theſe letters, interſeined them that brought this meſſage verie courteouſlie, and promiſing them to ſend ouer aid with all expedition, he cauſed his nauie to be made readie for that voyage. In the meane time, the French king ſent forth an armie vnder the leading of Hauerie de Mauléon, who then toke Poit and Rochell, placing in the ſame ſundrie gariſons of ſouldiers, but theſe he fortified Rochell, which had bene long in the Engliſh mens hands, and alwaies ſerued them to verie good purpoſe, for the handſome landing of their people, when any occaſion required. The French king therefore hauing got it, fortified it, and meant to keepe it, to the intent the Engliſhmen ſhould not haue hereafter in time of warre, ſo neceſſarie a place for their arriuall in thoſe coaſts.

Marth. Paris.

Anno Reg. 9.
2 parliament.
1225

3 fifthly
granted to
the king.

King Henrie holding his Chriſtmaſſe at Weſtmiſter, called his high court of parlement there the ſame time, and demanded a releſe of monie, toward the maintenance of his warres in France, and had granted to him the fifthentie penie in value of all the moueable goods to be found within the realme, as well belonging to the ſpiritualtie as temporaltie, but vnder condition that he ſhould confirme vnto his ſubiects their often demanded liberties. The king vpon deſire to haue the monie, was contented to condeſcend vnto their requeſts, and ſo the two charters were made, and by the king confirmed, the one intituled Magna Charta, & the other Charta de Forreſta. Thus at this parlement were made and confirmed theſe good lawes and laudable ordinances, which haue bene from time to time by the kings and princes of this realme confirmed, ſo that a great part of the law now in uſe dependeth of the ſame. The ſame charters alſo were directed and ſent forth into euerie countie within the realme to be proclaimed.

Magna Charta
and Charta
de Forreſta
confirmed.

Forreſts.

It was moreover decreed, that at a certaine daie after Eaſter, there ſhould be an inquiſition taken by the inqueſt of a ſubſtantiall iurie, for the ſeuering of forreſts, the new from the old, ſo as all thoſe grounds which had bene made forreſts, ſince the daies of king Henrie the grandfather of this Henrie the third, ſhould be diſforreſted. And thereupon after Eaſter, Hugh de Neuill, and Brian de Liſle, were ſent forth as commissioners, to take that inquiſition. By force whereof, manie woods were aſſerted and improued to arable land by the owners, and ſo not one lie men, but alſo dogs, which for ſaſegard of the game were accuſtomed to loſe their clawes, had good cauſe to reioiſe for theſe confirmed liberties.

In the meane time, and about the feaſt of the purification, king Henrie (hauing ſufficient occaſion to purſue the warre, for recouerie of thoſe townes taken, as before you haue heard by the Frenchmen) ſent ouer his brother Richard, whom he had made earle of Cornewall and Poitou, with a mightie nauie of ſhips vnto Gaſcoigne. This earle, hauing in his companie the earle of Salisburie, Philip de Albenie, and others, with propitious wind and weather arriued at Burdeaux with foure hundred ſailles, and there landing his men, went ſtraight vnto the towne of

ſaint Machaire, ſituated vpon the banke of Garon, where, vpon his firſt comming, he gat the caſtell, and ſacked the towne, and then paſſing further, waite diuerſe other townes, as Longuile, Bergerat, and other, and after went with great diligence to beſiege and recouer Rochell, or rather Rioll. The French king aduertised of the earls arriuall, and of theſe his atchieued enterpriſes, ſent forth by and by the earle of Champaigne with a mightie armie into Guien to aid his people there.

Townes won
by the Eng-
liſhmen.

The earle of
Barth, ſaith
Marth. Paris.

The earle of Cornewall vnderſtanding of the comming of that French armie, toke a part of his hoſt, and therewithall went to meet his enemies, and lieng in ambuſh for them by the way, had them at a good aduantage, and ſlew great numbers of them. After this, the earle of Champaigne keeping his men within their trenches and campe, without attempting any other exploit, the earle of Cornewall thought it ſufficient, if he might keepe the Gaſcoignes in obedience, which had alreadie practiſed a rebellion, by ſending letters and meſſengers for the ſame intent vnto the French king, and therefore breaking by his ſiege before the Rioll, he ſtaied a while from exploiting any further enterpriſe. About the ſame time, the earle of Salisburie returning homewards out of Gaſcoigne, was ſo toſſed and turmoiled on the ſeas by tempeſts of weather, that he fell ſicke thereof, and within a few daies after his arriuall died.

The French-
men taken at
aduantage.

The earle of
Cornewall
raiſeth his
ſiege from
the Rioll.

The death of
the earle of
Salisburie.
Marth. Paris.

This yeare alſo, there came forth a decree from the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and his ſuffraganes, that the concubines of prieſts and clearkes within orders (for ſo were their wiues then called in conſequent of their wedlocke) ſhould be denied of chriſtian buriall, except they repented whileſt they were a liue in perfect health, or elſe ſhewed manifeſt tokens of repentance at the time of their deaths. The ſame decree alſo prohibited them from the receiuing of the par at maſſe time, & alſo of holic bread after maſſe, ſo long as the prieſts kept them in their houſes, or vſed their companie publickly out of their houſes. Moreover, that they ſhould not be purified when they ſhould be deliuered of child, as other good women were, unleſſe they found ſufficient ſuertie to the archdeacon, or his officiall, to make ſatisfaction at the next chapter or court to be holden, after they ſhould be purified. And the prieſts ſhould be ſuſpended, which did not preſent all ſuch their concubines as were reſiſtant within their pariſhes. Alſo, all ſuch women as were conuict to haue dealt carnallie with a prieſt, were appointed by the ſame decree to doe open penance. Where the queſtion may be asked, whether this decree was extended to prieſts wiues or no? Whereunto anſwer may be made, that as a quadrangle in geometrie comprifeth in it a triangle, and a quaternion in arithmeticke containeth a ternion; ſo in logicke a vniuerſall propoſition comprehendeth a particular. But it is ſaid here, that all ſuch women as had carnall knowledge with a prieſt, were to be puniſhed, therefore ſome, and conſequentlie all prieſts wiues. But yet this ſeemeth not to be the meaning of that decree, for prieſts were allowed no wiues, naie Sericius the pope iudged that all ſuch of the cleargie as had wiues could not pleaſe God, becauſe they were *in carne*, which words he and the reſidue of that litter reſtrained to marriage, admitting in no caſe that churchmen ſhould inioy the rights of matrimonie. Wherein they offer God great iniurie, in ſeeking to limit that large inſtitution of wedlocke, wherein all eſtates are interreſſed; and they ſeeme likewiſe to bryde nature, and to compell hir within certaine precincts, wherein they offer intollerable iniurie to all mankind, conſidering that

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ad uenerem compellimur exercendam

Non modo nos, verum omne animal, terræq; marisq;

Natura

Marth. Paris.
Polydor.

The earle
of Burgh
Gaign.

*Natura imperio: facias peiora necesse est,
Si non famines soboris ab ore barathri.*

This yeare, or (as some saie) in the next, the king granted to the citizens of London free warren, that is to saie, libertie to hunt within a certeine circuit about London, & that all wiers in the Thames should be plucked up and destroyed. Also in this tenth yeare of his reigne, king Henrie granted to the citizens of London, that they might haue and vse a common seale. About the tyme of the making of which ordinances, whoso the cardinall of S. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano came as legat from pope Honorius into England to king Henrie, presenting him with letters from the pope. The tenour whereof when the king had well considered, he declared to the legat, that without the whole assent of the estates of his realme, he could do little in that which the pope as then required.

Hereupon therefore he caused a parlement to be summoned at Westminster, there to be holden in the octaves of the Epiphanie: this legat also moued the king in the behalfe of Fouks de Brent, that he might be restored to his possessions, and inioy his wife as before tyme he had done: but the king declared that for his manifest treason committed he was iustlie exiled, and not onlie by his, but by the sentence of the nobles and other estates of the whole realme: which answer when the legat had heard, he left off to solicit the king for Fouks, and from thenceforth talked no more of that matter. Shortly after by waie of porie, the said legat gathered a dutie which he claimed of the spiritualtie, that was of euerie conuientuall church within the realme two markes of siluer.

1 2 2 6
The king
is sicke.

In this yeare the king held his Christmase at Winchester, and after coming to Sparlebridge, chanced there to fall sicke, so that he laie in despaire of life for certeine daies together. In the meane time also came the daie appointed for the parlement to begin at Westminster, where the legat and other of the spiritualtie and temporaltie being assembled, the said whoso shewed the popes letters, and according to the tenour and purport of the same, was earnestlie in hand to haue the priests to grant the pearelie payment of a certeine pension or tribute to the pope, towards the maintenance of his estate, which they generallie denied. When he saw that this bait would not take, he onelie demanded a tenth part of all their spiritual linings for maintenance of the wars against the Saracens, which was easilie granted, as more reasonable than the first.

Matt Westm.
Math. Paris.
The cardinals request.

Where by diuerse credible writers of good credit, it should appeare, that the pope demanded to haue assigned unto him out of euerie cathedra church two prebends, one out of the portion belonging to the bishop, & another out of the portion belonging to the deane and chapter: and likewise of the abbeies, where there were severall portions, that is to saie, so much of the conuent as belonged to the finding of one monke, and as much also of euerie abbats living as should counteruaile the same. The cardinall used solie persuasions to induce the prelates to assent to this grant, alledging that the church of Rome was run in great slander for taking of monie in dispatch of suiters causes, which arose by meanes there was no maintenance of living sufficient for the churchmen there: and therefore he added, how it was the parts of naturall children to releue the necessitie of their louing mother, and that except the charitable deuotion of them and other good and well disposed persons were shortlie extended, they should want necessarie maintenance for the sustentation of their liues, which should be altogether an vnchristlike thing for the dignitie of the Romane church.

The clergie resorting together to take aduise what answer they should make, at length upon their resolute determination, John the archdeacon of Bedford was appointed to tell the tale for them all: who coming before the cardinall, declared boldly unto him, that the demand which he had proponed, touched the king especiallie, and generallie all the nobilitie of the realme, which were patrons of anie churches. He added furthermore, how the archbishops and bishops, and manie other of the prelates of England (if then the king by reason of his sicknesse could not be there) were also absent, so that they which were there present, being but as it were the inferior part of the house, neither might nor ought to make anie resolute answer as then in this matter. Immediately hereunto also came the lord John Sparshall, and other messengers from the king unto all the prelates that held anie baronies of the king, straightlie commanding them, that they should in no wise bind and endanger his laie fee into the church of Rome, whereby he might be deprived of his due and accustomed seruices, and so euerie man hereupon departed and went home.

This yeare, the ples of the crowne were pleaded in the tower of London. And on the sixteenth daie of March in this tenth yeare of his reigne, the king granted by his charter insealed, that the citizens of London should passe toll free through all England, and if anie of them were constrained in anie citie, borough or towne within the realme, to paie toll, that then the shiriffes of London might attach anie man of the said citie, borough or towne, where such toll was exacted, being found within the liberties of London, and him retaine with his goods and cattels, till the citizens that paid such toll were satisfied, by restitution of the same, with all costs and charges sustained in the suit. Whobett, about the same tyme, the king constrained the Londoners to giue unto him the summe of five thousand marks as a fine, for that they had aided and succoured his aduersarie Letwes against him, and lent to the said Letwes at his departure out of the realme a like summe. But it may rather be thought they gave unto the king the said five thousand marks for his fauour shewed in granting unto them the aboue mentioned freedoms and liberties. At the same time, he had also twelve hundred pounds of the burgeses of Southampton, besides the sixteenth, which not onelie they, but also the Londoners, and all other generallie through the realme, paid accordingly as it was granted.

In Februarie, the king called a parlement at Bedford, in the which he made open declaration unto all the assemblee, that he was now of lawfull age to gouerne of himselfe, without anie to haue rule ouer him, and so whereas before he was gouerned first by the earle of Denbroke lord protectour, whilst he liued, & after by the bishop of Winchester and others, he now removed them from him by the counsell of the lord chiefe iustice, taking the regiment wholie to himselfe, & to such as should please him from thenceforth to appoint. Also in the same parlement, he did cancell and disanull the two charters before mentioned, after that the same had bene used through the realme for the space of two yeares, pretending them to be of no value, sith they were sealed and signed whilst he was under age. This deed of the king was graueouslie taken, and all the blame put in the lord chiefe iustice. Hereunto all such also as claimed anie manner charters of liberties, were appointed to remove the same (a paradise onelie to get monie) and to get them confirmed with the kings new seale, the old being made void and pronounced of none effect.

In this yeare died the French king Letwes the eighth, and his son Letwes the ninth succeeded him,

The answer
of John the
archdeacon
of Bedford

The earle of
Sparshall com-
meth ouer to
the king and
strengthen him
his seruice.

Polydor.

Math. Paris.
Ambassadors
sent into
France.

Fabian,

A grant to
the citizens
of London.

Math. Paris.

Polydor.

The earle of
Cornwall re-
turneth home.
Math. Paris.

The earle of
Cornwall.

Anno Reg. 1227

A parliament
at Bedford.

The king of
lawfull age.
Math. Paris.
Polydor.

The charters
cancelled.

The departeth
from the court
secretlie.

The tother
himselfe with
the earles of
Chester and
Denbroke
and others.

They meet
at Stamford
with an armie

a child of twelue yeares of age, by reason of whose infancie diuerse peeres of the realme began to withdrawe their obedience from him, as Theobald earle of Champaigne, Hugh earle of Warth, and Peter duke of Britaine. Howbeit, the earle of Champaigne was easilie reduced againe to his former obedience, by the high wisdom and policie of the quene mother, who had the gouernement of hir sonne the pong king and his realme committed vnto hir. But the earle of Warth constant in his purpose, came ouer to king Henrie, whose mother he had married, and declared vnto him, that now was the time for him to recover those places, which king Philip had vniuillie taken from his father king John: and to bring the same to passe, he offered him selfe and all that he could make, in the furthering of this voyage. The king being thus pickt forward with the earle of Warth his words, determined without delaie to take in hand the warre.

The earle of Warth cometh ouer to the king and offereth him his seruice.

Polydor.

Marth. Paris. Ambassadors sent into France.

Here authors varie, for some write, that king Henrie sent ouer certaine persons, as the archbishop of Poike, the bishop of Careleill, and the Lord Philip Walbent, to vnderstand the minds of the Frenchmans, the Britains and Poitouins. And for that those that were sent, brought word againe that the said people were not greatlie minded to forsake the French gouernment, he surceased from attempting any exploit at that time. Other write, that gathering a great summe of monie of his subiects, towards the maintenance of his charges, he prepared a nauie of ships, and sailed ouer with the said earle of Warth into Britaine, and there wasted the confines of the French dominions, and that when the French king was readie with an armie to succour his subiects, he suddenlie retired to his ships, and returned into England, without atchiuing any enterprise worthy of remembrance, so that whether he went himselfe or sent, it forceth not: for certaine it is that he posited nothing at that season, either by sending messengers to procure him friendship, or by going ouer himselfe to make an entrie to the warres.

The earle of Cornwell returneth home. Marth. Paris.

The earle of Cornwell.

When the French affaires were thus at a state, within a few moneths after, Richard earle of Cornwell returned forth of Calcoigne into England, and shortly after, because he heard and was crediblie informed, that a certaine manour place which Walerane the Duchman, capteine of Berkamsted castell held, by the gift and assignement of king John, appertained to his earldome of Cornwell, he seised the castell into his hands. So that Walerane being thus dispossessed, exhibited his bill of complaint to the king, who incontinentlie sent to the earle, commanding him to make restitution, which he vtterlie refused to do. But forthwith, comming to the king, and without reteining any aduocate, he declared his right which he offered to auerre in open presence, & in any of the kings courts, before whatsoeuer peeres of the realme should be there assembled.

This addition [the peeres of the realme] nothing pleased the king and his counsell, namely the lord chiefe iustice, by whose aduice the king meant to haue apprehended the earle the same night, after he was withdrawne to his lodging. But the earle warned thereof, secretlie departed, accompanied onelie with one man, and neuer drew byde out of his horses mouth, untill he came to Reading (whither his seruants resorted to him) and from thence he rode straight to Warlebridge, where he found his deare friend William earle Warthall, to whom he did impart the danger likelie to haue befallen him. When they drew to the erle of Chesser, & taking order with him for the raising of an armie, there met shortly after at Stamford the persons whose names hereafter follow; Ranulfe earle of Chesser, William Warthall

He departed from the court secretlie.

He cometh himselfe with the earles of Chesser and Penbroke and others. They met at Stamford with an armie

earle of Penbroke, Richard earle of Cornwell the kings brother, Gilbert earle of Gloucester, William earle Warren, Henrie earle of Hereford, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Warwicke, and diuerse barons, lords and knights, hauing there with them a great puissance of warlike personages.

The king hauing vnderstanding as well of their demerits, as also what they required by their letters and messengers to him daile sent, thought good for a time to pacifie their furie, and thereupon appointed a day at Northampton, where he would meet, and minister such iustice vnto them, as should be thought reasonable, and to stand with their good willes and contentation. Whereupon, the parties comming to Northampton at the day assigned, he granted to the earle his brother (at the instant desire of the lords) all his mothers dowrie, with all those lands which belonged to the earle of Britaine within England, and withall, those lands also that appertained to the earle of Bullongne deceased. Thus the matter being pacified, euery man departed to his home, whereas if the king had bene forward (as he was mild and patient, knowing that

non solum viribus equum

Credere; sepe acri potior prudentia dextra)

Val. Flac. lib. 4.

warres had immediatlie bene raised betwixt them, namely, because manie of the lords bare a secret grudge towards the king, for that he had reuoked certaine liberties which in the beginning of his reigne he had granted to be holden, though now to take auate the enuie which might be conceiued towards him for his doing, he alledged, that he did not infringe any thing that he had then granted, but such things as his gouernours had suffered to passe whilst he was vnder age, and not ruler of himselfe: he caused them therefore to redeme manie of the same priuileges, whereby he gained great finance for the setting to of his new scale (as before we haue heard declared.)

Moreover, in this yeare there were sent certaine persons from pope Gregorie the ninth (that succeeded Honorius) into all the parts of Europe, to moue by preaching the christian people to make a iourne into the holie land against the Saracens. Such a multitude by means hereof did assemble together from all parts, and that within a short time, as the like had sildome times bene heard of. It is said, that amongst them there should be to the number of fortie thousand Englishmen, of whom Peter bishop of Winchester, and William bishop of Excester were the chiefe. Capteins also of that great multitude of crossed souldiers that went forth of sundrie countries were these, Theobald earle of Champaigne, and Philip de Albenie, through whose negligence the sequels of this noble enterprise came but to small effect. But to proceed.

The pope exhorteth the christians to make a iourne against the Saracens

Marth. Paris. Sixtie thousand.

Polydor.

About this time the king minding the benefit of the commonwealth, caused the weights and measures generallie within the land to be reformed after one standard. Furthermore, he created Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent, the which Hubert how much praise so ener he got at the beginning for his valancie shewed in the defending of Dover castell, and in vanquishing the French fleet that was comming to the succour of Aelwes by battell on the sea, it is certaine, that now he purchased himselfe double as much hatred and euill will, because that being of secret counsell with the king, and thereby after a sort sequestred from the lords, he was knowne to disnade the said prince from restoring of the ancient lawes and customes vnto the people, which the barons oft required: whereby it came to passe, that the more he grew in fauour with the prince, the further he came into the enuie of the nobilitie, and hatred of the people,

A. i.

Anno Reg. 12. 1 2 2 8

Marth. Paris. weights and measures. Polydor. Hubert de Burgh created earle of Kent.

ple, which is a common reward to such as in respect of their maister doo little regard the profit of others, as the proverbe saith,

Plus quis honoratur hostis cum multiplicatur.

Furthermore, upon the ninth of Julie Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie died, after he had governed that see the terme of 21 yeares, after whome succeeded Richard Wetherseid deane of Paules, who was the thre and fortith archbishop of that see. The monks of Canturburie had first elected one of their owne convent, named Walter de Helme: tham: which election was made by the same monks the thrid daie of August next insuing the death of their said archbishop Stephan, but the king would not consent that he should haue the place for diuerse causes, which he objected: as first, for that he knew him to be such a man as should be unprofitable, both to him and to his kingdome. Secondlie, because his father was a thefe, and thereof being convicted, suffered death upon the gallowes. Thirddie, for that he himselfe had stood against king John in time of the interdictiō.

On the other side, the bishops asstragans to the church of Canturburie objected also against him, that he had vsed the familiar companie of a nunne, and begot of hir certeine children. Whereupon they alleged, that no election without their consent, could be good, nor ought to take place. But the monke making his appeale, stood in it, and taking with him certeine of his fellow monks of Canturburie, went to Rome, and there made supplication to the pope, that his election by his authoritie might be ratified and confirmed. Whereof the king and the other bishops being aduertised, did put their objections in writing under their seales, & sent the same to Rome to be exhibited to the pope by the bishops of Westchester and Rochester, and John the archdeacon of Bedford, who vsed such means, that his election was iudged void, & then the said Richard Wetherseid was out of hand elected & confirmed. In that yeare also, a grant was made to the citizens of London, that they should haue and vse a common seale.

In this meane while, Hugh the earle of March so laboured with the Normans and Poitouins in the behalfe of the king of England, that they began to incline to his purpose: whereupon he sent his letters by secret meanes vnto king Henrie, signifying to him, that if it would please him to come ouer with an armie to make warre against the French king, they would be ready to turne vnto his side, and receiue him as their soueraigne. King Henrie taking aduise what to answer and do here in, with his welbeloued counsellour Hubert of Burgh, thought it not good to attempt any thing rashlie in this matter, because the dealings of the Normans were neuer without some fraud: but yet to satisfie the request of his friends, he promised to come ouer shortly vnto them, if in the meane time he might perceiue that they remained stedfast in their purpose, giuing them furthermore manie great and hartie thanks for their good meaning and singular kindnesse towards him.

Now things beyond the sea standing in this order, it happened in the moneth of August, that the soldiers which laie in garrison within the castell of Spountgomerie, toke in hand to stocke vp a wood not farre from the said castell, through which lay an high waie, where oftentimes manie felonious robberies and murders were committed by the Welch. As the soldiers were busie at worke in stocking vp the wood, there came vpon them an ambushment of Welchmen, which not onlie drave them awaie from their worke, but also toke and slue diuerse of them, constraining the residue to flee into the castell, which immediatlie the Welchmen inuironed also about

with a strong siege, thinking to find the defendants vnprovided.

They within aduertised Hugh de Burgh, the lord chiefe iustice (to whome the castell belonged by the kings late gift) of the exploit and enterprize attempted by their enemies, with all possible hast: whereupon the king at request of the said Hubert leued a power, and came to raise the siege. But the Welchmen hearing of the kings approach, fled awaie like sheepe, so that comming to the castell, he found no resistance: notwithstanding, for so much as he saw the foresaid wood to be troublesome and an annoyance to the said castell, he willed it to be destroyed. True it is, that the same wood was verie thicke and rough, and farther it containede also five leagues or fiftene miles in length: yet by such diligence as was vsed, the same was wasted, stocked vp, and quickelie rid out of the waie by fire and other means, so that the countrie was made plaine a great waie about.

After this, the king departed forth into the Welch confines, and comming to an abbete of the white monks called Cride, caused it to be burnt, because it serued as a refuge for his enemies. Then by the aduise of the lord chiefe iustice Hubert de Burgh, he set in hand to build a castell there, because the place seemed verie fit for fortification. But after the king with his armie had laine there thre months, through lacke of bittels (the Welchmen still cutting the Englishmen off as they went abroad to fetch in forage and other provision) he was constrained to fall to a grēment with Leolin their prince, and receiuing of the said prince the summe of thre thousand marks, he was contented that so much of the castell as was already builded, should be rased and made flat againe with the ground, before his departure from thence. Whereupon, manie men toke occasion to test at the lord chiefe iustice and his doings about this castell, who at the beginning named it Huberts folle.

Amongst other also that were taken prisoners by the Welchmen, whilst the king thus bainele spent his time about the building of that fort, William de Bruce a right valiant man of warre was one, who being taken by Leolin prince of Wales, was by him cruellie put to death (as after shall appeare) for the which act, and other such iniuries receiued at the same Leolins hands, king Henrie at length greuouslie punished him. For the most part of this summer season, great thunders happened in England: the element also seemed as though it had burned with continuall flames: steeles, churches, and other hie buildings were stricken with lightning, and the harvest was soe hindered by continuall raine. Also in the middelt of the day there came a wonderfull darkenesse vpon the earth, that the brightnesse of the aire seemed to be couered and taken awaie.

In the thirtieth yeare of this king, Stephan the popes chapleine and his Nuncio came ouer vnto king Henrie, requiring to haue towards the maintenance of the popes warres against the emperor Frederike, a tenth part of all the moreable goods within the realmes & countries of England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of spirituall persons as temporall. Whereupon, a parlement or assemblée of the lords was called at Westminster, on the second daie after Easter, which was the 29 of Appill. At which parlement, when the popes bulls were read, and the matter therein containede plainelie opened and examined, to the end it might appeare vpon what necessarie causes the pope was constrained to pursue the said wars, and to aske releefe of faithful christian people, being members of the holie church: the king, because he had by his procurators at Rome aforehand promised & bound himselfe to such payment of tenths, sate still, and answered not to the contrarie (whereas

Stephan archbishop of Canturburie departed this life.

Richard Wetherseid elected in his place. March Paris. Walter Wetherseid.

A new trouble about the election of the archbishop of Canturburie.

Fabian.

Polydor. The earle of March wrought to induce the Normans & Poitouins to fauour the king of England. The Normans wrote to the king of England.

March Paris.

The Welchmen besiege the castell of Spountgomerie.

The king with an armie commeth to the succour of them within the castell.

The abbete of Cride burnt.

The king beginning to build a castell.

He is constrained to agree with the Welchmen.

The lord de Bruce taken prisoner.

March Paris. Strange sights in the aere.

Polydor.

Anno Reg. 1229.

A parlement or assemblée holden.

The tent of the king and the pope with moe.

Stephan de Bruce the tent of the spirit alie gran to the pope.

Gloucest.

March Paris.

The earle of Chester wol not permit the tenths to be gathered within his land.

King Henrie prepareth to passe ouer into France.

Whereas the hope of a great number was reposed in him, that by his denial the popes request shuld haue bene frustrat, so that when by his silence he was ad-
judged to consent, yet the temporall lordes & late men bitterlie denied to agree vnto such payment, not wil-
ling in any wise to bind their baronies and tempo-
rall possessions vnto the church of Rome.

The temporall
lordes refuse to
and the pope
with monie.

Stephan de
Segraue.
The tenths
of the spiritua-
lie granted
to the pope.

Howbeit, the bishops, abbats, priors, and other ec-
clesiasticall persons, after they had shewed them-
selues to rest doubtfull (not without great grudging
and murmuring in the meane time, for the space of
three or foure daies together) at length, for feare of ex-
communication, consented to be contributoie, but
in such sort, as they had escaped for a farre more rea-
sonable summe, if Stephan Segraue one of the
kings counsell had not by compact (as was thought)
made with the Nuncio, wrought so in the matter,
that the tenths were finally granted, to the great
impoverishment and inestimable damage of the
church and realme of England. After this, the Nun-
cio shewed the procuratorie letters, whereby he was
authorized to gather those tenths, and that not after
a common manner, but by a verie straight and hard
valuation.

And for the more sure waie of proceeding herein,
he had letters of authoritie from the pope, to excom-
municate all such as should withstand him or his de-
puties in proceeding with those affaires. He shewed
himselfe moreover verie extream in collecting of
this monie, and namelie towards the prelates of the
church, inasmuch that appointing him a certaine day
in the which vnder paine of excommunication they
shuld make payment, diuers for want of readie mo-
nie, were compelled to make shift with the chalices,
and other vessels and ornaments belonging to their
churches, and other were glad to take by monie by
on interest, and for that shift there were come ouer
with the Nuncio diuerse wicked vsurers vnder the
name of merchants, which when they saw those that
stood in need like to be excommunicate for want of
readie monie, they would offer themselves to lend
vnto any that would borrow, after the rate of one no-
ble for the loane of twentie by the moneth, so bying
in the needie into their snares, to their irrecovera-
ble losses and vndoing. Whereby the land was filled
with bitter cursings (though in secret) by those that
wished such unreasonable exactors neuer to see god
end of the vse of that monie.

From that day forward there wanted not in
England certaine vsurers called Caurfins, which
sought nothing else but the wealth of such persons
as they might get into their snares, namelie those
whome the church of Rome doth vex and put to trou-
ble with hir exactions and payments. The earle of
Chester onlie stood manfullie against the payment
of those tenths, inasmuch that he would not suffer
his lands to be brought vnder bondage, neither wold
he permit the religious men and preests that held of
his see to pay the same, although the rest of England,
Wales, Ireland, and Scotland were compelled to be
contributoie thereto, hauing onlie this comfort,
that not they alone, but also other foreyn regions
were diuinen to do the like. Thus did the locusts of
Rome from time to time sucke the sweetnesse of the
land, and all to mainteine the pompe and pride of the
same, therein what other practises did they vse, than
as one truelie testifieth:

*Cuncti luxuria atq; gula, furisq; dolisq;
Certatim incumbunt, &c.*

But to let this passe: king Henrie purposing to saile
ouer into Britaine and inuade France, came to
Dorsetmouth about Michaelmasse, with such an armie
assembled out of England, Wales, Ireland, and
Scotland, as the like for number of people had not

bene knowne to haue passed ouer with any of his
ancestors: howbeit when he shuld come to the verie
point of imbarcking his people, with vittels, armor,
and other prouision, there were not ships sufficient to
passe ouer the one halfe of the armie: wherefore when
the king saw this default, he was sore offended, but
chafelie with Hubert the earle of Kent, lord chiefe
iustice, inasmuch that he openlie called him old trai-
tor, and laid to his charge how he had thus vied the
matter of purpose, onlie to pleasure the queene of
France, of whome (as he said) he had receiued five
thousand marks to hinder his proceedings. In this
heat if the earle of Chester and other had not bene
at hand, he had fuerlie slaine the chiefe iustice even
there with his owne sword, who was glad to auoid
his ptesence, till his angrie mood was somewhat ouer-
passed.

In the meane time there arrived Henrie earle of
Britaine on the ninth of October, which shuld haue
conducted the king into his countrie. But sith win-
ter was come vpon them, he aduised him to stay till
the next spring, and so he did. When euerie man was
licenced to depart home, and the earle of Kent recon-
ciled againe into fauour. The earle of Britaine in like
maner did homage to the king for Britaine, and the
king restored him to all his rights in England, and
further giuing him five thousand marks to defend
his countrie against the enemies, sent him home a-
gaine in most courteous and louing maner. In this
yeere of our Lord 1230 king Henrie held his Christ-
masse at Yorke, together with the king of Scots,
whome he had desired to come thither at that time,
that they might make merrie: and so for the space of
three daies together, there was great banquetting
and sport betwene them. On the fourth day they
toke leaue either of other, the king of Scots with
rich gifts returning towards his countrie, and the
king of England towards London.

Vpon the five and twentieth day of Januarie also,
while the bishop of London was at high masse with-
in the church of S. Paule in London, a sudden dark-
nesse overthadowed the quire, and therewith such a
tempest of thunder and lightning, that the people
there assembled thought verelie the church and stee-
ple had come downe vpon their heads. There came
moreouer such a filthie sauer and stinke withall,
that partlie for feare, and partlie for that they might
not abide the sauer, they voided the church, falling
on heapes one vpon another, as they sought to get
out of the same. The vicars and canons forsoke their
deskes, so that the bishop remained there onlie with
one deacon that serued him at masse. Afterward,
when the aire began to cleare vp, the people returned
into the church, and the bishop went forward and fi-
nished the masse.

In the meane time the king leuied a great summe
of monie of the prelates of his land towards his tour-
nite into France: he had also a great reliefe of the
citizens of London. And the Jewes were constrain-
ed to giue to him the third part of all their moue-
able goods. In the moneth of Aprill, Leolin prince
of Wales caused William de Breuse, whom he had
taken prisoner long before (as aboue is mentioned)
to be hanged on a paire of gallowes, for that he was
taken (as was reported) in adulterie with the wife of
the said prince. And on the last day of Aprill, the king
with a puissant armie toke the sea at Dorsetmouth,
and landed at saint Malos in Britaine on the third
day of May, where he was right iollilie receiued of
Henrie earle of that countrie. After he was thus ar-
riued in Britaine, he entered into the French domi-
nions, with the said earle, and the earle of March his
father in law, doing much hurt within the same.
His armie dailye increasing by the great numbers
of

The earle of
Kent fallen in
to the kings
displeasure.

Henrie earle
of Britaine.
The kings
tourne de-
ferred.

Anno. Reg. 14.
1230
March. Paris.
The king of
Scots kept
Christmasse
with the king
of England
at Yorke.

Math. Paris.
A strange
tempest at
London.
See John
Gow, pag.
261. of his
large collectiō
printed 1580.

Math. Paris.

The king ga-
thereth monie
towards his
tourne into
France.

Math. Paris.
The Lord
W. de Breuse
hanged.

The king set-
teth ouer into
France.

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were beaten downe on all parts, and utterlie vanquished, with losse of 20 thousand men (as it was credibly reported.) The king of Connagh was also taken and committed to prison.

In the meane time king Henrie hauing spent a great deale of treasure in his iourne made into France, there was granted vnto him a fifthenth of the temporaltie, with a disme and a halfe of the spiritualtie, towards the furnishing out of a new powder of men to be sent into Spaine against the Saracens, which made soze warres vpon the christians in that countrie, wherevpon king Henrie being required of the K. of Aragon to aid him with some number of souldiers, he sent a great powder thither with all speed, and so likewise did the French king. By means whereof the Spaniards, being ioined with Englishmen and Frenchmen, obtayned a noble victorie, in vanquishing those their enemies. Thus saith Polydor. But other write that the king on the seaauen and twentieth of Januarie, holding a parliament at Westminster (where the Nobles both spirituall and temporall were assembled) demanded escheuage of all those that held any baronies of him, that is to saie, forren knights six, forre shillings, or three marks.

Moreover, the archbishop of Canturburie (as they say) stood against the king in this demand, maintaining that the cleargie ought not to be subiect vnto the iudgement of laye men, with this escheuage was granted in the parts beyond the seas without their consent. Wherevpon the matter as touching the bishops was deferred till the quindene of Easter, albeit that all the laitie, and other of the spiritualtie consented to the kings will. About this time also there chanced to rise a great strife and contention betwixt Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and Hubert the earle of Kent, who as gardian to the young erle of Gloucester had got into his hands the castell of Tunbridge, with the towne, and certeine other possessions which belonged to the archbishops see, and therefore did the archbishop complaine to the king of the iniurie which he sustained.

Contention betwixt the archb. and the earle of Kent.

Now then he perceived no hope likelie to come for any redresse at the kings hands, he took an other way: and first by his pontificall authority accused all those that withheld the same possessions, and all their maintainers (the king excepted) and therewith appealing to the pope, he went to prosecute his appeale at Rome; whither the king and the earle sent also their procurators, and made the pope their arbitrator to iudge of the matter. In the end pope Gregorie hauing heard the whole process of the controuersie, iudged the right to remaine with the archbishop, who hauing then obtained his desire, hastied towards England: but as he was returning homewards, he died by the way, not farre from Rome, whereby the popes iudgement took place: for whilist the see was void, there was none that would follow the suit: and such was the end of this controuersie for this time.

Matth. Paris.

After the decesse of this archbishop Richard, the monks elected Ralfe Penill bishop of Winchester the kings chancellor, an bright man, and of iust dealing in all his doings. In whome also it is to be noted, he would not giue one halfe penie to the monks towards the bearing of their charges in their iourne to Rome, which they should take vpon them from thence to fetch his confirmation, according to the manner, least he should burthen his conscience with the crime of simonie which he greatlie abhorred, although some imputed this to proceed rather of a cloaked spice of couctousnesse. Which practise of his maneth greatlie to the confounding of the indirect means now vsed to aspire vnto promotions, for the

obteinnment whereof no remedie is forborne; no, though the same be repugnant to reason, and utterlie against conscience and honestie. But this is the temptation of auarice and ambition, which poison the minds of men in such sort, that rather than they will want their wished aduancement, they will vse these meanes that may further them most, namely, friendship, monie, and mightie mens countenance; which one noteth verie well in a distichon of neat deuile, saleng.

Artu, hanc hatis, recti, praecepta, decum, vim,
Conculcat, superant, spernunt, sauer, ara, potentes,
But to the purpose from whence we are digressed: When the monks came to the popes presence, vpon inquirie made, and chafelie by report of Simon Langton, who (as some thinke) gaped for the dignitie, he vnderstood that the said Ralfe Penill should be a man vnlearned, a courtier, haustie and short of word, and that which most displeased the pope, it was to be feared, that if he should be preferred to that roome, he would go about to deliuer the realme of England from the thraldome of the pope, and the court of Rome (into the which being made tributarie by king John it had latele bene brought) that (as he should alledge) it might serue God and holie church in the old accustomed libertie.

To bring this to passe (hauing the king thereto greatlie inclined, and all the realme ready to assist him in the same) he would not sticke to put his life in ieopardie, namely vpon confidence of the right and appeales of Stephen the late archbishop of Canturburie, made in solemne wise before the altar of S. Paule in the cathedrall church of London, when king John resigning his crowne into the hands of the legat, made that imiting obligatorie most excreable to the whole world.

When the pope had heard this tale told, he straight disanulled the election and request of the confirmation of the said Ralfe Penill, granting libertie to the monks to chole some other which might proue a whole some shepheard for the soule of man, profitable to the church of England; and a faithful sonne to the see of Rome, and so the monks returning home, made relation to the couent how they had sped. After this, the monks elected the prior of their house named John to be their archbishop, who going to Rome for his confirmation, was perswaded in the end to renounce his election: so that at length one Edmund that was treasurer of the college of Salisburie, was elected, confirmed, and consecrated; a man of great zeale, being the foure & fortieth archbishop that had gouerned that see.

This yeare the kings brother the earle of Cornewall married the countesse of Gloucester, widow to the late earle Gilbert, and sister to William Marshall earle of Denbroke, the which erle of Denbroke shortly after the same marriage departed this life, and was buried on the fifteenth day of Aprill, in the new temple at London, nere vnto his father. Moreover, Leolin prince of Wales about this season enterprising to invade the English confines, burned and wasted the countrie in most cruell wise. Whereof the king being aduertised, hastied south by great iourneys, with purpose to reuenge such iniuries. But the enemies hearing of his coming (according to the custome of their countrie) withdrew into the mountains, hogs, and marishes. Wherefore the king (seeing that he could not haue them at his pleasure, and least he should be thought to spend time in vaine) came backe, and left behind him a small troppe of souldiers to resist their attempts, if they should happen to rise by any more.

The Welshmen hauing intelligence that the king was returned home, brake south againe as before in

Simon Langtons report of the conductors of Ralfe Penill.

See before in pag. 177, & 178. The pope maketh void the election.

The earle of Cornewall marryeth the countesse of Gloucester.

The earle of Denbroke departed this life. Polydor. Leolin prince of wales invaded the English borders.

The welsh-
men put to
fight.

The king go-
th against the
welshmen.
March. Paris.

The English
men distressed.

Shadows ca-
stell repaired.

March. Paris.

Henrie earle
of Britaine,
and the earle
of Chester
distresse the
French kings
carriages.

Truce ta-
ken.

Anno Reg. 16.
1 2 3 2
March. Paris.

In border-
the & presump-
tuous attempt

to the English marshes, and not drille the peies
and bodies, but went about to destroye with fire and
sword all that stood in their way. Wherbet in their re-
turne, and as they ranged abroad somewhat unadvi-
seable, they were intercepted by the soldiers which the
king had left there for the defense of the countie, and
put to flight nere the castell of Mountgomerie, with
great slaughter & losse of their people. But Leolin no-
thing dismayed therewith, assembled a greater power
than he had before, and began forthwith to rob and
spolie within the English marshes with paganish
crueltie. Which thing when it came to the under-
standing of the king, he was verie sore displeased,
that so meane a man as Leolin was, should put him
to so much trouble, therefore he raised a farre greater
armie than he had done at any time before, and with
the same came to the citie of Hereford.

In the meane time Leolin coming nere unto
the said castell of Mountgomerie, by the pteasle of a
traitorous monke, trained forth the English soldie-
ers which late in garrison there, and counterfeiting
to flee, till he had laded them by fir bogs and mirs
with their horses, so as they could not helpe them-
selves, he fell upon them, and so slew and took a great
number of the meuen as he could have wished. The
king advertised hereof, halsted the faster forward, and
coming into those parts, as he passed by an abbete
of the Cisterciens order of which house the monke was
that had betrayed the Englishmen of Mountgome-
rie, he burned a grange that belonged to the same
abbete, and further spoiling the same abbete it selfe,
he had set it on a fire, as if the abbate therof had
not intended it with the summe of three hundred
marks of silver. After this, he caused spawds ca-
stell to be repaired, which the Welshmen
in times past had overthrowne, and when the towne
was finished, he left there a strong garrison of sol-
diers to keepe backe the Welshmen from making
any accustomed incursions.

When the king was thus occupied in Wales,
there was some business in France, for in the month
of June, the French king with an armie came to in-
vade the countie of Britaine, where Henrie with
the earle of Chester and the other English captains
fortified wraies to take and destroye all the carriages
and wagons which came with vittels and other pro-
visions to serve the French armie. When the French
men perceived they could not have their purpose, by
mediation of the archbishop of Reims, and the earle
of Bolougne on the French part, and by consent of
the earles of Britaine and Chester on the English
part, a peace was concluded, or rather a truce to si-
dure for three yeeres betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France. This agreement was made the
first daie of Julie, and then the earles of Britaine
and Chester, with Richard Marshall, came over into
England, and rode to the king, whom they found at
Whitby castell, where he remained till the works
was finished, and then in the month of October re-
turned into England.

In this meane time no small grudge arose among
the people, by reason that their churches were occu-
pied by incumbents that were strangers, promoted
by the popes and their legats, who neither instructed
the people, nor could well speake any more English
than that which served for the collection of their tithes,
in somuch that for the insolencie of such incumbents
as well the noble men and those of good reputation,
as other of the meaner sort, by an undirecte presump-
tion attempted a disorderlie redresse, confederating
themselves together, and taking upon them to write
and direct their letters unto bishops and chapters,
commanding them by waie of inhibition, not to
serue to interrupt those that should seeke upon the

beneficed strangers, or upon their revenues.

They also took upon them to write unto such re-
ligious men and others, which were farmers unto a-
nie of those strangers, forbidding them to stand ac-
countable unto the said strangers, but to retaine the
rents and profits in their hands to answer the same
unto such as they should appoint for the receipt ther-
of. The superscription of their letters was this. *77*
li episcopo, & tali capitulo, universis et singulis, qui magis vo-
lunt mori quam a Romanis confundi, salutem. That is to
say, To such a bishop and chapter, all those which had
rather die than be confounded by the Romans,
send greeting. In the seale therewith the said letters
were sealed, were two swords ingrauen.

This matter went so farre forth, that there were
sundry persons armed and disguised like mummers,
which enterpised not onelie to take viuerse of those
strangers that were beneficed men, but also came to
their barnes, thieved by their graine, and either
made sale thereof, or gaue it awaie for God his sake,
thelving counterfeited letters under the kings
seale, which they had procured for their warrant, as
they did pretend. At length the pope upon complaint
made unto him of such violent doings, wrote to king
Henrie, blaming him not a little for suffering such
disorders to be committed within his realme, com-
manding him upon paine of excommunication to
cause a diligent inquirie to be had of the offenders,
and to see them charpelie punished, to the example of
others.

Whereupon he sent letters to the bishop of Win-
chester, and to the abbat of saint Edmundsburie, to
make the like inquisition, and to accurse all those that
should be found culpable within the south parts of
England, as he did to the archbishop of Yorke, to the
bishop of Durham, and to an Italian named John a
canon of Yorke, to do the like in the north parts, so
that the offenders should remaine accursed, till they
came to Rome, there to fetch their absolution. Here-
upon therefore a generall inquisition was taken, as
well by the king as by the bishops, and manie found
guiltie, some in fact, and some in consent: amongst
which number there were both bishops and chaplains
to the king, with archdeacons and deanes, knights,
and manie of the laitie.

There were some sherrifes and bailiffes also, which
by the kings commandement were arrested and put
in prison, and viuerse of all sorts to keepe themselves
out of the waie, and would not as yet be found. In
like maner, the earle of Kent, lord of these offices,
was arrested to be chief sherrif of Kent in this mat-
ter, as he had done with the kings letters pa-
tents to those disguised and invading thersers, who
had taken upon them to dequesser other mens
goods, whereto they had no right. Where came also
to the king one sir Robert de Twing, a knight of the
north parts (which named himselfe William Wel-
thelme, and had led about a compaignie of the foresaid
maskers) professing that he had done it upon full
cause to be reuenged upon the Romans, which went
about by sentence of the pope, and manifest stand to
spolie him of the parsonage of a certein church which
he held, and therefore he said he had rather stand accu-
sed without full cause for a time, than to lose his bene-
fice without due iudgement. Wherbet the king and
the other commissioners coulde him in the end to
go to Rome to purchase his absolution, as he was
fallen in danger of excommunication, and there to
sue for his pardon in the popes consistorie. And to in-
courage him the better so to do, the king wrote also
in his fauour to the pope, telling him the right which he
claimed to the church, whereto at length he obtained
his suit (as after ye shall heare.)

The king called a parliament at Westminster
hererin

The super-
scription of
their letters.

Spawning
thersers.

The pope re-
plained to
the king, in
blaming him.
The pope re-
mandeth the
offenders to
be accursed.

Inquisition
taken.

The earle of
Kent put in
blame.

Sir Robert
de Twing.

The earle of
Kent their ga-
uotion &
swords
earle of

Polydos
& perkins

The bi-
shop's
counsel
to the k

The bi-
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March, I
Ranulf
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de Rine

The ear-
le of Kent
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gned of
the
justice.
March, I

The ear-
le of Kent
ta-
landuau

The subsidie
demanded,
and denied.

The bishop of
Winchester
counsel given
to the king.

he super-
scription of
all letters.

asking
ethers.

he pope com-
meth to
him, in bla-
ming him,
he pope ch-
meth the
endows to
accuse,

The king fol-
loweth the
bishop of win-
chester coun-
sell.

acquisition
sent.

Matth. Paris.
Ranulfe Bizi-
ton Peter
de Kinales.

he earle of
Kent put in
sme.

The earle of
Kent dischar-
ged of his of-
fice of chiefe
iustice.
Matth. Paris.

tr Robert
Coring.

The earle of
Kent taketh
sanctuarie.

The citizens
of London
their good de-
votion to-
wards the
earle of Kent.

lydos
parlement.

wherein declaring what charges he had bene at di-
uers waies, he required to have a subsidie granted
him, for the releafe of his want, which was flatly
denied, the nobles and other estates excusing the po-
nertie amongst all degrees of men, by manie eui-
dent reasons. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester
being a verie eloquent and faire-spoken man, open-
lie counselled the king to fauour his people, whom he
had already made poore and bare with continuall tri-
butes and exactions. And if it were so that he stood in
such need as was alledged, that then he should take
into his hands againe such possessions and things,
which during the time of his young peeres he had be-
stowed upon his seruants, without any good advised
consideration, for lacke of ripe iudgement and dis-
cretion, and againe to take from certeine couetous
persons, who now were become horrible and car-
terpillers in the commonwealth, all such offices as
they held, and had verie much abused, causing them
to pread by their accounts, and to vse them after the
manner of sponges, so that there he had in times
past made them full of moisture, he might now
wing them drie, following herein the example of
Nepasian. And by this means it was not to be
doubted but he should haue inough of his owne, with-
out doing iniurie to any man.

The king gaue verie good eare to the bishops
wordes, and following his counsell, caused his recei-
uers, treasurers, and other such as had medled with
anie of his receipts to come to a reckoning. And un-
derstanding by the auditors appointed to take their
accounts, that the most part of them had receiued
much more and by other means than they had ente-
red into their reckoning, he compelled them to re-
store it out of hand with interest. Also he caused the
magistrats to be called to a reckoning, and manie of
them being convicted of fraud, were condemned to
make restitution. And among other Ranulfe Bizi-
ton treasurer of his chamber was put beside his of-
fice, and fined at a thousand marks, in whose place
was set Peter de Kinales, or after some copies de
Dufales, a Polidoun, nephew or rather sonne to the
bishop of Winchester, by whose aduice the king toke
a more strait account of his officers, and often remo-
ued such as he iudged guiltie.

At the same time also, Hubert earle of Kent was
deposed from the office of high iustice, and Stephan
Segraue appointed in his roine. The said Hubert
(because he refused to answer a certeine dutie which
was demanded of him to the kings vse) ran so farre
into his displeasure, that he durst not abide his sight,
but for safegard of himselfe got him to the abbey of
Sperton, and there toke sanctuarie. The king hear-
ing of this his demeanour, was so highly offended
withall, that he sent to the Londoners, willing them
to go thither and fetch him to his presence. The Lon-
doners, which in no wise loued him, because of the
death of their citizen Constantine, were verie rea-
die to accomplish this commandement, inasmuch
that where the maiors overnight late declared to
them the effect of the kings commission, there were
twenty thousand of them in armes gotten forward
early in the morning towards Sperton, in full hope
now to be reuenged of him, for the small good-will
that he had borne unto their citie heretofore.

But the king being informed by the earle of Che-
ster and others, that if the Londoners being thus in
armes, and in so great a number, should commit any
other outrage by the way, the matter might grow to
some such inconuenience as would not easilie be
traied, he sent to them a countermand to returne
backe to the citie againe, which they did, though soe
in their hearts that they might not go through with
their desired enterprise. Furthermore (see here

the mutabilitie of fortune and his inconstancie,
whereof complaint hath bene made by our forefa-
thers time out of mind, saying,

*Pasibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat,
Et manet in nullo certa tenax loco;
Sed modo lata manet, vultus modo sumit acerbo,
Et tantum constans in leuitate sua est.*

Ouid lib. 2. de
trist. 5.

now that the earle of Kent was thus out of the kings
fauour, there were few or none of those to whom he
had before bene beneficiall unto, that shewed them-
selues as friends and louers unto him, but all for-
sooke & were readie to saie the worst of him, the arch-
bishop of Dunblin excepted, who yet obtained of the
king respite for him to make answer unto such
things as should lawfullie be objected against him,
both for the debt which should be due to the king, and
also upon points of treason, which were now laid to
his charge. Wherein we may see what hath bene the
course of the world in former ages touching friends,
who in the spring of a mans felicitie like swallowers
will lie about him; but when the winter of aduersi-
tie nipeth, like snakes they keepe within their shels:
whereunto the poet verie well alluding, saith,

*diffugiunt cado
Cum face siccatis amici,
Ferre iugum pariter dolosi.*

Hor. lib. car. 1.
od. 35.

After this, as the said Hubert would haue gone to
S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, where his wife as
then remained, he was apprehended at Burntwood
in Essex, within a chapell there (as saith Fabian.)
But (as Matthew Paris saith) sir Robert de Crane-
combe, with three hundred armed men was sent to
apprehend him by the kings commandement, and so
he was taken in a village belonging to the bishop
of Norwich in Essex, and by the kings commande-
ment cast into prison, but yet afterwards he was re-
conciled to the kings fauour, when he had lien foure
moneths in prison, and thirtene moneths banished
the court.

Matth. Paris.

In this yeare, on the exaltation of the crosse, at
Lambeth, in the assemblie of the states there, a sub-
sidie was granted to the king of the fourth part of eu-
erie mans goods towards the discharge of his debts
which he owght to the earle of Britaine. Also in the
beginning of the seauententh yeare of his reigne,
Ranulfe earle of Chester and Lincoln departed this
life the six and twentieth day of October, whose bodie
was buried at Chester, and his bowels at Walling-
ford where he died. This earle Ranulfe was thrice
married, first to Constance daughter and heire to
Conan earle of Britaine and Richmond, and so in
right of hir was intituled earle of those two places:
which Constance had bene first married unto Ge-
frey the third sonne of king Henrie the second, by
whom she had issue Arthur (as before we haue heard.)
But by earle Ranulfe she had no issue at all, but
was from him diuorced, and afterwards married un-
to Guy vicount de Towars. Then after earle Ra-
nulfe was so diuorced from the said Constance, he
married a ladie named Clemence, and after hir de-
ceasse, he married the third time the ladie Margaret,
daughter to Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford
and Essex, constable of England.

A subsidie
granted in a
parlement
holden at
Lambeth.
Anno Reg. 17.

Matth. Paris.
Ranulfe earle
of Chester de-
parteth this
life.

Erle Ranulfe
thrice married.

This Cle-
mence was
daughter to
erle Ferrers,

The partition
of his lands,

Howbeit he neuer had issue by any of those his
wives, so that John Scot his nephew by his sister
Maud succeeded him in the earldome of Chester, and
William Dalbemie earle of Arundell, nephew to him
by his sister Mabel, had the manour of Barroin, and
other lands that belonged to the said Ranulfe, of the
yerelie value of five hundred pounds. Robert Quin-
cie, he that married his sister Maud, had the earle-
dome of Lincoln, and so of a baron became an earle
who had issue by his wife, Margerie countesse of
Lincoln, that was married to Edmund Lacie earle
of

of Lincoln. William earle Ferrers and of Dar-
ble, that had married Agnes, sister to the said Ra-
nulf, had the castell and manour of Chartley, tog-
ther with other lands for his pourpart.

Here is also to be remembered, that the aforemen-
tioned earle Ranulf (or Randulfe whether ye list to
call him) atchued manie high enterprises in his
time, as partlie in this booke ye haue alreadie heard:
he held forre warres against the Welshmen, till at
length an agrement was concluded betwixt him
and Eolin prince of Wales. I remember I haue
read in an old record, that upon a time as this earle
passed into Wales with an armie, his chance was
to be ouerfet by the Welshmen, so that he was dri-
uen to retire into a castell, wherein the Welshmen
did besiege him. And as it fortunied at that time, Ro-
ger Lacie the constable of Chester was not then
with him, but left behind at Chester to see the citie
kept in order (for as it should seme, their solemne
plaies which commonlie are vsed at Whitsonde
were then in hand, or else their faire which is kept at
spidsummer.)

This Roger
Lacie is sur-
named Helie.

Therefore the earle sent a messenger in all possi-
ble hast vnto his constable, praieng him with speed
to come to his succour in that extreame point of ne-
cessitie. Lacie made no delaye, but assembling all the
forreners, plaiers, musicians, and others which he
could find within that citie fit to weare armour, went
forth with them, and in most speedie maner marched
toward the castell, where the Welshmen kept the
earle besieged, who now perceiuing such a multitude
of men comming towards them, incontinentlie left
the siege and fled awaie. The earle then being thus de-
liuered out of that present danger, came forth of the
castell, returned with his constable vnto Chester, and
in recompense of that seruice, gaue vnto his said
constable Roger Lacie, the rule, order, and authoritie
ouer all the forreners, plaiers, musicians, and other
strangers resorting to Chester at the time, when such
publike plaies (or else faire) should be kept & holden.

John Lacie the sonne of the said Roger married
Alice the daughter of Gilbert de Aquila, and after
his deceasse, he married the ladie Margaret, the
daughter of Robert Quincie earle of Lincoln, of
whom he begat Edmund Lacie constable of Chester,
which Edmund after the deceasse of his father, mar-
ried Alice the daughter of the marquesse of Saluces
in Italie, which ladie was surnamed the quene, of
whom he begat Henrie Lacie earle of Lincoln,
which Henrie married the ladie Margaret, daughter
to William Long espere earle of Salisburie, by whom
he had two sons, Edmund and John, and two daugh-
ters, Alice and Joan, which Alice Thomas earle of
Lancaster married, who claimed and had the same
rights and priuiledges which ancientlie belonged to
the said Roger Lacie, and other the constables of
Chester, concerning the fines of forreners and o-
thers. This haue I the more willingly declared, that
it may appeare in what estimation and credit the La-
cies constables Chester by inheritance liued in their
time, of whose high valiancie, and likewise of other of
that familie, highlie commended for their noble chi-
ualrie in marshall enterprises ye may read in sum-
mer histories at large.

But now to retorne and speake of other doings,
which chanced about the time in which the said Ra-
nulf earle of Chester departed this life. The king in
the meane while seized into his hands a great portion
of the treasure which Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent
had committed to the keeping of the templers. But
whereas there were that trauelled to haue had him
put to death, the king in respect of the seruice which
he had done to him and to his predecessors king Ri-
chard and king John, granted him life, with those

lands which he had either by purchase, or by gift of
king John, but neuertheless he caused him to be kept
in strepison at the castell of the Glas, vnder the cu-
stodie of foure knights belonging to the earles of
Cornewall, Warren, Penbroke, and Ferrers, which
foure earles were become suerties for him.

This yeare also about the same time, to wit, the
moze after S. Martins daie, chanced great thun-
der and lightning, which continued for the space of 15
daies together, to the great terrour and feare of the
people, and namelie of the Londoners, which haue
that kind of weather so familiar to them, that if the re-
be anie abroad in the land, they haue their part there-
of. Moreover on the 23 of March, was heard an o-
ther great and terrible tempest of thunder, and after
followed a marvellous wet summer with manie
floods. Also on the 8 daie of Aprill, in the parts a-
bout Hereford and Worcester, there appeared foure
sunnes in the element, beside the naturall sunne, of
red colour, and a great circle of chrysaline colour, the
which compassed with his largenesse as it had bene
the whole circuit almost of the whole realme of Eng-
land, from the sides whereof went forth certeine
halfe circles, in whose sections appeared the said foure
sunnes. The naturall sunne was at the same time in
the east part of the firmament, for it was about the
first houre of the daie, or betwixt six and seven in the
morning, the aire being the same time verie bright
and cleare. The bishop of Hereford, and sir John
Spennmouth knight, and manie others beheld this
wonderfull sight, and testified the same to be most
true. And after this there followed the same yeare in
those parts cruell warre, slaughter, terrible blood-
shed, & a generall trouble through England, Wales,
and Ireland. About the same time, to wit, in June,
in the south parts of England nere to the sea coast,
two huge dragons appeared fighting in the aire, and
after a long fight the one overcame the other, and fol-
lowed him, fleeing into the depth of the sea, & so they
were seene no more.

Moreover in this yeare great variance and strife
rose betwixt the king and his barons, for the king
tooke great displeasure against all other his officers,
& so much the moze mistrusted them, for that he found
himselfe deceived in the earle of Kent, to whom he
had committed a further credit than to anie other,
and had made him high iustice of England, onelie
for the god will that he alwaies bare to him. There-
fore perceiuing this, he was doubtfull whom he
should trust, discharging the most part of those En-
glishmen that bare any office about him, and in their
romes placed strangers, as Scotsmen and Bri-
tains, of the which there came ouer vnto him manie
knights and other, to the number of 2000, which he
placed in garrisons within castles of diuerse places
of the land, and committed the order of all things for
the most part to the bishop of Winchester, and to his
nephew or sonne Peter de Riuales.

Herewith he offended so much the minds of his po-
bles, that Richard Sparshall erle of Penbroke (chief
of that familie, & boldest to speake, now that Ranulf
of Chester was gone) as well in his owne name, as
in the names of other, toke vpon him openlie to re-
proue the kings doings herein, as pernicious and
dangerous to the state of the realme. Wherevnto the
bishop of Winchester (whose counsell as it seemed he
followed) made answer, that the king had done no-
thing in that behalfe vnadvisedlie, but vpon god and
deepe consideration: for sith he might perceiue how
the English mobilitie had first purchased his father with
malicious hatred & open war, and now that he found
diuerse of them whom he had brought by and aduanc-
ed to high honours, vnfaithfull in the administrati-
on of their offices, he did not without iust cause re-
cuse

The earle of
Kent kept in
streipison within
the castell of
Glas.

March. Paris.
A great thun-
der.

1333
A wet sum-
mer.

Foure sunnes
beside the ac-
customed sun.

March. Paris.

March. I
The earle
of Kent el
and his
sawdow

A strange
summer.

Polydor.

He is ret
to London

The king be-
ginmeth to be
more stran-
gers.

Anno Ro
The earle
of Kent rest
and comm-
into wale

The bishop of
Winchester.

The earle of
Penbroke.

Strangers
almost ou-
erous to the
king.

Polydor.
The king
tried into
wales for
an armie.

ceine into his fauour strangers, and preferre them before those of his owne nation, which were not so faithfull in his seruice and obedience as they.

This answer of the bishop so pickled and wounded the minds of the English Nobilitie, that manie of them (amongst whom the said earle of Penbroke was the chiefe) began an open rebellion, some of them resorting to one place, and some to an other, to gather people for their purpose. The names of such barons as stirred upon this occasion were these; Richard Parshall earle of Penbroke afore named, Gilbert Basset and his brethren, men of great honoz and right hardie capteins: also Richard Sward a warlike personage, trained up in feats of armes from his youth, with Walter Clifford a worthy knight, and manie others. The king hauing knowledge of their doings proclaimed them all traitors, confiscated their goods, and sent for a great power of men out of Flanders to serue him in his warres.

Whilest king Henrie thus provided himselfe of an armie, the lords with their capteine Richard Parshall joined themselves to Leolin prince of Wales, & doubting the comming of the king, spoiled all the marches next adioining to England, leauing no bitels nor cattell any where about in those parts where by the kings armie might haue release, and further made all things readie for their owne defense so well as they could deuise. The earle of Kent about the same time, by helpe of two yeomen that attended upon him, escaped out of the castell of Wex, and toke sanctuary in the next church: but when those that had the charge of him and the castell in keeping, misfed him, and heard where he was, they fetcht both him, and the two yeomen that holpe him to make the escape out of the church, and bringing them backe to the castell, imprisoned the earle.

And though the bishop of Salisburie came thither and threatened to accuisse them, if they would not deliuer the earle, and restore him to sanctuary againe: they made answer, that they had rather the earle should hang for himselfe, than they for him. And so because they would not deliuer him, the bishop did excommunicate them, and after riding to the court, and taking with him the bishop of London, and other bishops, presented so much by complaint exhibited to the K. that the earle was restored to the church againe the eighteenth day of October: but so, as the shiriffe of the shire had commandement to compasse the church about with men, to watch that no release came vnto him, whereby he might be constrained through famishing to submit himselfe. Notwithstanding, shortly after there came a power of armed men, and fetcht the said earle from thence (setting him on horsebacke in faire complet armour) and so conueied him into Wales, where he joined with other of the kings enemies, the thirtieth day of October.

Within a few daies after came the king with his armie, and entring into Wales, for want of vittels was constrained to retire backe to the marches, betwixt Worcester-shire & Salop-shire, where staing certaine daies together in those parts, his souldiers straid abroad in the countrie vnadvisedlie, and keeping no watch nor ward about their campe, were surprized in the night by their enemies, and slaine on euerie side. The slaughter had bene greater, but that the residue which laie in campe, brake forth about midnight, and in a plume togither fled into a castell which was nere at hand, called Grosse-mound, in the which the king himselfe was lodged. There were slaine about five hundred men, and all the trusse and baggage of the campe lost. Yet Matthew Paris saith there were but two knights slaine, which cast a waite themselves by their owne willfulnesse, that would

needs stand to it and make resistance, where the residue being spoiled of all that they had with them, got a waite by flight, as the bishops of Winchester and Chichester, the lord chiefe iustice Stephan Segraue, Peter de Riuales treasurer, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolk, William earle of Salisbury, William lord Beauchampe, and William Walbene the younger, who were witnesses of this losse amongst the residue.

Whereof it came to passe, that manie of the kings armie (speciallie those which had lost their horses, armour, monie, and other furniture, with their vittels) returned into their countrie, to their great confusion. For the Welshmen and other outlawes, hauing spoiled the campe, returned with the carriages and sumpters which they had taken, into places of safe refuge. The king hauing receiued this losse, and oftentimes tried fortune nothing fauourable vnto him in those parts, by reason of the streits and disadvantage of the places, thought good to reserue the reuenge of his receiued iniuries untill a more conuenient time, and thereupon returned to Gloucester, and furnished diuers castels and fortresses in the borders of Wales, with garrisons of souldiers, namelie Poitouins and other strangers to defend the same against William Parshall, and the other his complices, who upon occasions daile sought to suppress and distresse the said strangers.

And beside other encounters, in the which manie of those Poitouins and other strangers were slaine and oppressed by the said William Parshall and his adherents, it chanced that upon saint Katherins day, the said William Parshall comming nere to the castell of Spommouth to vieto the same, was in danger to haue remained prisoner in the enemies hands, through an issue made by sir Baldwine de Guines, capteine of that castell, with his Poitouins and Flemings. But by such rescue as came to his aid, he was deliuered out of their hands, and the Poitouins and other of the garrison discomfited. At this skirmish sir Baldwine himselfe being sore wounded, was borne out of the field into the castell, losing fiftene knights of his part, and a great sort of other which were taken prisoners, besides no small number that were slaine in the place.

The same yeare chanced a great dearth, by reason that the growth of all things was much hindered with the extreame cold weather. Also there happened about the beginning of Nouember great thunder and lightning, and therewith folowed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitants of the towne of Huntington and other places thereabouts. After this, came a great dearth amongst the people, being commonlie a nere companion to great famine and dearth.

Richard Parshall erle of Penbroke in this meane time ceased not to waste the marches of England next adioining to Wales, and daile diuerse of the English Nobilitie repaired to him, so that the king was sore troubled in his mind. It chanced at the same time, that one John of Spommouth a right valiant capteine, who led the kings armie, receiued a great overthrow at the hands of Richard Parshall. For whereas the foresaid John, hauing assembled a mightie host, made great halt towards his enemies, in hope to haue come upon them at vnwares, and therefore marching by night, that he might be readie to assaile them somewhat afore the breake of the day, which in the summer season is the most silent time of all the night, it chanced farre otherwise than he looked it should haue done. For the earle of Penbroke, hauing knowledge by his spies of his aduersaries intent, laie himselfe with his people within a wood in ambush by the way, where the said John should passe,

and

The lord
of Penbroke
into Wales.
Math. Paris.
Polydor.

The king pro
claimed them
traitors.

Strangers
sent for.

Math. Paris.
The earle of
Kent escaped
and toke
sanctuary.

He is fetcht
out.

He is restored
to sanctuary.

Anno Reg. 18.
The earle of
Kent rescued
and conueied
into Wales.

Polydor.
The king en-
tered into
Wales with
his armie.

Polydor.

The king
returneth out
of Wales.

The earle of
Penbroke in
danger.

He is rescued.
The Poitou-
ins discom-
fited.

Dearth.

Tempest.

An earth-
quake.

A dearth.

March. Paris.

John Monmouth receiveth an overthrow.

1234
Polydor.

and setting upon him as he approached, put his people in such feare by the sudden encounter, that they knew not what capitaine or ensigne they might follow, and so immediatlie fell to running awaie. The slaughter was great on euerie side, both of Boldouins and others. Diuerse of them fleeing also into the next woods, were receiued by such as were laid there to cut them off, and so slaine or taken out of hand. Howbeit their chiefe capitaine the forenamed John of Monmouth escaped, with a few other in his company. This overthrow chanced the morrow after Epiphanye date.

March. Paris.

The next date Richard Marshall hauing thus got the victorie, destroyed certeine houses and lordships there in the marshes which belonged to the said John of Monmouth. About the same time also, Richard Sward with other outlawes destroyed the possessions belonging to the earle of Cornwall beside Wyehall, and burned a place there called Segraue, where Stephan de Segraue the lord chiefe iustice was borne, and likewise a village belonging to the bishop of Winchester, not farre from Segraue aforesaid. This was the maner of those outlawes, that they hurt no person, but onelie those counsellors about the king by whom they were erled, and therefore bearing stomach against them, they did not onlie execute but also execute this reuenge, which till they had obtained, they were no lesse ill appaid, than well pleased when the same was past, for

*manuit vindicta dolorem.*A part of the towne of Shrewsburie burnt.
Polydor.

Immediatlie within the octaues of the Epiphanie, the earle Marshall and Leolin prince of Wales was fled and robbed all the marshes betwixt Wales and Shrewsburie, a part of which towne they also burnt. King Henrie being heretofore certified as yet sojourning at Gloucester, was sore troubled in his mind, and calling together his counsell, asked aduise what waie he might best take to redresse such iniuries. After sundrie opinions amongst them declared, they agreed all in one sentence, that it should be most expedient to appease the minds of the rebels with gentle offers, to grant them pardon of their offenses, willing to winne them to tractableness, and not roughly afflicting them to exasperat their fiercenesse, with,

sepe acri potior prudentis dextra.

Also to banish from his court diuerse that bare great rule, and namelie Peter the bishop of Winchester, and his sonne or nephew Peter de Kinales, by the counsell of which two persons all things had bene changed in the kings house. Moreover, to put from him such strangers as bare offices, and to receiue Englishmen againe to the same.

March. Paris.

March. Paris.

The earle of Denbroke passed over into Ireland.

The king allowing this aduise to be good, followed it accordingly, and first of all discharging the bishop of Winchester of all publike administration of things, he commanded him to repaire home to his diocese, and to see to the gouernement thereof, as to his dutie appertained. He also banished from his presence Peter de Kinales, Stephan Segraue, Robert Passelew, and diuerse others of his chiefe counsellors, by whose means he had procured the euill will of his nobilitie. Then receiued he againe his old servants & officers, & finally sent the archb. of Canturburie, the bishops of Chester & Rochester into the barons in Wales, to offer them peace & pardon of all iniuries past, if they wold returne to his obedience. Thus in the end there was a truce taken betwixt the king and the rebels, to begin at Candlemasse, and to endure untill Easter next ensuing, in which meane time, Richard the earle of Denbroke, hearing that Mauris Fitz Gerald, with Walter Lacie, Richard Burgh and others wasted his lands and possessions in Ireland according to such commission as they had receiued of late from king Henrie and his counsell)

passed ouer thither, and there encountering with his enemies, was sore wounded and taken prisoner, hauing entered the battell verie rashlie, and with a small companie of his people about him, onlie by the traitorous perswasion of Geoffrey Maunth, who with other fled at the first hunt, and left him in maner alone to stand to all the danger. Those that thus took him, brought him into his owne castell, the which the lord chiefe iustice Maurice Fitz Gerald had latelie woone. This encounter, in which Richard Marshall was thus taken, chanced on a saturdaye, being the first of Aprill, and on the 16 of the same moneth, by reason of the wound which he had receiued, he departed this life.

He is taken prisoner.

Geoffrey Maunth.

The earle of Denbroke, with his army, was over the earle of A. Salac.

The death of the earle of Denbroke.

We find also that the bishop of Winchester, and his sonne (or kinsman as some haue called him) Peter de Kinales had procured the king to send commission under his seale unto the foresaid noble men in Ireland, that if the said Richard Marshall earle of Denbroke chanced to come thither, they should do their best to take him, and in reward of their paines, they should inioy all his lands and possessions which he held in that countrie. But after his death, and when the king had remoued those his counsellors from him, he confessed he had put his seale to a writing, but that he understood what were the contents thereof he utterly denied. Finally, this was the end of the worthy earle of Denbroke Richard Marshall, a man worthy to be highlie renowned for his approued valiance. His death shewlie was greatlie bewailed of king Henrie, openly protesting that he had lost the worthiest capitaine that then liued.

30

After this, the lords that had remained in Wales, by safe conduct came to the king, and through the diligent trauell of the archbishop of Canturburie, he receiued them into fauour. Amongst them were these men of name, Gilbert Marshall the brother of the foresaid Richard Marshall, Hubert earle of Kent, Gilbert Basset, and Richard Sward, besides diuerse others. Unto Gilbert Marshall he deliuered his brothers inheritance, and upon Whitsondaie made him knight, giving unto him the rod of the office of Marshall of his court, according to the maner, to be and exercise as his ancestors had done before him. And herewith the earle of Kent Gilbert Basset and Richard Sward were receiued againe into the court, and admitted to be of the kings private counsell.

40

Some after this, Peter de Kinales, Stephan Segraue, & Robert Passelew were called to accounts, that it might appeare how the kings treasure was spent, and how they had used themselves with the kings seale. The two last remembred kept themselves out of the waie, and could not be found. Stephan Segraue shewodding himselfe in secret within the abbey of Leicester, and Robert Passelew feigning himselfe sicke, kept within the new temple at London. Peter de Kinales also, with his father the bishop of Winchester, took sanctuary at Winchester, for they were afraid least their bodies should not be in safetie if they came abroad, because they understood that their manours and grange places were spoiled and burnt by those that bare them displeasure. Howbeit at length, under the protection of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to their answer, & were sore charged for their vnjust dealing, traitorous practise, and great falschod used in time of their hearing office, and (as it appeareth by writers) they could not forlie cleare themselves in those matters wherewith they were charged: but yet by reason of their protection they were ressed to the places from whence they came, or else otherwile shifted off the matter for the time, so that we read not of any great bodilie punishment which they should receiue as then. In the end they were pardoned & reconciled to the

Polydor.
March. Paris.

Gilbert Marshall earle of Kent.

March. Paris.

Officers led to accounts.

The emperor Frederike married the king of Englands sister.

A great and sumptuous feast.

the kings fauor, upon payment of such fines as were assessed upon them.

The truce ended, with men sent out to the aid of the earle of Artois.

This yeare, because the truce ended betwixt the kings of England and France, king Henrie sent orner to aid the earle of Britaine, thescoze knights, and two thousand Welshmen, the which when the french king came with his armie to enter and invade Britaine, did cut off and take his cartage laden with vittels, armor, and other provision, overthrowing also no small number of the frenchmen, and taking from them their haffes, they returned backe in safetie, without any great damage received. Notwithstanding this, the french king, enforcing againe his power, vowed to wrong for the earle of Britaine, so that he was constrained to take a truce to endure till the feast of all saints, that he might in the meane time understand if the king of England would come over with some puissant armie to his aid or no: but because it was perceived in the end that the said earle of Britaine sought nothing else but how to get monie out of king Henriess coffers, and to doe him no pleasure for it, because he was in manner at an other agreement already with the king of France, king Henrie refused to satisfie his requests at such time as he came over unto him (after the taking of that truce) for more monie. Whereupon also the said earle being offended, got him backe into his owne countrie, and shortly after apparantly submitted himselfe to the french king, which (as the report went) he had done before in secret.

The earle of Britaine submitted himselfe to the french king. Anno Reg. 19.

1 2 3 5 Polydor. Fabian.

See the libe in pag. 56, col. 1.

Math. Paris.

The emperor Frederike married the king of Englands sister.

A great and sumptuous feast.

These things being thus brought to passe, and all troubles quieted, the king as then being at London, there was brought before him by one Tolie, a complaint exhibited against the "Jewes of Rozburgh, which had stolen a young child, being not past a twelue moneths old, and secretly kept him an whole yeare together, to the end that he might (when Ester came) crucifie him in despite of our saviour Iesus Christ, and the christian religion. The matter as it happened fell out well for the lad: for within a few daies before that those cursed murderers purposed to haue shed this innocents blood, they were accused, convicted and punished, whereby he escaped their cruell hands. About the same tittle, to wit the seauenth of february died Hugh de Wals bishop of Lincoln, a great enemy to monks and religious men. Robert Grosset was then preferred to his see, a man of great learning, and trained up in scholes euen from his infancie.

The same yeare, the emperor Frederike the secont, married the ladie Isabell the kings sister. This Isabell was a most beautifull ladie, of comelie personage, and of age about one and twentie years. She was affianced by procuracie, about the seauen and twentieth of february. And after Easter, the archbishop of Cullen, and the duke of Louane came over from the emperor, to haue the conueiance of hir vnto the emperors presence. There was such a feast holden, so sumptuous seruice, so rich furniture, and rollall banquetting kept the day before hir departure from London towards the sea side, that more could not be imagined. The same feast was kept at Westminster on the fifth day of May, and the day following he did set forward, and by easie iournies came to Sandwich, the king bringing hir thither with three thousand haffes. Finally, he took the sea the eleuenth of May, the king taking leaue of hir not without teares, when they thus departed the one from the other. And so with prosperous wind and weather she arrived at Antwerpe, and from thence passed forward, till she came to hir husband the emperor, by whom she was received with great ioy and comfort at Worms, where the marriage was consummate upon a sundaie, being the two and twentieth day of

Julie, or (as Mathew Westminster saith) the seauen and twentieth of May, being Whitsunday.

This yeare the bishop of London monogued the sentence of excommunication against certain blunders called Caorini. But because the same blunders shadowed themselves under the pretext of the popes merchants (as they named themselves) they appeared so much by the fauour of the court of Rome, that the said bishop being sicke and feeble, was cited peremptorie in the parts beyond the seas, before iudges chosen forth by the same blunders, to make answer for such high iniurie as he had here done to the popes factors. The bishop willing by the example of them, rather to couer his fathers shame, than to reueale it to the whole world, did quietly put by the matter: and with commendable patience received the proffered wrong, hauing learned this lesson, that

Gaudet patientia duris,

and to pacifie the trouble, suffered their wickednesse, commending in the meane while the cause vnto his patrone S. Paule. And when he preached of the force of faith, he uttered this saleng: If an angell preach contrarie doctrine to vs in these things, let him be accurssed.

In the twentieth yeare of king Henriess reigne, in the Advent time, the noble baron the lord Robert Fitz Water departed this life, and so likewise did a noble young man descended of most noble parentage, one Roger de Somerie. On the fourteenth day of January ensuing, the king married the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the earle of Monance named Ramond. This marriage was solemnized at Canturburie, and in the octaues of S. Yllarie next ensuing being Sunday, she was crowned queene of England at Westminster. At the solemnitie of this feast and coronation of the queene, all the high peeres of the realme, both spirituall and tempozall, were present there to exercise their offices as to them appointed.

The citizens of London were there in great array, bearing afoze hir in solemne wise, three hundred and threescore cups of gold and silver, in token that they ought to wait vpon hir cup. The archbishop of Canturburie (according to his dutie) crowned hir, the bishop of London assisting him as his deacon. The earle of Chester bare the sword of saint Edward before the king, in token that he was earle of the palace, and had authoritie to correct the king, if he should see him to swaue from the limits of iustice, his constable of Chester attended vpon him, and removed where the presse was thicke, with his rod or warder. The earle of Penbroke high Marshall bare the rod before the king, and made roome before him, both in the church and in the hall, placing euerie man, and ordering the seruice at the table. The wardens of the cinque ports bare a canopie ouer the king, supported with foure speares.

The earle of Leicester held the bason when they washed. The earle of Warren, in the place of the erle of Arundell, because he was vnder age, attended on the kings cup. Sir Michaell Bellet was Butler by office. The earle of Hereford exercised the roome of high Marshall in the kings house. The lord William de Beauchampe was almoner. The chafe iustice of the foresters on the right hand of the king removed the dishes on the table, though at the first he was staied by some allegation made to the contrarie. The citizens of London serued out wine to euerie one in great plentie. The citizens of Winchester had ouersight of the kitchen and larderie. And so euerie person (according to his dutie) exercised his roome: and because no trouble should arise, manie things were suffered, which vpon further aduise taken therein were reformed. The chancelor and all other ordinaries of

Math. Paris. Walsley called Caorini, of whom see more in pag. 211, col. 1.

The bishop of London his doctrine.

Anno Reg. 20.

1 2 3 6 King Henrie married the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the earle of Monance. Math. Paris.

The earle of Chester.

The constable of Chester. The earle of Penbroke.

The wardens of the cinque ports. The earle of Leicester. Erle Warren.

The earle of Hereford. Lord William Beauchampe. The citizens of London. The citizens of Winchester.

taken

ph.

death of

or. Paris.

at the

at the

A parliament
at London.
Polydor.

Strange
lights.
Matth. Paris.

ficers kept their place. The feast was plentiful, so that nothing wanted that could be wished. Moreover, at Twelfth night, which was helden by the space of eight daies together. And some after the king called a parliament at London, where many things were enacted for the good government of the realme, and there with the king demoured a while.

¶ About the same time wonderfull strange sights were seene. In the north parts of England, not farre from the abbey of Ely, there appeared coming forth of the earth companies of armed men by hostes, with speare, shield, sword, and banners displayed, in sundrie formes and shapes, rising in order of battell, and incontinently together: and this sight was seene sundrie daies each after other. Sometime they seemed to fight as it had bene in battell, and fought sore; and sometime they appeared to kill and breake staves, as it had bene at some triumphant ioust of some. The people of the countrie beheld them a farre off, with great wonder: for the thing seemed so liuelie, that now and then they might see them come with their emptie hostes sore wounded and hurt: and then men likewise mangled and bleeding, that pitie it was to see them. And that which seemed more strange and to be most marvelled at, the prints of their feet appeared in the ground, and the grasse troden downe in places where they had bene seene. The like sight was also seene more apparently in Ireland, and in the parts thereof.

Great raine.
Matth. Paris.

Matth. West.

Immediatlie followed, or rather preceded passing great tempests of raine, which filled the earth full of water, and caused monstrous floods: for this raine continued all the space of the moneths of Januarie, Februarie, and a great part of March; and for eight daies it rained (as some write) in manner without ceasing: and upon the tenth of Februarie, immediatlie after the change of the mone, the Thames rose with such an high tide, that boats might have bene rowed up and downe in Westminster hall. In the winter before, on the twentieth of December, there chanced a great thunder, and on the first of daie in December, which was the first of that moneth, there was a counterfet sunne seene beside the true sunne. Moreover, as in the spring preceding there happened sore and exceeding great raine, so in the summer following there chanced a great drought, continuing by the space of foure moneths or more.

A dyle summer.

Gilbert Norman
founder
of Herton
abbey.

Anno Reg. 21.

High tides.
Matth. Paris.

Witch people
perishing
by rage of
waters.

This yeare was a parliament holden at Herton, a towne in Surrie, distant from London 7 miles, where was an abbey of regular canons founded by one Gilbert a lord of Normandie, that came into the realme with William conquerour. At this parliament, diverse god & profitable lawes were made and established, which yet remaine in use, bearing the name of the place where they were first ordeined. ¶ In the beginning of the 21 yeare of king Henries reign, on the morrow after the feast of S. Martine, and certeine daies after, the sea burst out with such high tides and tempests of wind, that the marish countries nere to the same were drowned up and overflowen: and beside great herds and flocks of cattell that perished, there was no small number of men lost and drowned. The sea rose continually in flowing the space of two daies and one night, without ebbing, by reason of the mightie violence of contrary winds. At Wiltshire also, and in villages thereabouts, the people were drowned in great numbers, so that in one village there were buried an hundred corpses in one daie. Also the daie before Christmasse eue, there chanced a great wind, with thunder and raine, in such extreame wise, that manie buildings were shaken and overthrowen.

In a parliament holden at Westminster about the octaves of the Epiphanie, the king required a subsidie

of his subjects, which request was not well taken, but yet at length, upon promise that he would be good to them, and not take to himselfe and discontinue the request which he had made by pretence of want of the popes confirmation (as it was thought he meant to do) they agreed to give him the spiritual part of all movable goods, as well as the spiritual as the temporal, to determine yet to enquire what his request was: with his grace and licence, to be disposed for the profit of the common wealth. In consideration of this grace, the king being in perfect age, and in his owne rule and full governance, of his free and mere good will, at the request and by consent of the lords of his realme, did then grant and confirmed the liberties and franchises contained in the two charters, the one called Magna charta, and the other Charta de foresta, with this addition following added in the end.

The confirmation of the charters, under the kings acknowledgement and subscription of witnesses.



*Nunc autem concessimus, & hac presen-
ti charta confirmavimus omnibus pre-
dictis de regno nostro, omnes libertates
& liberas consuetudines contentas in
chartis nostris, quas eis fidelibus nostris
fieri fecimus cum in minoribus essemus aetate, scilicet
in Magna charta nostra, quam in charta de Fo-
resta. Et volumus pro nobis, & heredibus nostris,
quod prefati fideles nostri, & successores, & here-
des eorum habeant, & teneant in perpetuum om-
nes libertates & liberas consuetudines predictas,
non obstante quod predicta charta confecta fue-
rint cum minoris essemus aetatis, ut predictum est,
hys testibus, Edmundo Cant. archiepiscopo, & om-
nibus alijs in Magna charta nominatis. Dat. per
manum venerabilis patris Cicertrienfis episcopi,
cancellarij nostri 28 die Januarij, Anno Regni
nostri 21.*

Beside the confirmation of these charters, the king further to win the favour of his people, was contented to remove and sequester from him diverse of his counsellours that were thought not to be well minded towards the advancement of the common wealth, and in their places to admit the earle of Warren, William de Ferrers, and John Fitz Geoffrey, who were sworn to give to the king faithful counsell, and in no wise to go out of the right waie for any respect that might otherwise move them. ¶ About the first daie of March, there began sore raine and tempestuous weather, whereof ensued great floods, as before in the beginning of the yeare passed, had chanced, though not doing so much hurt as before.

John Scot also earle of Chester and Huntingdon died at Weren hall the seventh daie of June, without issue, and was buried at Chester. He was poisoned by the diuelish practise of his wife daughter to Leolin prince of Wales (as Matth. Paris saith.) He had foure sisters, of whom the first named Margaret was married to Allen of Gallowate, by whom she had issue a daughter named Denoigoill; which Denoigoill was married to John Balioll, by whom she had issue John Balioll that was afterward king of Scotland. The second named Isabel, was married to Robert le Breus. The third named Matilda, died without issue. And the fourth called Alva, was married to Henrie Hastings. But because the land pertaining to the earldome of Chester, should not go amongst rocks and distances, having such roiall prerogatives

John Scot
earle of Che-
ster departed
this life.

Ran. Hig.
his sisters.

gatiues belonging thereto, the king seized them into his owne hands, and in recompense assigned other lands to the forsaide sisters, as it had bene by way of exchange.

Now fifth the earles of Chester (I meane those of the line of Hugh Lupus) toke end in this John Scot; I haue thought it not impertinent for the honoꝝ of so noble a linage, to set downe the descent of the same earles, beginning at the forsaide Hugh the first that gouerned after the conquest, as I haue seen the same collected out of ancient records, according to their true succession in seauen descents one after another, as here followeth.

The true genealogie of the famous
and most honourable earles of
Chester.

Hugh Lou or Lupus, first earle of Chester after the conquest, ne-
phue to William Conquerour by his sister Margaret, wife to Richard Vicount of Auranthes, married a noble ladie named Armetruda, by whom he had issue Richard that succaded him in the earldome, Robert abbat of saint Edmundsburie, and Oruell. He departed this life about the yere of our Lord 1102, when he had bene earle about 40 yeres.

2 Richard Lupus eldest son to Hugh Lupus, and second earle of Chester, married Maude the daughter of Stephan erle of Blois, Charters and Champagne, and sister to R. Stephan. This Richard with his brother Oruell was drowned in the seas, in the yere of our Lord 1120, as before hath bene shewed, after he had bene earle about nintene yeres.

3 Ranulfe or Randulfe the first of that name called Bohun, and otherwise Westheins, the sonne of John de Bohun, and of Margaret, sister to Hugh Lupus, succaded Richard, as cousin and heire to him in the earldome of Chester, and was the third earle in number after the conquest. He married Maude the daughter of Aubrie de Vere earle of Giney and Orenford, by whome he had issue Ranulfe surnamed Geruous the fourth earle of Chester. He died about the yere of our Lord 1130, after he had continued earle eight yeres.

4 Ranulfe or Randulfe Bohun, the second of that name, and fourth erle in number after the conquest, surnamed Geruous, succaded his father, and married Alice, daughter to Robert erle of Glocester, base sonne to king Henrie the first by whome he had issue Hugh Keuelocke, the fift earle of Chester. He decessed about the yere of our Lord 1153, when he had bene earle 29 yeres.

5 Hugh Bohun otherwise Keuelocke, the sonne of the said Ranulfe, was the first earle of Chester after the conquest, and second of that name. He married Beatrice, daughter to Richard Lucie lord chiefe iustice of England, by whom he had issue Ranulfe the third of that name, and foure daughters, Maude married to Dauid that was earle of Angus and Huntington and

lord of Galloway, Mabel married to William Dalbegnie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derby, and Hauila ioined in marriage with Robert Quincie, a baron of great honour. This Hugh died about the yere 1181, when he had bene earle eight and twentie yeres.

6 Ranulfe Bohun the third of that name, otherwise called Blundeuille, the sonne of Hugh Keuelocke, was the first earle of Chester after the conquest. He was also earle of Lincolne, as next couline and heire to William Komare earle of Lincolne. He had thre wiues (as before yee haue heard) but yet died without issue, about the yere of our Lord 1232, after he had bene earle 51 yeres.

7 John Scot, the sonne of Dauid earle of Angus & Huntington, was in the right of his mother the seuenth earle of Chester after the conquest. He died without issue (as before yee haue heard) by reason whereof, the erldome came into the kings hands in the yere 1237. Thus much may suffice (with that which is said before) touching the descent of the earles of Chester. And now to proceed.

The same yere that John Scot died, cardinall Dtho (by some writers named Dthobon) about the feast of S. Peter and Paule came into England from pope Gregorie. He was receiued with all honour and solemne reuerence as was decent, yea and more than was decent, the king meeting him at the sea side. His comming was not signified afore to the nobles of the realme, which caused them to mislike the matter, and to grudge against the king, seeing that he did all things contrarie to order, breaking law, faith, and promise in all things. He hath coupled himselfe (said they) in marriage with a stranger, without consent of his frends and naturall subiects, and now he bringeth in a legat secretlie, who will take vpon him to make an alteration in the whole state of the realme.

But this legat shewed himselfe a verie sober and discret person, not so couetous as his predecessors, in so much that he refused diuerse gifts which were offered vnto him, though some he receiued, and indeed commanded the other to be reserued for him. He also distributed liberallie the vacant rents vnto such as he brought with him, as well persons worthe as unworthe, and pacified such controuersies as were sprung betwixt the nobles and peeres of the realme, so that he made them frends. ¶ An act memorabile to be kept in record, that the instrument and seruant of so bad a maister as he serued, namelye the pope, should be the procurer of so good a worke: considering that from the see of Rome full tides and violent streames of seditions haue flowed, and verie sildome any occasion or means made to plant peace among men, which is the daughter of loue, and the worthiest thing that is, as one saith verie well in these words:

Cignit amor pacem, pax est dignissima rerum.

The bishop of Winchester, the earle of Kent, Gilbert Waller, Stephen Silward & others were by him accorded, who had borne secret grudge ech to other a long time, which hatred was at point to haue broken forth, and shewed it selfe in perilous wise at a tomie holden at Blie in the beginning of Lent, where the Southerne men stroue against the Northerne men, and in the end the Southerne men preuailed, and

U. i. take

The lord's grudge at the king for receiving the cardinall without their knowledge.

The legat praised for his sober behaviour.

I tourne et Dic.

I subdia.

Manh. Paris.

John Scot earle of Chester departed this life.

Ran. High his sisters.

Earle Bigot.

Anno Reg. 22.
The legat
holdeth a syn-
nod at Lon-
don.

1 2 3 8
The legat
cometh to
Oxford.

A fraile be-
twixt the le-
gats men, and
the scholars
of Oxford.

A cokes
almes.

The legats
cokes flame.

The legat
complains
to the king.
The earle
waren sent to
apprehend the
offenders.

The legat
curstly.

The regents
of the Univer-
sitye abolished,
Polydor.

March. Paris.
The emperor
of Constanti-
nople cometh
into Eng-
land.

toke diuerse of their aduersaries, so that it seemed not to be a triumphant iustice, but rather a sharpe challenge and incounter betwixt enemies. But amongst all others, earle Bigot bare himselfe verie stoutlie.

After that the legat had thus agreed the noblemen, he assembled a synod at London, the morrow after the octaves of S. Martin, wherein manie ordinances were newlie constituted for the state of the cleargie, but not altogether verie acceptable to diuerse young preests and scholers (as some write) in somuch that the legat afterwards comming to Oxford, and lodging in the abbie of Dintie, it chanced as certeine scholers pressed to the gates thinking to come in and do their dutie (as they toke the matter) vnto the legat, the porter kept them backe, and gaue them ourthwart two:ds, whereupon they rushed in vpon him, & so began a fraile betwixt them and the legats men, who would haue beaten them backe.

It fortuned in this hurlie burlie, that a poore Irish scholer being got in nere to the kitchin dresier, besought the cok for Gods sake to giue him some reliefe: but the cok (as manie of that calling are cholesrike fellows) in a great furie toke vp a lable full of hot broath out of a kettell wherein flesh had bene sodden, and threw it right vpon the Irishmans face, which thing when another Welsh scholer that stood by beheld, he cried out; That meane we to suffer this villanie, and therewithall toke an arrow, and set it in his bow, which he had caught vp in his hand at the beginning of the fraile, and drawing it vp to the head let it lie at the cok, and so sue him there outright.

Hereupon againe noise and tumult rose round about the house, the legat for feare got him into the belfraie of the abbie, where he kept himselfe close till the darke of the night had staied the byzore, and then scale forth, and taking his horse escaped as secretlie as he could ouer the Thames, and rode with all speed to the court, which laie not far off at Abington, and there made his complaint to the king, in such lamentable wise, that he forthwith sent the earle Waren with a power of armed men, to fetch auaie the residue of the legats seruants which remained behind in the abbie, and to apprehend the chiefe offenders.

The earle comming thither, toke thirtie scholers, with one master Ddo a lawier, and brought them to Wallingford castell, and there committed them to prison. The legat also in reuenge of the iniurie in this wise to him done, pronounced the curse against the misdoers, and handled the matter in such wise, that the regents and masters of the Uniuersitie were at length constrained to come vnto London, & there to go bare-footed through Cheape-side, vnto the church of S. Dunle, in such wise to aske him forgiveness, and so with much ado they obtained absolution. This legat among other things demanded some after the tenth part of all spirituall mens yearelie reuenues, towards the maintenance of the wars against the Saracens in Asia.

Moreover, the emperor of Constantinople, named lie, Baldouine sonne to Peter earle of Auierre, being expelled out of his empire, came this yeare into England, to sue for aid: but at his first arrivall at Douer, he was told, that he had not done well to come so presumptuouslie into the land of another prince, without his safe conduct. But when the said emperor seemed to be sorie for his offense, and to excuse his innocencie and sincere meaning, the king was pacified, & willed him to come to London, where at his comming thither, being the 22 daie of Aprill, he was honorablie receiued, and at his departure with rich gifts highlie honored, so that he had auaie with him to the value of about seven hundred marks

as was reported. About this time also, Eliano: the kings sister (that was sometime wife vnto William Sparshall earle of Denbroke) was now by the kings meanes married the second time to Simon Spontford, a man of high parentage and noble probesse.

This Simon was indowd with such vertue, good counsell, courteous discretion, and other amiable qualities, that he was highlie fauoured as was supposed, both of God and man: in somuch that he might right well, as for birth, so also for education and good demeanour be counted (as he deserved) a notable noble man, for he was so qualified as standeth with the nature of true nobilitie, according to that of the poet,

non censui, nec clarum nomen avarum,

Sed probitas magnas ingeniumque facit.

Notwithstanding all this noble indowment, concurring in him, he was banished out of France, vpon displeasure, which Blanch the queene mother conceived against him. But now comming into England, he was iustlie receiued of king Henrie, who not onelie gaue vnto him (as above is mentioned) his sister in marriage with the earledonie of Leicester in name of a dowrie, but also advanced him vnto offices of greatest honour within the realme of England. Holbeitt, this marriage was verie displeasing vnto Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie, because that the foresaid Eliano:, after the death of his first husband, had vowed perpetuall chastitie, and betaken hir (as was said) to the mantell and the ring.

As the prelat was not pleased with this match, so the king was as highlie offended with the archbishop for not fauouring the cause, in somuch that the archbishop went some after to Rome, where he not onelie complained of certeine iniuries receiued lately at the kings hands, but also signified the estate of this marriage, to procure a diuorce. In like manner, Richard the kings brother found great fault with the king for the same matter, but chieslie, for that he stroke it vp without making him and other of the nobles of counsell therein. To be short, it was not long per this grudge grew so far, that ciuill war was verie likelie to haue followed thereupon. But when the king saw that all the lords leaned to his brother, he sought to pacifie the matter by courteous means, and so by mediation of the legat, the king and his brother were reconciled, to the great griefe of the lords, which had brought the matter now to that point, that the king could not haue so resisted their force, but that they were in good hope to haue deliuered the realme out of bondage from all manner of strangers, as well of those Romans that were beneficed men, as of anie other.

Simon the earle of Leicester also persequing both the matter went, made this another waie to get all the monie he could in press or otherwise (in somuch that he had of one burges of Leicester, named Simon Carlewath, five hundred markes) and leauing his wife in the castell of Belingworth, he secretlie departed out of the realme, and got him to Rome, to purchase a confirmation of his marriage, which he easilie obtained, notwithstanding the archbishop of Canturburies former and verie beehement information against him, and so hauing brought his purpose about, in the latter end of this yeare, he returned into England, and was iustlie receiued, first of the king and after of his wife, whome he found at Belingworth, nere to the time of his trauell, and shortly after deliuered of a young sonne, whom they called Simon after the name of his father.

At the same time, Frederike the emperor going into Italie, had a great number of English soldiers with him, which king Henrie furnished for his aid, under

The com-
te of Den-
broke, who
to the king
married to
Simon be-
Spontford,
Polydor.

The arch-
shop of Can-
turburie dis-
pleased with
the marriage

He goeth to
Rome to com-
plaine of the
king.

The earle of
Leicester is
also offended
for the same
marriage.
March. Paris.

The earle of
Leicester go-
eth to Rome.

He goeth to
Rome to get
dispensation
of rather con-
firmation of
his marriage.

And sent such
of England
the emperor

The counte
of Henrie
the king
arrived to
Dunelm
by doo.

Henrie Tru-
bille.
John Hanfel
and Hardell.

under the leading of a right balliant warriour, na-
med Henrie de Trubille; with whome went also
John Hanfell, whose ballancie in that tourne well
appeared; and William Hardell a citizen of Lon-
don was treasurer and paimaster to the soldiers.
Here with the pope was sore offended, and wrote his
mind thereof to the king, who forthwith returned an
eloquent answer, requiring him to be more fauoura-
ble to the emperor, considering his cause was such
as could not iustlie offend his holinesse. About the
same time, or rather (as by some writers it should ap-
peare) somewhat before, the kings sister Joane quene
of Scotland, comming into England to see hir bro-
ther, fell into a sicknesse, and died.

The bishop of
Winchester
departeth this
life.

he archb-
p of Can-
burie dis-
posed with
marriage.

goeth to
ome to co-
me of the
ig.

he earle of
gloucester
is offend-
ed the same
marriage.
ath, Paris.

March, Paris.
A naughtie
wretch meant
to haue de-
stroyed the k.

his end
in pag. 230.

he earle of
gloucester
is offend-
ed the same
marriage.

goeth to
me to get
incitation
rather con-
solation of
marriage.

sent forth
England to
emperor.

Moreover, the archbishop of Canturburie retur-
ned into England, who at his comming to Rome,
obtained little or nothing touching the suit which he
had before the pope, for (as some haue written) the le-
gat who being his beaue friend, had so stopped the
popes eares from hearing any of his complaints, that
all his whole trauell did come to none effect. In
like manner, Peter des Roches bishop of Winche-
ster died this yeare in his manor at Farnham, about
the ninth of June, which prelat had gouerned that
see about 32 yeares. He was a man of great wise-
dome and dexteritie in ordering of weightie affaires
touching the state of tempozall regiment. He build-
ed manie goodlie monasteries, as the abbeyes of
Bales, Etkborne and Seleborne, with the hospitall
at Portelmouth. He made also a notable testament,
and besides his bequests which were great, he left his
bishopricke so stored and thoroughlie furnished, that
there was not so much diminished of that which he
found at his comming in value, as the cattell that
serued to drawe the beerie ploughs.

About this time, a learned scholre, or rather a
cleerke of the vniuersitie of Orenford, bearing some
malice toward the king, sained himselfe mad, and es-
pieng thereby the secret places of his house at Wood-
stoke where he then laie, vpon a night by a window
he got into the kings bedchamber, and comming to
the beds side, he threw off the couerings, and with a dag-
ger strake diuers times into a pillow, supposing that
the king had bene there, but as God would, that
night the king laie in another chamber with the
quene. In the meane time, one of the quenes cham-
bermaides named Margaret Biset, hauing espied
the traitor, made an outcrie, so that the k. seruants
which came to vnderstand what the matter meant,
presentlie apprehended the said cleerke, who being
conueied to Couentrie, was there arraigned, and by
lawfull prooe had of his malicious intent, was con-
demned, and executed as a traitor. At his death he
confessed, that he was sent from William de Spar-
rish the sonne of Gessie de Sparish to murder the
king by such manner of means, not caring what had
become of himselfe so he might haue dispatched his
purpose.

¶ These practises of treason *In summo gradu*, which
cannot be committed without irrecoverable detri-
ment to the whole estate (speciallie where succession
is vncertaine) are of an old browning, though they be
newer to netible broches. And trulie, if the cursed mi-
screant which vndertaketh an enterpryse of this qua-
litie, had the grace to consider how manie murders
he committeth by implication in giuing the roiall
person of the prince a deadlie wound; I doubt not, if
he were a man and not a ranke diuell, he would be
weaned from that outrageous villanie. For, in
wounding and killing the prince, he is guiltie of ho-
micide, of parricide, of chysicide, nay of deicide. And
therefore a thousand woos light on his hart that shall
stretch out his hand, naie, that shall once conceiue in
thought a murder so heinous, as both God and na-

ture doth abhorre; speciallie if it be commensed a-
gainst a chysitian prince, and such a one as to whome
true and vndefiled religion is no lesse pretious and
deere than life it selfe. Princes therefore had need to
see to the safegard of their persons, sithens the safetie
of manie millions dependeth thereupon. For cer-
teine it is, that the state of a poore priuat man is lesse
perillous by manie degrees than the state of a poten-
tat, which is ment by this true allegorie following.

Quatuor altas sapē procella,

Aut euerit fortuna domos;

Mimus in paruis fortuna furit;

Raros patitur fulminis ictus

Humida vallis.

Seneca in Olla,
et Hippol.

In the thye and twentieth yeare of his reigne, king
Henrie held his Christmasse at Winchester, where
a great grudge arose betwixt him and Gilbert the
earle of Penbroke, by reason that the said earle with
his seruants (hauing tipstauers) in their comming to
the court, were not suffered to enter within the gates
but were kept backe by the porters and other. Of
which insurie when he had complained, the king made
him such an ouerthwart answer, that the earle per-
ceiuing him not to like verie well of his seruice, de-
parted forthwith, and rode into the south countrie, so
that from that day forth, neither he nor his brother
Walter loued the king as they ought to haue done.
Some after this departure of earle Gilbert, vpon
Candlemas day the king gaue the earldome of Ales-
cester vnto Simon de Mountford, and inuested him
thereinto, hauing first pacified earle Almerike that
was elder brother to the same Simon. Yet about the
beginning of the next August, the king was so in-
censed against earle Simon, that both he and his
wife were glad to get them ouer into France, till the
kings wrath were more pacified.

Anno Reg. 23.
I 239
Math. Paris.
Variance be-
twixt the king
and the earle
of Penbroke.

Simon earle
of Leicester
fled ouer into
France.

Vpon the sixteenth day of June, the kings eldest
sonne named Edward, and after surnamed Long-
shanks by the Scots in mockage, because he was a
tall and slender man, was borne at Westmister,
who after his fathers decease, succeeded him in the
kingdome. Before the birth of this Edward, there
appeared earle in the morning certeine daies tog-
ther before the sunne was vp, a star of a large com-
passe, the which with swift course was caried through
a long circuit of the aire, sometimes shewing as it
had borne fire with it, and sometimes leauing as it
were smoke behind it, so that it was after iudged,
that the great deeds which were to be atchined by the
same Edward, were by this wonderfull constellation
foretold and signified.

The birth of
king Edward
the first.

Polydon.
A strange
star.

About the same time, by reason of an accusation
made by a prisoner against Ranulfe Biston (some-
time the kings chancellor, but now leading a priuat
life, being a canon of the cathedrall church of saint
Paule in London) the same Ranulfe (by commande-
ment from the king sent to the maior of the citie
William Joiner) was taken out of his house, had to
the tower, and there imprisoned, vber vpon the deane
of Paules, maister G. Lucie, in absence of the bishop
accused all those that had presumptuously attemp-
ted to laie hands on the said Ranulfe, and further,
he put his owne church of saint Paule vnder in-
terdication.

Math. Paris.

Ranulfe Bis-
ton taken out
of his house,
and led to the
tower.

To conclude, through threatning of excommuni-
cation to be pronounced against the king, and other
for this fact by the legat and the bishops of the realme
as namelie, Canturburie and London, the king
was compelled to release and set at libertie the for-
said Ranulfe. In allie, the prisoner that had accused
the said Ranulfe and other, being one of the kings
pursuants, when for his wicked doings he came to
suffer death, openlie confessed, how he had accused
those persons, onelie in hope to deferre his owne exe-
cution,

A y.

cution,

Great rains.

The legat
beginneth to
take to his
owne com-
mittee.Sir Robert
de Twing.The Jewes
punished by
the purse.A synod hol-
den at Lon-
don.Anno Reg. 24.
1240
March. Paris.
March. West.
Waldwin de
Rivers earle
of the Isle of
Wight.

cation, being conuiled as accessarie to the treason of the clearkes that suffered at Coucuntrie the last yeare. He had accused not onelie the said Bilton, but diuers of the nobilitie also to be priuie and gilltie of the same conspiracie. ¶ This yeare for the space of foure moneths together, fell exceeding great rains, yet at length it began to hold by about Easter.

In this while, the lords of the realme practised sundrie tricks likewise, as men that would faine haue bene rid of the legats companie: but the king did what he could on the other side (by sending to the pope for licence) to haue him remaine still here, who began now indeed to looke to his owne profit, as by way of procuracies and other meanes, so that he got together great summes of monie, although in the beginning he seemed to forebeare, and not to seeke for any such game. Also, he took upon him to bestow benefices without consent of the patrones that were temporall men, whereupon complaint was made to the pope, namely, by one sir Robert de Twing, who claimed as patron the presentation of the rectorie of Luthun in Dorsetshire, and could not be permitted to inioy it, by reason of the popes prohibition, but upon the hearing of his title in the popes consistorie, he obtained letters from the pope to be restored, and also an inhibition, that from thenceforth no person should be promoted to any spirituall benefice or church, without consent of the patrones. The king and the prelates of the realme vnderstanding themselves to be touched in this wrong offered to this knight, had written in his fauour to the pope, so that his suit had the better successe.

Moreover, the Jewes in this yeare, for a murder which they had secretly committed, were grauously punished, namely by the purse to buy their peace, & they were glad to giue the king the third part of all their goods. The legat also assembled a synod of the clergie at London upon the last of Iulie, in the which he demanded procuracies, but the bishops upon deliberation had in the matter, answered, that the importunatnes of the Romane church had so often consumed the goods of the English church, that they could no longer suffer it, and therefore said they; Let them giue you procuracies which vnadvisedly haue called you into the realme, if they will, for of vs you shall be sure to come by none at all, howbeit he got his demand of the abbats and other religious men.

About the feast of the assumption of our ladie, Thomas earle of Flanders, vncle to the queene, arrived at Dover, and was receiued of the king with great joy and gladnesse, who rode thitherward to meet him, and so brought him to London, where the citizens came forth also, and meeting him in the waie, brought him into the citie with all honour that might be desired. He did homage to the king (as authors write) and at his departure had in reward five hundred marks, and a pension assured him of as much yearly out of the exchequer of the kings free gift. This earle Thomas was sonne to the earle of Sauoy, and a little before his comming into England, he had married Ione countesse of Flanders, which had first bene coupled in marriage with Iferdinando, as in the life of king John may further appeare.

In the 24 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Christmase at Winchester, where he made Baldwin de Rivers knight, and inuested him with the right of the earldome of the Isle of Wight, in the presence of the earle of Cornewall, who procured him this honour, because he had the wardship of him, and married him to his daughter in law the ladie Amicia, that was daughter to his wife the countesse of Gloucester by his former husband. The earle of Leicester also, meaning to go into the holie land, returned out of France, where he had remained a certaine

time as an exile, but was now receiued honorable of the king and other prelates of the realme, and after that he had seene the king and done his dutie as appertained, he went to his possessions to make monie for his furniture necessary to be had in that iourne, for the which he sold at that time his lands about Leicester, unto the knights of the Hospitall, and to the canons of Leicester, receiuing of them for the same about the summe of a thousand pounds.

About the same time, to wit, the 14 of Aprill, died Leolin prince of Wales, and then followed contention betwixt his sons Griffin and David for the principalltie, which at length David obtained through king Henries support (though he were the younger brother) because he was begot in lawfull bed on the sister of king Henrie. The whole countie of Wales was maruellouslie in trouble about their quarels. At length, a daie of meeting was appointed betwixt them, to grow by waie of talke vnto some quiet end; and Griffin meaning no deceit, came in peaceable wise with Richard bishop of Bangor and others to the place assigned, where they should haue met. But David by a traine took Griffin, and committed him to prison, whereupon afterwards, the yeare ensuing, by continuall plaint and earnest sute of the bishop of Bangor, king Henrie entred Wales with an armie, and constrained David to submit himselfe, and to deliuer the said Griffin into his hands, and further also to put in suerties to appeare at London, there to receiue such order in the kings courts, as to him by law should be orderlie awarded. Griffin as he did docke and diuerse other great lords of Wales joined with the king in this iourne against David, as in the next yeare ye shall further heare.

About the same time, there was great strife and contention still remaining betwixt the emperor Frederike and pope Innocent the fourth that succeeded Celestine the fourth, in somuch that fore and more tall warre followed. But king Henrie by the procurement of the legat who aided the pope with monie, though he was somewhat loth to do it, because the said emperor had married his sister. Indeed, the emperor wrote to the king to staie his hand, but the diligence of that legat was such in furthering his masters businesse, that the monie was gone ouer yet the emperours letters came. At this time also, Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie greatly disallowed the often exactions and subsidies which the legat caused daile to be leuied of the English clergie. Howbeit, in hope to haue his purpose the rather against the monks of Canturburie, with whom he was at variance, he first granted to the legats request made on the popes behalfe in a synod holden at Reading, for the hauing of the fifth part of spirituall mens reuenues, and so by his example others were enforced to do the like.

Furthermore he gaue eight hundred marks to the pope, but whether of his owne free will, or by constraint, I cannot saie; but now utterly mistaking all things done by the legat contrarie to his mind, after he had done and said what he could for redresse, and when he saw no hope at hand for any reformati on either in the king or legat, who esteemed not his words, as a man not longer able to see his countrie so spoiled, he went ouer into France, and got him vnto Pontney, there to remaine in voluntarie exile, after the example of his predecessour Thomas Becket, whose doings he did follow in herie manie things. Where the collections of monie, which the pope in these daies by his legats gathered here in this realme, were great and sundrie, so that (as it appeareth by historiographers of this time) the cleargie and other found themselves sore grieved, and repined not a little against such covetous dealings and unmeasurable

Comp
the kin
collected
made I
pope.The bonds
about Leicester
were sold.Leolin prince
of Wales de-
parted this
life.The ar-
chbishop
of the Is-
le of Wight
Polydore
The ca-
non of Ma-
rchbury
Edmund
departed
the realme.March. V
March. P
PolydoreGriffin as
he did docke
and diuerse
other great
lords of Wales
joined with
the king in
this iourne
against David.King Henrie
aided the pope
with monie
against the emperor.The dean
of Canturburie
archbishop
of Canturburie
surnamed
PontneyA Charter
house man
appeareth

Complaint to
the king of the
collections
made for the
pope.

measurable exactions, in so much that they spake to the king of it, and said; Right famous prince, while suffer you England to be made a prey and desolation to all the passers by, as a vineyard without an hedge, common to the wassailing man, and to be destroyed of the bores of the field, sith you have a sufficient privilege that no such exactions should be made in this kingdom: And surely he is not worthy of a privilege which abuseth the same being granted. The king answered those that went thus about to persuade him, that he neither would nor durst gainst the pope in any thing: and so the people were brought into miserable despaire.

The answer
of the king.
Polydor.
The causes
that moved
archbishop
Edmund to
depart the
realme.

There be that write how that there were other occasions of the archbishops departure out of the realme of the which this should be one; when he saw religion not to be regarded, and that priests were had in no honor, neither that it late in his power to reforme the matter, sith the king gave no eare to his admonitions, he determined to absent himselfe till the king (warned by some mishap) should repent him of his errors, and amend his misdoings. Other some an other cause hereunto, which was this; whereas the king by the instample of other kings (begun by William Rufus) bled to keepe bishops fees, and other such spirituall possessions in his hands, during the vacation, till a convenient person were to the same preferred, the archbishop Edmund, for that he saw long delays made oftentimes per any could be admitted to the rone of those that were deceased, or by any other means deprieved, he was in hand with the king, that the archbishop of Canturburie might have power onlie to provide for successors in such rones as charced to be vacant, above the tearme of six moneths, which thing the king for a certeine summe of monie granted: but afterward perceiuing that hinderance he sustained thereby, he renoked that grant, so much to the displeasure of the archbishop, that he thought good no longer to continue in the realme.

The death of
Edmund
archbishop of
Canturburie
surnamed of
Pontney.

At his coming to Pontney, he so seemed to despise all worldlie pompe and honor, giving himselfe wholly to diuine contemplation, to fasting and prayer, that the former opinion, which men had conceived of his vertues, was marvellously confirmed. At length being soe bered with sicknesse, supposing that he might recouer helth by changing of aire and place, he caused himselfe to be conueied into an other house of religion, named Soisse, two daies iourne from Pontney, where finally he died the firste of November, and his bodie was brought againe to Pontney, and there buried, where also through sundrie miracles shewed (as they say) at his graue, he was reputed a saint, and at length canonized by pope Innocent the fourth. He was borne at Abingdon, beside Drenford, and thereby some named him saint Edmund of Abingdon, and some S. Edmund of Pontney, after the place where he was intymed. The see of Canturburie was void more than thre yeares after his decease, till at length by the kings commandement, the monks of Canturburie elected one Boniface of Sauoie uncle to queene Elianor, being the 45 archbishop which ruled that church.

A Charter-
house monke
apprehended.

There was this yeare a certeine person of honest conuersation, and sober, representing in habit one of the Carthusian monks, taken at Cambridge, being accused for that he refused to come to the church to heare diuine seruice, and upon his examination, because he answered otherwise than was thought convenient, he was committed to secret prison, and shortly after sent up to the legat to be of him examined. This man openly protested, that Gregorie was not the true pope, nor head of the church, but that there was another head of the church, and that the church was defiled, so that no seruice ought to be said

therein, except the same were newlie dedicated, and the vessels and vestments againe hallowed and consecrated; The diuell (said he) is losed, & the pope is an heretike, for Gregorie, which nameth himselfe pope, hath polluted the church.

Whereupon (in the presence and audience of the abbat of Euesham, maister Ric. de fernham, and diuerse other worshipfull personages) the legat said vnto him being thus out of the waie; Is not power granted to our soueraine lord the pope from above, both to lose and bind soules, sith he executeth the rone of S. Peter vpon earth? How when all men looked to heare what answer he would make, believing his iudgement to depend vpon the same, he said by way of interrogation, and not by way of assertion; How can I beleue, that vnto a person spotted with simonie and vsurie, and haplie wrapt in more greuous sins, such power should be granted as was granted vnto holie Peter, who immediatlie followed the lord, as soone as he was made his apostle, and followed him not onelie in bodilie footsteps, but in clearenesse of vertues. At which word the legat blushed, & said to some of the standers by; A man ought not to chide with a sole, nor gape ouer an ouen.

In this season the king sent his iudices itinerants in circuit about the land, the which vnder pretext of iustice punished manie persons, and so leuied great summes of monie to the kings vse. Sir William of Poike prouost of Beuerley was assigned to visit the south parts, and sir Robert de Lexington the north parts. Also Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, with a nauie of ships sailed into Syria, there in the warres against the Saracens, he greatlye advanced the part of the christians. Where went ouer with him the earle of Salisburie William Long espee, and William Ballet, John Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, John Peuill, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Beuse, and William Furniuall. The erle of Pontford also went ouer the same time: but where the earle of Cornewall toke the sea at Marfles, the earle of Leicester passed through Italie, and toke the water at Brandyse, and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furniuall, with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Willihard Ledet, Pynchard de Delwin, and William de Delwin that were brethren, Gerard Belmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenaie. Shortly after also, John earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Malloia a Boldouin, men for their valancie greatlye renowned, went thither, leading with them a great number of christian soldiers.

In this yeare and vpon the day of S. Remigins, was the church of S. Paule in the citie of London dedicated by Roger bishop of that citie, the king and a great number of bishops and other noble men being present, which were feasted the same day by the said bishop Roger and the canons. Moreover, there died the same yeare the countesse Isabell, wife to Richard earle of Cornewall, and two earles, William earle Warren, and John earle of Lincolne, also the lord John Fitz Robert, one of the chiefe barons in all the north parts of the realme. Also in Februarie there appeared a comet or blasing starre verie dreadfull to behold, for the space of thirtie daies together. Moreover, on the coast of England there was a great battell amongst the fishes of the sea, so that there were eleauen whales or thirlepoles cast on land, beside other huge and monstrous fishes, which appeared to be dead of some hurts; and one of those mightie fishes, comming into the Thames aline, was pursued by the fishers, and could scarce passe through the arches of London bridge. At length with darts and other such weapons, they slue him before

Justices itinerants.
William de
Poike, Robert
Lexington iudices.

The earle of
Cornewall goeth
into the
holy land.

The earle of
Leicester goeth
thither
also.

The earle of
Albemarle.

The dedication
of the
church of S.
Paule in
London.

The death of
Isabell the
countesse of
Cornewall,
The lord
John Fitz
Robert.
A comet.
A battell be-
twixt fishes.
March. Paris.

The king's
manour at
Wortlake.

the kings manour at Wortlake, whither they followed him. There was also a great sound heard this yeare in sundrie parts of England at one selfe time, as if it had bene the noise of some mightie mountaine that had fallen into the sea. And upon the twentieth of Maie there chanced a great boisterous wind that soze troubled the skie.

A great wind.

In oth re-
ceived.

This yeare the king caused the citizens of London, and the gardians of the cinque ports, and manie o-
ther to receiue an oth to be true and faithfull to his sonne prince Edward. The friers preachers and mi-
nors, and other men of the church that were diuines, absolved such as had taken on them the crosse, recei-
uing of them so much monie as would suffice to haue bozne their charges in that iournie, and this not
without stander redounding to the church. The same
meanes to get monie was practised also by the legat
Wtho, hauing authoritie thereto of the pope. The same
yeare the seneshall of Aquitaine came ouer to the
king, and let him know, that if tuelic prouision
were not had, all those countries on the further side
of the sea wold be lost. No other incident chanced the
same yeare neither in warre abroad, nor in the state
of gouernement of the common-wealth at home,
whereof any great accompt is to be made, but that
the legat Wtho got great summes of monie di-
uerse waies, of religious men to the popes behofe:
whereupon certeine abbats made complaints to the
king, but in place of comfort they receiued discom-
fort, & after knowledge thereof giuen to the legat, he
was more extream with them than he was before.

The senes-
hall of Aquit-
taine.

Peter Rosso.

Peter de Su-
pino got a bin-
tiefine, that is
the 20 part of
prelats bene-
fices.

Anno Reg. 25.
1241

Boniface de
Sanoie elec-
ted archb. of
Canterburie.
March. Paris.

Shortly after one of the popes familiars and kin-
man named master Peter Rosso came from Rome,
taking England in his waie to go into Scotland,
and bled in both such diligence in the popes cause,
that he got a sixteenth granted here, which he speedilie
gathered. About the same time one Peter de Su-
pino was sent into Ireland, and there likewise he got
a bintiefine, bzinging from these the summe of 115
marks, and aboue. But the collection which Peter
Rosso got out of the Scotish confines doubled that
summe, as was thought. In his returne also from
thence, visiting the houses of religion, and searching
the consciences of religious persons, by new thiffs
he craffilie got yet more monie to the popes use,
causing them to sweare to keepe this mysterie se-
cret, as it were some priuie of confession for the
space of one halfe yeare, whereby he turned the harts
of manie men from the loue of the church of Rome,
wounding them with great greafe and remorse of
conscience to see this pillage.

In the 25 yeares of his reigne, king Henrie kept
his Christmasse at Westmynster, at which time the
legat was sent for to returne vnto Rome, and after
he had bene honozable feasted of the king, on the 4
daie of Christmasse he departed from London to-
wards the sea side, after he had remained here aboue
thre yeares. Peter of Sanoie that was vncle to the
quene came into England, and was honozable re-
ceiued and intertained of king Henrie; who had gi-
uen to him the earledome of Richmont. His sonne
Boniface was this yeare also elected archbishop of
Canterburie, a tall gentleman and of a goodlie per-
sonage, but neither so learned nor otherwise meet for
that rone. But such was the kings pleasure, who in
fauour of the quene, to whom he was cosen ger-
mane sought to aduance him, and getting the popes
fauour in that behalfe, procured the monks & bishops
to grant their consents, although much against their
minds, if they might haue had their owne wills.

The earle of Cornewall returning out of the holie
land in safetie, after he had settled things there, by
concluding an abstinence of warre betwixt the Sa-
racens and christians about the odauies of S. John

Baptist, he arrived in Sicill, and hyaring there in
what place the emperor as then sojourned, he repa-
red vnto him, of whom and of his sister the emperesse
he was most iustillie receiued. Within a few daies
after, he went to the court of Rome, to trie if he
might driue some agreement betwixt the emperor
and the pope, but finding the pope too hard, and no-
thing conformable, except he might haue had all his
owne will (which was, that the emperor should
haue submitted himselfe to the popes pleasure, and
stand vnto what soeuer order the church should ap-
point) he returned backe to the emperor without
concluding any thing with the pope, declaring vnto
him as he had found. After this he remained two
moneths with the emperor, & then taking his leaue
was honoured with great gifts at his departure, and
so returning towards England, at length arrived at
the towne of Dover on the morrow after the feast of
the Epiphanie in the yeare folloving.

The earle of
Cornewall
interceded
a peace to be
had betwixt
the pope and
the emperor.

He returned
into Eng-
land.

About the same time that the earle of Cornewall
was in his returne forth of the holie land, new wars
suddenlie arose in Wales, which happened well for
king Henrie. There were diuerse of the Welshmen
that could not well like of the gouernement of Da-
uid, and therefore soze lamenting the captiuitie of his
brother Griffin, whom before (as ye haue heard) he
had by a traine taken and kept still as prisoner, be-
gan to make warre vpon the said Dauid, and those
that toke his part, the which on the other side sought
to oppresse their aduersaries, so that there ensued
much bloodshed and slaughter betwene the parties.
The losse also of the said Griffin, and such other noble
men as were become enturies vnto Dauid, sent and
writ vnto king Henrie, requiring his aid, that Grif-
fin might be deliuered out of his brothers hands, pro-
mising him great helpe and furtherance, with large
conditions of submission, and assurance furthermore
to be at his commandement, and to receiue him for
their true and soveraigne lord.

Warres be-
twixt the
Welshmen.

King Henrie vnderstanding all their doings and
intents, thought that this contention betwixt the
two brethren for the title of Wales would serue he-
rie well for his purpose, and therefore he hastied forth
with a speedie armie of men in that countrie, purpo-
sing to reduce the same vnder his obedience. Here-
with Senena or Owenhera, the wife of Griffin (and
other of the Welsh nobilitie, that toke part with
hir) concluded a league with king Henrie, vpon cer-
teine conditions as the same are contained in an in-
strument or charter, the tenour whereof beginneth as
folloiweth.

King Henrie
goeth into
Wales with
an armie.

*Conuenit inter dominum Henricum tertium re-
gem Anglorum illustris ex una parte, & Sa-
nenam uxorem Griffini, filij Leolini, quon-
dam principis Northwallie, quem Dauid frater
eius tenet carceri mansuetum, cum Griffino
filio suo, nomine eiusdem Griff. ex altera.*

Articles of agreement betwene Henrie the third of
that name, king of England of the one partie, and
Senena the wife of Griffin, the sonne of Leolin,
sometimes prince of Northwales, whom Dauid
his brother deteined in prison, with Owen his
sonne, in the name of the said Griffin of the other
partie.



In witness whereof the said Senena undertaketh
that the said Griffin hir husband shall be
deliuered vnto the king for hundred marks, vpon
condition that the king shall cause the said
Griffin and Owen his sonne to be deliuered from
the prison wherein they are kept, and to stand to the
iudgement of the kings court, whether by law he
ought

ought to be imprisoned or no.

Item the said Griffin and his heires will stand to the iudgement of the kings court, for and concerning that portion of the inheritance of the said Leolin his father, which of right ought to appertene vnto him.

Item the said Senena undertaketh for the said Griffin and his heires, that the said Griffin and his heires shall yeld and paie peacelie to the king for the same lands, the summe of three hundred markes. Whereof the first thirde part to be paid in monie, the second in kine, and the third in horses, by the estimation of indifferent men, and the same to be paid yearly at Michelmass and Easter by euen portions, by the hands of the shiriffe of the countie of Salop for the time being.

Item the said Senena undertaketh further for the said Griffin and his heires, that they and euerie of them shall obserue the peace against the said Dauid, and suffer him quietlie to enjoy such portion of his fathers inheritance as to him shall be found to be due.

Item the said Senena doth further undertake for the said Griffin his husband and his heires, that in case anye Welshman hereafter shall happen to rebel against the king, they at their owne costs and charges shall compell the said offender to make satisfaction to the king for his disobedience.

Item for the performance of the premises, the said Senena will deliuer vnto the lord the king, Dauid and Roderike his sonnes for pledges, with promise that if the said Griffin and Owen or either of them shall happen to die before their deliuerie out of the said prison, it shall be lawfull for the said Senena to haue one of his sonnes released, the other remaining with the king for pledge.

Item the said Senena hath sworn vpon the holie Euangelist, that the said Griffin his husband and his heires, and euerie of them shall accomplish, and performe all the premises on their behalfe, and further undertaketh that the said Griffin his husband, vpon his deliuerie out of prison, shall take the same oth.

Item the said Senena in the name of the said Griffin his husband, submitteth his selfe concerning the obseruation of the premises vnto the iurisdiction of the reuerend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Lichfield, so that the said bishops or either of them at the kings request shall compell the said Griffin and his heires to obserue all and singular the premises on their behalfe, by sentence of excommunication vpon their persons, and interdiction vpon their lands.

Lastlie, the said Senena doth undertake and promise (Bona fide) to see and procure the full performance of all the premises, and that the said Griffin his husband and his heires shall allow and performe the same, and thereof shall deliuer his instrument in writing to the king in some aforesaid. To this charter both parties put their seales, Griffin and Senena to that part which remained with the king, and the king to that part which remained with Senena.

Finalie, for the performance of the articles in this instrument or writing contained, the said ladie in name of her husband, procured sundrie noble men to become sureties or pledges, that is to saie, Hallye de Mortimer, Walter de Clifford, Roger de Ponthuall seneschall of Chester, Gualgun ap Gualgun, Geredoc ap Robert, Griffin ap Maddoc of Breinfield, Iouuwell and Geredoc brethren, Griffin ap Menteuon: which persons undertoke for the said ladie, that the covenants on her part should be performed, and therupon they also bound themselves by their writings obligatorie vnto the said king, in forme following.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto senescallus Cestrie salutem. Sciatis quod ego me constitui plegium, &c.

In all and singular, to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto the steward of Chester sendeth greeting. Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Griffin the sonne of Leolin, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those covenants and articles, agreed vpon betwene our said souereigne lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Griffin his husband and Owen his sonne out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Griffin, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witness whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale. Dated at Salop, the mondaie before the feast of the Ascension of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 15 yeare of his reigne.

But now to our purpose. When Dauid vnder stood of the kings approach with so puissant an armie, he was brought into great perplexitie, and the more in deed, not onelie bicause there chanced the same yeare for the space of foure moneths together a great drouth, so that the marshes and bogges were dried vp and made passable for the kings people, but also for that mantle of the Welsh nobilitie, as cheefelie Griffin Maddoc and others, sought his destruction in fauour of his brother Griffin (whose deliuerance they earnestlie wished) and for that he stood excommunicate by the pope. All which things well considered, caused him to doubt of a further mischance to hang ouer his head: whereupon he sent to the king, signifieng that he would deliuer his brother Griffin freele into his hands, but letting him withall to wit by manie good reasons, that if he did set him at libertie, he should minister manie new occasions of continuall warres.

Whereupon, this covenant Dauid required at the kings hands, that the king should reserue him so to his peace vnder the bond of fidelitie and hostages, that he should not disherit him: which when as the king courteously granted, Dauid sent vnto him his brother Griffin to dispose of him as he should thinke requisite. The king receiuing him, sent him to London, vnder the conduct of sir John de Berinton, together with other mo (whome he had receiued as hostages both of Dauid and others the Nobles of Wales) appointing them to be kept in safetie within the tower there. There was also a charter or deed made by the same Dauid vnto king Henrie, containing the articles, covenants, and grants made betwixt the said prince and the foresaid Dauid, as followeth.

The charter of the articles of Dauids submission to the king.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos presentes littere peruenierint, David filius Leolini salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Anglie illustri, &c.

In all christian people, to whom these present letters shall come, Dauid the sonne of Leolin sendeth greeting. Know ye that I haue granted and promised to deliuer

Dauid driven to his wits end.

Dauid deliuereth his brother to the k.

luer unto the lord Henrie the noble king of Eng-
land, Griffin my brother with his sonne and heire
whom I keepe in prison, and all other prisoners, who
by occasion of the said Griffin lie in durance.

Item I shall stand to the iudgement of the kings
court, aswell in that case, whether the said Griffin
ought to be detained prisoner or no, as also for and
concerning the part of the inheritance of the said
Leolin my father, claimed by the said Griffin accor-
ding to the customes of Wales: so that the peace be
maintained betwene me and the said Griffin.

Item I and the said Griffin, and either of us shall
hold our positions of land, of our said souereigne the
king in Capite, acknowledging him chiefe lord therof.

Item I shall restore unto Roger de monte alto
steward of Chester, his land of Pontalt or Spould,
with the appurtenances.

Item I shall likewise restore to all other barons,
all such lands, lordships and castels, as were taken
from them since the beginning of the warres be-
twene the lord John king of England, and the said
Leolin prince of Wales my father, saving the right
of all covenants and grants by writing, to be reser-
ued unto the iudgement and determination of the
kings court.

Item I shall give and restore unto our souereigne
lord the king all his charges in this present boiage
laid out.

Item I shall make satisfaction for all damages &
injuries done by me, or anie of my subiects unto the
king or his, according to the consideration of the
kings court, and shall deliuer such as shalbe malefac-
tors in that behalfe.

Item I shall restore unto the said lord the king all
the homages, which the late king John his father had,
& which the said lord the king of right ought to haue,
especiallie of all the noble men of Wales: and if the
king shall set at libertie anie of his captiues, the pos-
sessions of that man shall remaine to the king.

Item the land of Glamur with the appurtenances
shall remaine to the lord the king and his heires for
euer.

Item I shall not receiue or suffer to be receiued
within my countrie of Wales, any of the subiects of
England, outlawed or banished by the said lord the
king, or his barons of Mercia.

Item for confirmation and performance of all and
singular the premisses on my behalfe, I shall prouide
by bonds and pledges, and by all other waies and
means as the said lord the king shall award, and will
accomplish the commandement of the said king, and
will obeie his lawes.

In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue
put my seale: dated at Alnet by the river of Clwyf,
in the feast of the decollation of S. John Baptist, in
the five & twentieth yere of the reigne of the said king.
For the obseruation of these 11 articles, the said
prince David and Edmund Glanville were swoyne.
Also the said prince David submitted himselfe to the
iurisdiction of the archbishop of Canturburie, and of
the bishops of London, Hereford, and Conuentry, for
the time being. That all, or one of them, whom the
king shall appoint, may excommunicate him, and in-
terdict his land upon breach of anie the said articles.
And thereupon he procured the bishops of S. Wan-
go, and S. Asaph to make their charters to the lord
the king, whereby they granted to execute and de-
nounce all sentences, aswell of excommunication
as of interdiction sent from the foresaid archbishop,
bishops, or anie of them.

The said David also sent praiue to the king, to de-
sire him that he would suffer him being his nephew,
and the lawfull heire of Leolin his father, to enjoy
the principalltie of Wales rather than Griffin, which

was but a bassard, and no kin unto the king. Writ-
ing him withall to vnderstand, that in case he did set
Griffin at libertie, he should be sure to haue the war
renewed. Whereupon the king knowing these things
to be true, and vnderstanding also that Griffin was a
valiant stout man, and had manie friends and fau-
rours of his cause, inclined rather to assent unto Da-
uids request than otherwise to be in danger of fur-
ther troubles, & therfore willinglie granted the same.

Shortlie after David did send his brother Griffin
unto the king, and other pledges for himselfe, for per-
formance of the said articles, whom the king sent
forthwith to the towne of London, there to be safely
kept, allowing to Griffin a noble a date for his sin-
ding. And within few daies after Michaelmas, prince
David comming to the kings court did his homage,
and sware fealtie, who for so doing, and in that he was
the kings nephew, was sent home againe in peace.
When Griffin saw how all things went, and that he
was not like to be set at libertie, he began to deuise
waies and means to escape out of prison.

Wherefore deceiuing the watch one night, he made
a long line of hangings, coverings, and sheets, and
having gotten out at a window, let downe himselfe
by the same from the top of the towne: but by reason
that he was a mightie personage and full of flesh, the
line brake with the weight of his bodie, and so falling
downe headlong of a great height, his necke and
head was diuised into his bodie with the fall: whose
miserable carcasle being found the morow after, was
a pittifull sight to the beholders. The king being certi-
fied thereof, commanded Griffins sonne to be better
looked unto, and punished the officers for their negli-
gence.

About the same time there chanced a controuersie
to rise betwixt the king and the bishop of Lincolne,
for the bestowing of the benefice of Thame, the which
John Spanell the kings chapleine had gotten in pos-
session by the kings fauour, through prouision gran-
ted of the pope, where the bishop alleging priuileges
to the contrarie, had granted it to an other. At length
the king hating his fathers trouble before his eyes,
and doubting the bishops words, threatening some
will mischance to follow, if he should stand long in the
matter against the said bishop, gaue ouer his te-
mour: and therewithall provided John Spanell of a
farre more rich benefice, that is to saie, of the perso-
nage of Spaldstone, wherinto the bishop speedilie in-
uested him.

This peare manie noble men ended their liues, as
well such as were gone with the earles of Corn-
wall and Leicester into the holie land, and others re-
maining still at home. Amongst which number were
these: William Fitz earle of Albemarle, Walter
Lacie, one of the chiefest nobles in all Ireland, Ste-
phan de Segraue, Gilbert de Basset and his sonne
and heire named also Gilbert. Pozeouer, John W-
set high iustice of the forrests, and Peter de Balleu,
Hugh Wake, Robert Sparaton, Peter de Bzuts,
Guiscard de Laidet, Custace de Montuill, Cudo Har-
mon surnamed Percham, Baldwin de Betun, John
Fitz John steward in household to earle Richard,
John de Beau lieu, Gerard de Furnuall. There di-
ed also the lady Elianor the countesse of Britaine,
wife unto Griffey, that was sometime earle of Brit-
taine (which countesse had bene long kept prisoner
at Bristol) with diuerse other. Richard de Bzuts
Pozeouer, there died this yere Roger bishop of
London, and Hugh bishop of Chester. Also Gilbert
Parthall earle of Penbroke, in a towele which he
had attempted at Hereford against the kings vi-
cence, was by an vnclie horse cast, and so hurt, that
immediatlie he died thereof. Neither was this peare
onelie mournfull to England for the losse of such

high

March. Part
page 761.

March. Part
page 762.

John Span-
ell.

Death of
ble men.

Lacie let
issue made
him, to
his daugh-
ters inher-
it his lands.

The bishop
of Durham
sent into
Scotland.

Cardinal
Somercotean
Englishman.

Ineclips.

Anno Reg. 26
The death of
the emperesse
Isabell.1242
Wars renewed
betwixt the
Kings of Eng-
land & France
The earle of
March.
Cogninus.
March. West.th. Paris
c. 765.th. Paris
c. 830.Dunbye opti-
mism in the
kings coun-
cellers.

m. H. 10

th. of no
ten.Cherurgie a
certeine dutie
for euerie
glowland.le left no
make be-
him, so
daugh-
inherited
and.The bishops
of Durham
sent into
Scotland.

high estates, but also in other places many notable personages departed out of this transitory life. As two popes, Gregorie the ninth and his successeur, Celestine the fourth, besides cardinals: amongst the which Robert Somercotean Englishman was one. About the later end of this 25 yeare, the first date of October, there appeared a right sore eclipse of the sunne, vorie strange to the beholders. In the 26 yeare died the emperesse Isabell, wife vnto Frederike the emperour.

In this yeare also began the wars againe betwixt king Henrie, and Lewis the king of France, for the quarrell of Hugh earle of March, who refused to do homage vnto Alfonse the brother of king Lewis, which Alfonse had married the onelie daughter and heire of Raimund earle of Tolouise, and therefore should succede the same earle in his estate and inheritance. His brother king Lewis had also giuen vnto him the earldome of Poitou, with all the lands of Auergne: and because the earle of March would not do homage vnto him, king Lewis made warre vpon the earle of March, who ther vpon sought to procure king Henrie (whose mother he had married) to come ouer with an armie vnto his aid.

King Henrie being sollicitied with letters, not onelie from his father in law, but also from diuerse other noble men of Poitou, who willinglie would haue bene vnder his gouernement, asked aduise of his counsell what he ought to do in the matter. Some were of opinion, that sith there had bene a truce taken betwixt the kings, it were not reason in anie wise to breake the same: but some other thought, that sith the Frenchmen in times past had taken from king John his lawfull heritage in Normandie and Poitou, and wrongfullie detained the same still in their possession without restitution, it could not be at anie time vnlawfull vpon occasion giuen to recoouer the same out of their hands. This opinion was allowed for good, and the best that might be both of the king & also of the earle of Cornuwall, who was lately returned from his iournie which he had made into the holie land.

But now all the state rested in gathering of monie, which being earnestlie demanded in a parlement begun at Westminster the tuesday befoze Candlemasse, was as stiffly denied, alledging in excuse their often payments of subsidies and releases, which had bene gathered sith the comming of the king to his crowne, as the thirtenth, fiftenth, sixteenth and fortieth parts of all their moueable goods, besides charuages, hidage, and sundrie escuages, namelie the great eschiage granted for the marriage of his sister the emperesse: and also beside the thirtieth with in foure yeares last past, or thereabouts, granted to him, which they thought remained vnspent, because it could not be vnderstood about what necessarie affaires for the common-wealth it should be laid forth and imployed, whereas the same was leuied vpon condition, that it should remaine in certeine castles, and not to be expended but by the aduise of foure peeres of the realme, as the earle of Warren, and others. Wherevpon, they alledged, that the escheats and amercements which had bene gathered of late were such as must needs fill the kings coffers: & so to conclude, they would not consent to grant any subsidie.

Howbeit, the king so handled the matter with the richer sort, and namelie those of the spiritualtie, that partly by gift and partly by borrowing, he got together a great masse of treasure, and so prepared an armie and ships to passe ouer into Gascoine with all conuenient speed. In the meane time, because he would leaue things in more suertie at home, he sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, by whose diligence a marriage was concluded betwixt the lord

Alexander eldest sonne to the king of Scots, and the same Margaret daughter to king Henrie. Wherevpon the marchers of England adjoining to Scotland were committed to the charge of Scots as wardens of the same to keepe and defend whilist king Henrie should abide in the parts beyond the sea. The archbishop of Dorch, in the kings absence, was also appointed chiefe gouernour of the realme.

When this newes was once readie, about the middest of Maie, the king toke the sea, together with the queene his wife, his brother Richard earle of Cornuwall, and seauen other earles, and about three hundred knights or men of armes. The Poitouins had written to him that he needed not bring ouer with him any great armie of men, but rather plenty of monie to rekeine such as he should find there ready to serue him at his comming. Wherevpon he toke with him thirtie barrells of sterling coine: and at length (but not without contrarie winds) he arrived on the coast of Gascoine, in the mouth of the riuer of Garon, and taking land, was forthwith receiued of the people, and namelie of Reignold lord of Mons.

The French king aduertised that the king of England was come ouer into France, to the aid of the earle of March, and other his subjects against him, prepared a mightie armie, in the which were reckoned to be to the number of foure thousand men of armes, well prouided and armed at all points, besides twentie thousand esquires, gentlemen, peomen and crossebowes: and with the same immediately he entred the dominions of the earle of March, and toke from him diuerse towne and castles, as Fountney, wherein he toke one of the earls sonnes: also speruant with diuers other. In the meane while the king of England was aduanced forward and come nere vnto Caillboze, lieng with his armie in the faire medow by the riuer side of Charent fast by the castell of Thonay: & he had there with him in campe sixtene hundred knights, or rather men of armes, and twentie thousand footmen, with seauen hundred that bare crossebowes. He made there his two halfe brethren, the sonnes of the earle of March knights, and gaue to the one of them five hundred marks, and to the other six hundred marks yearelie, to be paid out of his eschequer, till he had otherwise prouided for them in lands and reuenues equall to that pension.

Now the French king being aduertised that king Henrie late thus nere to Caillboze, marched thitherwards with all his puissance lately reinforced with new supplies, and approaching to Caillboze, had the towne deliuered vnto him. This chanced about the latter end of Iulie. Then after the French king had gotten possession of Caillboze, he ment to passe the water, and if by mediation of a truce politikelie procured by the earle of Cornuwall (and as it were at a narrow pinch) the king of England had not found means to remoue in the night season, he had bene in great danger to haue bene taken, through want of such aid as he looked to haue had at the hands of the Poitouins and other his confederats. But yet he got awaie (though with some shame of honour) and withdrew to Raintes, whither also the French king folowed, and comming nere to the towne, there was a sharpe encounter begun betwixt the French and the English, wherein the Englishmen were victors, and in which by the Frenchmens owne confession, if the English power had bene like to theirs in number, they had fullie atchued the honour of a foughten field, and for a light skirmish a sound and perfect victorie.

The high prowesse and valiance of the earles of Leicester, Salisburie, Dorset, with other noble men,

The king of
Scots war-
den of the En-
glish mar-
ches.
The archbi-
shop of yorke
gouernor of
the realme.

Thirtie bar-
rells of En-
glish coine.
The king
passeth ouer
into France.

The French
king immedi-
ately the earle of
Marches
land.

The number
of the English
armie.

Caillboze.

Raintes.
An encounter
betwixt the
English and
French.

The valiance
of the earle of
Leicester and
others.

John Spar-
rell.

Sir John
Warris.
will. de Sep.
Gilbert de
Clare laine.

The earle of
March is re-
conciled to the
French king.

March Paris.
The countesse
of Biene.

The reuol-
ting of other
French lords
See pag. 42,
43, 44. & pag.
152. of the
hystorie of
England.

Death in the
French camp.

men, as John de Burgh, Warren de Pointe. The
mill of Gheacle, Hubert Fitz Sparthow, and
Fitz Nicholas did in this fight right well appeared
and libetioe other of the English nation were de-
felous to make fullie, that they desire no small com-
mendation. Amongst other also Sir John Sparrell
the kings chaplaine, and one of his priuie counsell
did right worthilie, taking prisoner with his digne
hands one Peter Wyge a gentleman in good place.
There was moreover taken on the French part Sir
John de Berris a man of good account, by William
de Sep, before sundrie others. On the English part
was slain Gilbert de Clare, and Henrie Hastings
taken prisoner, with other, to the number of twentie
knights, or more of armes, if I may so call them.

After this encounter, by reason the French armie
increased by new bands, still resorting to their king,
the earle of March secretly sought meanes to be re-
conciled vnto him: and finally by the helpe of the
duke of Britaine, his old acquaintance and friend at
need, his peace was purchased, so that he had his
lands againe to him restored, except certeine castles,
which for further assurance the French king retained
in his hands by the space of thre yeares. The king of
England, perceiving himselfe too much deceived
in that he had put such confidence in the earle of
March and others of that countrie, which should haue
aided him at this present, and againe aduertised, that
the French king meant to besiege him within the ci-
tie of Faindes, departed with all speed from thence,
and came to Blaie, a towne in Gascoigne, situat
nere to the river of Garah, & distant seven leagues
from Burdeaur.

Now whilst he laie here at Blaie, there came vnto
him the countesse of Biene (a woman mon-
strous big of bodie) bringing with hir to seeue the
king, hir sonne, and three score knights, in hope to get
some of his sterling monie, whereof he knew him to
haue plenty: and so couenanting for hir interreit-
ment, remained still with him, and receiued euerie
daie 3 pounds sterling, and yet the neuer pleased
him the worth of a groat, but rather hindered him,
in making him bare of monie, which he receiued,
purssed by and toke awaie with hir when she depar-
ted from him. But if to hir making and statute she
had bin indured with the courage of Modicia, whom
the credde (as it should some) in proportion, or with
the prowesse of Cleoda, hir seruice had bene no lesse
beneficiall to the k. than anie skillfull captaine mar-
ching vnder his banner. So that we see in this wo-
man a desire rather to satiffie hir hydropicall humors
of couetousnesse, than anie true affection to set for-
ward the kings affaires; therefore it may well be said
of hir in respect of hir greedinesse to get from the
king for hir owne commodities sake, that she was
vt mare, quod das deuorat, nunquam abundat,
Nunquam pendit.

In the meane time the lords de Pons, Mirabeau
and Poxtaigne suddenly reuolted, & submitted them-
selues to the French king, with the vicount of Co-
tours, and all other the lords and knights of Poitou,
and the marches therabouts, that not long before had
procured king Henrie to come ouer to their aid. The
cittie of Faindes was likewise rendred to him imme-
diatlie vpon king Henries departure from thence.
At which season the French king meant to haue fol-
lowed him to Blaie, but by reason of a great death
which chanced in his armie, he was constrained to al-
ter his purpose. Suerlie, as authors haue recorded,
what though pestilence and unholiesounesse of the
aire, & great manie of Frenchmen died at that time,
and daile more fell sicke. The number of them that
died (as March, Paris, & March, Westminster affirme)
amounted to twentie thousand persons, beside foure

score of the nobilitie that were blamable & reprobous
living, which him selfe also heauily was affected
and grieued, that he was constrained to respect the
true & honeste heartes, which were departed hence.
Amongst the deadmen at Blaie, twentie of the
of the blaspemy of euill doers, and ther to wit
Burdeaur, the first the priuie counsell, who in this meane
while long broughted dead about middummes of a
young lady, whom they named Beatrice after the
queens mother. Now whilst king Henrie was
thus occupied in Poitou and Gascoigne, William
Sparrish the sonne of Beate Sparrish, by contri-
uement from the king was put to death at Lon-
don, with other of his complices at the request of S.
James the apostle. This William Sparrish falling in
to the kings displeasure, got him to the sea, and plaied
the rouer, keeping the Ile of Lundate in the west
countrie, till finally he was taken and brought pri-
soner vnto the towne, where he was charged with
sundrye articles of treason, as that he should hire that
counterfeit mad man which sought to haue murder-
ed the king at Woodstoke, as before ye haue heard.
Whobett when he should die, he bitterlie denied that
euer he was priuie to anie such thing. He was first
had from Westminster to the towne, & from thence
drazone to the gibet, and there hanged till he was
dead, and after being cut downe, had his bowels rip-
ped out and burned, and when his head was cut off,
the bodie was diuided into foure quarters, and sent
vnto foure of the principall cities of the realme. His
complices were also drazone through the citie of
London vnto the same gibet, and there hanged.

In the time of this warre also betwixt England
and France, there was much hurt done on the sea be-
twixt them of the cinque ports and the Frenchmen
of Normandie, and other: as the Calais men and
the Britons, which did make themselves as strong
as they could against the Englishmen by sea. Where-
vpon diuers encounters chanced betwixt them, but
more to the losse of the Englishmen, than of the
Frenchmen: in somuch that they of the ports were
constrained to require aid of the archb. of Poike the
lord gouernour of the realme. About which time, and
after the king was withdrawen to Burdeaur, diuers
noble men, as the earles of Poxtolke and Winche-
ster, with others, got licence to returne into Eng-
land. Some after whose arrivall, escuage was gather-
ed through the realme towards the bearing of the
kings charges. Moreover, in this yeare of the king
there died sundrie noble men of naturall infirmities,
as the earle of Marwick, Gilbert de Gaunt, Bald-
win Wake, Philip de Raine, and Roger Wertham
of the north, with diuerse other. Whobett the king
himselfe returned not home, but late all the winter
time at Burdeaur, meaning to attempt manie en-
terprises, but he brought none to passe, saving that in
protracting the time, he spent much monie, and to lit-
tle purpose.

About the beginning of the seven and twentieth
yeare of his reigne, his brother the earle of Corne-
wall, mistaking the order of things which he sawe da-
lie in the king his brothers proceedings, would needs
returne backe into England, but chiestie when he per-
ceiued that his counsell & aduise could not be heard.
The king was soze offended herewith, but he could
not well remedie the matter, nor persuade him to re-
vie. And so the said earle of Cornwall, together with
the earles of Penbroke and Hereford, and diuerse o-
ther noble men toke the sea, and after manie dan-
gers escaped in their course, at length on S. Lucies
daie they arrived in Cornewall, though some of the
vessels that were in the companie were dizenen by
force of the tempestuous weather vpon other con-
trarie coasts. & About this season also, that is to saie,

Truce made
betwixt the
two kings.
Polydor.
The queene
England be-
tinned of a
daughter.

William de
rile by ex-
cess

See pag. 42

The seas be-
bled with
men of warre.

Escuage ge-
thered so lit-
tles of com-
battles for
March. Well
Death of
noble men.

The earle of
Cornwall and
other returne
home.

Should haue
raide to
up and in
to the kin

1 3 4
The kin
y strong

he is ex-
posed of.

Truce be-
tweene the
two kings.

Nicholas
Ducles hi
tenuant
Poleigne.

on the day of S. Edmund the king, there hapened a marvellous tempest of thunder and lightening, and therewith followed such an exceeding raine (which continued many daies together) that rivers rose on marvellous height, and the Thames it selfe, which sildome riseth o: is increased by land floods, passing over the banks, & soloned all the countrie for the space of six miles about Lambeth, so that none might get into Westminster hall, except they were set on horsebacke.

About the same time the king sent over into England to the archbishop of Poike lord gouvernour of the realme, to cause p:vision of graine and bakon, to be conueied over unto him, which he appointed to be taken out of the possessions of the archbishoprike of Canturbrie, and other bishoprikes that were vacant, and out of other such places as seemed to him good to appoint. Hereupon were sent over to him ten thousand quarters of wheat, five thousand quarters of otes, with as manie bakons. Also there was sent unto him great p:vision of other things, as cloth for apparell and liueries, but much of it perished in the sea by one meane o: other, that little thereof came to his use, who remained still at Burdeaur to his great cost and charges, and small gaine, sauing that he recovered certeine towne and holds there in Gascoigne that were kept by certeine rebels. At which time, because he was inclined rather to follow the counsell of the Gascoignes and other strangers than of his owne subiects, and gaue unto them larger entertainment, not regarding the seruice of his owne naturall people: he was maruellously euill spoken of here in England, and the more in deed, because his iourne had no better successe, and was yet so chargeable unto him and all his subiects. The noble men that remained with him, as the earles of Leicester and Salisbury, with other, were constrained to borrow no small summes of monie to beare out their charges: and so likewise the king himselfe ran greatlie in debt, by taking vp monie towards the discharging of his importable expences.

At length by mediation of such as were commisioners a truce was concluded betwixt him and the French king for five yeares, and then he returned toward England, but he arrived not there till the ninth of October, although the truce was concluded in March upon S. Gregories day: for beside other occasions of his state, one chanced by such strife and debate as rose amongst the Gascoignes, which caused him to returne to land, that he might pacifie the same when he was already imbarked, and had hoised his saille immediatlie to set forward. He left in Orlien for his lieutenant one Nicholas de Bueles o: Apoles, to defend those townes, which yet remained vnder his obseance, for he put no great confidence in the people of that countrie, the which of custome being vbered with continuall warre, were constrained not by will, but by the change of times, one while to hold on the French side, and an other while on the English. In deed the townes, namelie those that had their situation vpon the sea coastes, were so destroyed and decayed in their walles and fortifications, that they could not long be any great aid to either part, and therefore being not of force to hold out, they were compelled to obeie one o: other, where by their willes they would haue done otherwise.

This was the cause that the la. of England, oftentimes vpon trust of these townes, which for the most part were readie to receiue him, was brought into some hope to recover his losses, and chesellie for that he was so manie times procured to attempt his fortune there, at the request of the sickle-minded Poicotins, who whilst they did take skill to purge their offences to the one king o: to the other, they baillie by

new treasons defamed their credit, and so by such means the king of England oftentimes with small advantage o: none at all, made warre against the French king, in trust of their aid, that could, o: vpon the least occasion conceiued) quickelie would do little to his furtherance. And so thereby king Henrie as well as his father king John, was oftentimes deceived of his vaine conceiued hope.

In this leauener and twentieth yeare of king Henries reigne, diuerse noble personages departed this life, and first about the beginning of Januarie, deceased the lord Richard de Burgh, a man of great honour and estimation in Ireland, where he held manie faire possessions, by conquest of that noble gentleman his worthe father. Also that valiant warrior Hugh Lacie, who had conquered in his time a great part of Ireland. Also the same yere on the twentieth of Maie, Hugh de Albenie earle of Arundell departed this life, in the middell of his youthfull yeares, and was buried in the priorie of Westminster, which his ancestors had founded. After his deceasse, that noble heritage was diuided by partition amongst foure sisters.

About the same time, to wit, on the twelfth day of Maie, Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent departed this life at his manor of Wansfude, and his bodie was conueied to London, and there buried in the church of the Friers preachers, vnto the which friers he had bene verie beneficiall. Amongst other things, he gaue unto them his goodlie palace at Westminster adioining nere to the palace of the earle of Cornetwall, which the archbishop of Poike afterwards purchased. The monks of the Cisterciars were this yeare somewhat vbered by the king, because they had refused to aid him with monie towards his iourne made into Gascoigne. Also the places of the crowne were kept and holden in the towne of London. And in the night of the six and twentieth day of Julie, starres were sene fall from the skie after a marvellous sort, not after the common manner, but thirtie o: fortie at once, so fast one after another and glancing to and fro, that if there had fallen so manie verie starres in deed, there would none haue bene left in the firmament.

In the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henries reigne, the queenes mother the ladie Beatrice countesse of Poouance arrived at Dover on the fourteenth day of Nouember, bringing with hir the ladie Sanctia hir daughter, and in the octaues of S. Martin fine they were receiued into London in most solemne wise, the streets being hanged with rich clothes, as the maner is at the coronations of princes. On S. Clements day, Richard earle of Cornetwall the kings brother married the said ladie Sanctia, which marriage was solemnized in most roiall wise, and with such sumptuous feasts and banquetings, as greater could not be deuised. Finally, the queens mother the countesse of Poouance, being a right notable and worthe ladie, was honored in euerie degree of hir sonne in law king Henrie in most courteous and sumptuous manner, and at hir departure out of the realme, which was after Christmasse, she was with most rich and princelie gifts honourable rewarded.

About the same time also, whereas William de Ralegh was requested to remove from the see of Norwich into Winchester, and consenting thereunto, without the kings licence, obtained his confirmation of the pope: the king was highlie displeased therewith, because he ment it to another. Whereupon when the said William Ralegh was returned from Rome to be installed, the king sent commandment to the maior and citizens of Winchester, that they should not suffer him to enter the citie. Whereupon

Death of noble men.

Hugh Lacie.

Fabian.

Math. Paris.

Stars fallen after a strange manner.

Anno Reg. 28. The countesse of Poouance mother to the queene cometh over into England.

The earle of Cornetwall married to the ladie Sanctia.

William Ralegh bishop of Norwich.

He is consecrated bishop of Winchester by the pope.

Truce made between the two kings. The king of England was married to a daughter.

William de Burgh was by execution.

Provision of graine and bakon taken by and sent to the king.

Dee pag. 111.

1343 The king led by strangers.

He is euill spoken of.

The seas made much uent of storm.

A truce taken by five yeares.

Monie gathered in the reign of king Henrie the third.

Nicholas de Apoles his lieutenant in Gascoigne.

1242 Reg.

Dee pag. 111.

e nobles
plaine to
king of the
is collation

Math. Paris
pag 880.

e king
teth to
pope.

y dor.
e king at
council
to proceed
his sover
till the
enych king,

The well-
men discom-
fited.

David fled in-
to Scotland.

The pꝛouoketh
the king of
Scots to
make warre
against En-
gland.

The king of
Scots inua-
deth England.

he posses-
s of the
ozmans
islated.

Math. Paris.

King Henrie
requereth an
aid of monie
of his subiects

Math. Paris
he occasion
of the pope
was were
henrie.

New orders
drawed by the
lords.

Math. Paris.
the VVell,
and pꝛince
wakes men
th to sub-
t himselfe
the pope.

Unconsonable
reques.

to the pꝛesudice of the crowne of England, as touch-
ing the right which the king of England had to the
dominion of Wales, as by the tenour thereof it may
appeare, beginning as here inueth, *Illustri viro domi-*
no Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglie, &c.

Thus David being encouraged herewith and such o-
ther of the Wellshmen as toke his part, at tyme ap-
pointed did set upon the kings capteins as they stra-
gled abroad, whom at the first byunt they put to flight,
and the manie of them here and there as they toke
them at aduenture. The Englishmen when night
was come, and that the Wellshmen withdrew to
rest, assembled themselves againe together, and in the
morning with new recovered force both of mind and
bodie, came upon the Wellshmen, and began with
them a new battell, which continued the space of thre
houres together, till at length the Wellshmen, which
rashly had entred the fight, began to shrinke backe,
and fled to their wonted places of refuge, the woods
and marshes. Their chiefe captaine David fled into
Scotland, hauing lost in that battell the most part of
all his souldiers which he had there with him. At his
comming into Scotland, and whilst he there remain-
ed, he incensed king Alexander against king Hen-
rie to his uttermost powe, putting into his head
how reprochfullie the Englishmen did speake of the
Scots, reprouing them of cowardnes & lacke of sto-
mach; also that they liued according to the pꝛescript
of the English nation, as subiects to the same: and
manie other things he forged, which had bene able to
haue moued a most patient man vnto indignation
and displeasure.

Finallie, either by the pꝛouoking of this David,
or by some other occasion, king Alexander meant to
make warres vpon king Henrie indeed, and in rais-
ing an armie made a rode into England, and did
some hurt by incursions, and further signified to king
Henrie, as some write, that he neither ought nor
would hold anie part or portion of Scotland of the
king of England. King Henrie soze offended here-
with, purposed in time to be reuenged, and shortly af-
ter called a parlement at Westminster, in the which
he earnestly moued the lords and other states to aid
him with monie towards the furnishing of his cos-
fers, being emptied (as they knew) by his exceeding
charges in his last iourne into Gascoigne. He would
not open his meaning which he had to make warre
to the Scots, because he would haue his enterprise
secretlie kept, till he should be ready to set forward.

But although the king had got the pope to write
in his fauour vnto the lords both spirituall and tem-
porall, to aid him in that his demand of monie, there
was much adoe, and plaine deniall made at the first,
to grant at that time to anie such payment as was
demanded: and oftentimes they fell in hand with deu-
ising new orders, and namelie to renew againe their
suit for the confirmation of the ancient liberties of
the realme, so as the same might be obserued, accor-
ding to the grant thereof before made by the kings
letters patents, without all fraud or contradiction.
They also appointed, that there should be foure lords
chosen of the most puissant and discrettest of all other
within the realme, which should be swayne of the
kings counsell, to order his businesse iustlie and tru-
lie, and to see that euerie man had right without re-
speking of persons. And these foure chiefe counsel-
lors should be euer attending about the king, or at
the least thre or two of them: also that by the view,
knowledge and witnesse of them, the kings treasure
should be spent and laid forth, and that if one of them
chanced to fall awaie, an other should be placed in his
roome by the appointment of the residue.


They would also that the lord chiefe iustice and the
lord chancellour should be chosen by the generall voi-

ces of the states assembled, and because it was need-
full that they should be oftentimes with the king, it
was thought they might be chosen out of the number
of those foure about rehearfed conservatoꝛs of ius-
tice. And if the king at anie time chanced to take the
seale from the lord chancellour, whatsoeuer writing
were sealed in the meane time should be of none ef-
fect. They aduised also, that there should be two ius-
tices of the benches, two barons of the exchequer, and
one iustice for the Jewes, and these for that present to
be appointed by publike voices of the states, that as
they had to order all mens matters and businesse, so
in their election the assents of all men might be had
and giuen: and that afterwards, when vpon anie oc-
casion there should be anie elected into the roome of
anie of these iustices, the same should be appointed by
one of the afore mentioned foure counsellors.

But as the Nobles were busie in thre weekes
space about the deuising of these ordinaunces and o-
ther, to haue bene decreed as statutes, the enemie of
peace and sower of discorde, the diuell, hindered all these
things by the couetousnesse of the pope, who had sent
his chapleine master Martin, with authoritie to le-
uite also an aid of monie for his need to mainteine
his wars withall against the emperour; and the em-
perour on the other part sent ambassadours to the
king, to state him and his people from granting anie
such aid vnto the pope: so that there was no lesse hard-
hold and difficultie shewed in refusing to contribute
vnto this demand of the popes Nuncio, than vnto the
kings. At length yet in another sitting, which was be-
gun thre weekes after Candlemasse, they agreed to
giue the king escuage to run towarde the marriage
of his eldest daughter, of euerie knights fee bolden of
the king twentie shillings to be paid at two termes,
the one halfe at Easter, and the other at Michelmass.

After this, the king minding to inuade the Scots,
caused the whole force of all such as ought to serue
him in the wars to assemble, and so with a mightie
host he went to new castell vpon Tine, meaning
from thence to inuade the same, in reuenge of such in-
juries as the Scots had done vnto him and his sub-
iects, and namelie, for that Walter Cumyn a mightie
baron of Scotland and other noble men had built
two castels nere to the English confines, the one in
Calowate, and the other in Louthian, and further had
receiued and succoured certeine rebels to the king
of England, as Gestepe de Harisch or Haris an Ir-
ish man, and others. The king of Scots was aduer-
tised of king Henries appoꝛth, and therefore in de-
fense of himselfe and his countrie, had raised an
huge armie. Wherevpon certeine noble men vpon ei-
ther side, soze to vnderstand that such bloodshed
should chance as was like to follow (and that vpon
no great apparant cause) if the two kings joined bat-
tell, toke paine in the matter to agree them, which in
the end they brought to passe, so that they were made
friends and wholie reconciled. There was a publike
instrument also made thereof by the king of Scots
vnto king Henrie, signed with his seale, and likewise
with the seales of other noble men, testifieng his alle-
giance which he owght to the king of England, as su-
perior lord, in foꝛme following.

The charter of Alexander king of Scotland made to Henrie the third.

 Alexander Dei gratia rex Scotia, om-
nibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum vi-
suris vel audituris, salutem. Ad ve-
stram volumus venire notitiam, nos pro
nobis & heredibus nostris concessisse, & fideliter
promi-

The pope sen-
deth for some
aid of monie
to mainteine
his wars against
the emperour.

Escuage gra-
ted the king.

The k. with
an armie go-
eth towards
Scotland.

The king of
England and
Scotland
made friends.

promisſiſſe chariſſimo & ligio domino noſtro Henrico tertio Dei gratia regi Anglia illuſtri domino Hibernia, duci Normania & Aquitania, & comiti Andegauia, & eius heredibus, quod in perpetuum bonam fidem ei ſeruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quod nunquam aliquod ſcandalum inuenimus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte noſtra, cum inimicis domini regis Anglia vel heredum ſuorum, ad bellum procurandum vel faciendum, unde damnum eis vel regnis ſuis Anglia & Hibernia, aut ceteris terris ſuis eueniat, vel poſſit aliquatenus euenire: niſi nos iniuſte grauiter ſtantibus in ſuo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictum dominum regem Anglia initis ultimo apud Eboracum in preſentia domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, diaconi cardinalis, tunc apoſtolice ſedis legati in Anglia. Et ſaluis conuentionibus ſuper matrimonio contrahendo inter filium noſtrum & filiam dicti domini regis Anglia.

Et ut hac noſtra conceſſio & promiſſio pro nobis & heredibus noſtris perpetua firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus iurare in animam noſtram Alanum Oſtiarium, Henricum de Baliol, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wilhelmum Gifford, quod omnia prædicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter obſeruabimus. Et ſimiliter iurare fecimus venerabiles patres, Dauid, Wilhelmum, Galfridum, & Clementem ſancti Andree Glaſconienſem, Dunkeldienſem, Dublinenſem episcopos: & præterea Malcolmum comitem de Fiſe, fideles noſtros, Patricium comitem de Dunbar, Malisium comitem de Strathern, Walterum Cumin comitem de Menteth, Wilhelmum comitem de Mar, Alexandrum comitem de Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings comitem de Athol, Robertum de Bruis, Alanum Oſtiarium, Henricum de Baliol, Rogerum de Mowbray, Laurentium de Abirnethia, Richardum Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richardum Siward, Wilhelmum de Lindeſey, Walterum de Morauia, Wilhelmum Gifford, Nicholaum de Sully, Wilhelmum de veteri Ponte, Wilhelmum de Brewer, Anſelmum de Meſue, Dauid de Graham, & Stephanum de Sunningam.

Quod ſi nos vel heredes noſtri, contra conceſſionem & promiſſionem prædictam (quod abſit) uenerimus, ipſi & heredes eorum nobis & heredibus noſtris nullum contra conceſſionem & promiſſionem prædictam auxilium vel conſilium impendant, aut ab alijs pro poſſe ſuo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt erga nos & heredes noſtros, ipſi & heredes eorum, quod omnia prædicta à nobis & heredibus noſtris nec non ab ipſis & eorum heredibus firmiter & fideliter obſeruentur in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium tam nos quam prædicti prelati, comites & barones noſtri præſens ſcriptum ſigillorum ſuorum appoſitione roborauimus. Teſtibus prelatiſ, comitibus & baronibus ſuperius nominatis, Anno regni noſtri, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Alexander by the grace of God, king of Scotland, to all faithfull chriſtian people that ſhall ſee or heare this writing, ſendeth greeting. We will that it be knowne to you, that we for vs and our heires haue granted and faithfullie promiſed to our moſt deare and liege lord Henrie the third, by the grace of God, the noble king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and Guien, and earle of Aniou, and to his heires, that we will beare

and keepe vnto him good faith and loue for euer, and that we ſhall not enter into any league with our ſelues, or by others in our behalfe with the enimies of our ſaid ſouereigne lord the king of England, or of his heires, to procure or make warre, whereby any damage may happen to come to them or to their kingdoms of England and Ireland, or to their other lands, except vniuſtly they doo moleſt and oppreſſe vs. The couenants alwaies ſtanding in force, which were concluded betwixt vs at our laſt being together at Yorke, in the preſence of Otho de con cardinall of ſaint Nicholas in carcere Tulliano, then legat of the ſee apoſtolike in England, and ſauing the couenants made vpon the contract of the mariage betwixt our ſonne & the daughter of the ſaid king of England.

And that this promiſe and grant for vs and our heires may haue the force and confirmation of an euerlaſting aſſuredneſſe, we haue cauſed theſe to ſweare on our behalfe: Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wil. Gifford, that we ſhall in good faith obſerue all the premiſſes faithfullie and ſubſtanciallie, and we haue likewiſe cauſed to ſweare the reuerend fathers, Dauid, William, Geffrey, & Clement, Biſhops of S. Andrewes, Glaſcew, Dunkeld, and Dublane: and furthermore our faithfull ſubiects Patrike earle of Dunbar, Malcolme earle of Fiſe, Malisius earle of Stratherne, Walter Cumin earle of Menteth, William earle of Mar, Alexander earle of Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings earle of Athol, Robert de Bruis, Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Roger de Mowbraie, Laurence de Abirnethi, Richard Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richard Siward, William de Lindeſey, Walter de Murraie, William de Gifford, Nicholas de Sully, William de Veipont, William de Brewer, Anſelme de Meſue, Dauid de Graham, and Stephan de Sunningham.

And if that either we or our heires, againſt the foreſaid grant and promiſe, ſhall doo anie thing to the breach therof (which God forbid) they and their heires ſhall not imploie either aid or counſell againſt the ſaid grant and promiſe, nor ſhall ſuffer other to imploie any ſuch aid or counſell, ſo far as they may hinder them therein: yea rather they and their heires ſhall in good faith and plaine meaning endeouour againſt vs and our heires, that all the premiſſes may firmelie and faithfullie be obſerued and kept of vs and our heires, and likewiſe of them and their heires for euer. In witneſſe whereof aſwell we our ſelues, as the ſaid prelatiſ, our earles and barons haue confirmed this writing by putting their ſeales vnto the ſame, the prelatiſ earles and barons before rehearſed beeing true witneſſes therevnto, In the yeare of our reigne, &c.

The ſeales of king Alexander himſelfe, of William de Brewer, William de Veipont, William de Lindeſey, Stephan de Sunningham, and the ſeales of the reſt were ſet to afterwards, and the writing ſent ouer to the king of England at Chriſtmaſſe next ſuſtaining, by the prior of Tynmouth, who had trauelled diligently and faithfullie in this negotiation to the honour of both parts. This writing alſo was ſent to the pope, that he might confirme the ſame in manner as followeth.

The lord
ſweare to ſe
the couenants
performed.

The
the la
pope
cent.

A request made to the pope that he
would vouchsafe to confirme the fore-
said charter.



*Sanctissimo in Christo patri I. Dei gratia summo pontifici, Alexander eadem gratia rex Scotia, comes Patricius, comes de Strathern, comes Leuenox, comes de Anequi, comes de Marra, comes de Atholia, comes de Ros, comes de Carnes, comes de Buth, Rogerus de Mowbray, Rogerus de Abirne-
thia, Petrus de Mauere, Richardus Cumin, Wil-
helmus de veteri Ponte, Robertus de Bruis, Roge-
rus Auenel, Richardus de Sully, Wilhelmus de Mur-
ray de Dunfel, Wilhelmus de Muref de Petin, Io-
hannes Bifer iuuenis, Wilhelmus de Lindefey, Io-
hannes de Vallibus, David de Lindefey, Wilhelmus
Gifford, Duncanus de Ergatilia, I. de Matreuers,
Hemerus filius eius, Rogerus comes Wintoniensis,
H. comes Oxoniensis, W. de Vesey, Richardus Si-
ward, Wilhelmus de Ros, Rogerus de Clere, Hen-
ricus filius comitis de Brettere, Eustacius de
Stoutville, Malcolmus de Fif comes de Menteth-
shire, Walterus filius Alani, Walterus Olifar, Bar-
nardus Frazer, Henricus de Bailliol, David Cu-
min, David Marefchallus, David filius Ranulfi,
Wilhelmus de Fortere, Ioannes de Bailliol, & Ro-
bertus de Ros, salutem & debitam cum omni ho-
nore reuerentiam.*

*Sanctitati vestre significamus, nos sacramen-
tum corporaliter prestitisse coram venerabili patre
Othone, tituli S. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano dia-
cono cardinalium, in Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia,
nunc Apostolica sedis legato, ac chartam nostram
consecrasset, quae ita incipit: Sciant presentes & fu-
turi, quod ita conuenit in presentia domini Othonis
sancti Nicolai, &c. Quae charta penes dominum
regem Anglia, & nos remanet chyrographata. I-
tem aliam quae sic incipit: Ad omnium vestrum
notitiam volumus peruenire. Cum ut ex forma
precedentiumstrarum pateat obligationum
subiecimus nos iurisdictioni vestra, ut nos & ha-
redes nostros, per censuram ecclesiasticam positis
coercere, si aliquo tempore contra memoratam pa-
cem venerimus.*

*Et si nonnunquam continget, quod quidam no-
strum omnes vel unus contrauenire temere presu-
mperint vel presumere nituntur vel nitentur, &
ex hoc tam animabus nostris quam heredum no-
strorum graue possit generari periculum, & corpo-
ribus nostris & rebus non minimum immineret
detrimentum: sanctae paternitati vestra supplica-
mus, quatenus alicui suffraganeorum archiepiscopi
Cantuariensis detis in mandatis, ut nos, & here-
des nostros ad praefata pacis obseruationem compellat,
prout in instrumentis inde confectis plenius
continetur. Alias super eadem pace quod canonici
cum fuerit auctoritate vestra statuat contradic-
tores, &c. Et ad istius petitionis nostrae consumma-
tionem praesenti scripto sigilla nostra apposuimus.*

In English thus.



O our holie father in Christ I. by the
grace of God, the highest bishop, A-
lexander by the same grace king of
Scotland, earle Patrike, the earle of
Stratherne, the earle of Leuenox, the earle of
Angus, the earle of Mar, the earle of Athole, the

earle of Ros, the earle of Catnesse, the earle of
Buch, Roger de Mowbray, Laurence de Abir-
nethie, Peter de Mauere, Richard Cumin,
William de Veipont, Robert de Bruis, Roger
Auenel, Nicholas de Sulley, William de Mur-
ray de Dunfel, William de Murray de Petin,
Iohn Bifer the yoonger, William de Lindefey,
Iohn de Valeis, David de Lindefey, William
Gifford, Duncan de Ergile, Iohn de Matreuers,
Einere his sonne, Roger earle of Winchester,
Hugh earle of Oxford, William de Vesey, Ri-
chard Siward, William de Ros, Roger de Clere,
Henrie Fitz conte de Brettere, Eustace de Stou-
teuille, earle Malcolme of Fife, the erle of Men-
tethshire, Walter Fitz Alaine, Walter Olifard,
Barnard Frazer, Henrie de Baillioll, David Cu-
min, David Marefchall, David Fitz Randulfe,
William de Fortere, Iohn de Baillioll, and Ro-
bert Ros, send greeting and due reuerence with
all honour.

We doo signifie vnto your holiness, that we
haue receiued a corporall oth before the reue-
rend father Otho, deacon cardinall of S. Ni-
cholas *In carcere Tulliano*, legat to the see apo-
stolike, in England, Scotland and Ireland, and
haue made our charter or deed, which begin-
neth thus; *Sciant presentes, &c.* Which char-
ter or deed indented and sealed, remaineth with
the king of England, and with vs. Also another
deed or writing that beginneth thus; *Ad om-
nium vestrum notitiam volumus peruenire.*
Whereas therefore by the forme of our prece-
dent deeds obligatorie, we haue submitted our
selues to your iurisdiction, that you may bridle
and restraine vs, and our heires by the ecclesi-
asticall censures, if at any time we go against
the said peace.

And if it happen at any time, that any of vs
all, or one of vs, shall fortune to presume rashlie
and vnadvisedlie to go against it, or be about, or
herafter shall be about so to presume, and ther-
by may procure great perill as well to the soules
of our owne selues, as of our heires, & no small
danger may also be readie through the same
our default to light vpon our bodies & goods,
we beseech your holie fatherhood, that you
will giue in commandement vnto some of the
suffragans of the archbishop of Canturburie,
that he doo compell vs and our heires vnto the
obseruing of the same peace, accordinglie as in
the instruments thereof more fullie is contei-
ned, or else to order by your authoritie vpon
the same peace, that which shall be agreeable
to the canons, &c. And to the performance of
this our petition, we haue to this present wri-
ting set our seales.

When all things were thoughtlie concluded, and
order taken in that sort the assurances of this accord
should passe, the king of Scots returned into the in-
ner parts of his realme, and the king of England
likewise returned to London. At the same time also,
the Welshmen were borie busse: for hearing that
the kings of England and Scotland were agreed,
they doubted least all the burthen of the warre woud
be turned against them. Wherefore (as it were to pre-
uent the matter) they began to waite the English con-
fines. The king aduertised thereof, sent Hubert Fitz
Matthew with three hundred knights or men of
armes to defend the English marches against the

A. y.

Welsh-

The Welsh-
men stirre
cole.

The letter of
the lords to
the king.

Welshmen, that made baslie war against those that dwelled on the marches, and namelie against the erle of Hereford, which cheslie occasioned this warre, by deteyning the land which appertained unto the wife of prince David, as in the right of hir purpartie.

Math. Paris.

Whereupon when the Welshmen understood that the king had broken by his armie and was returned to London, they invaded their enemies, namelie the said earle of Herefords men and the Portymers, slea-
ing and cutting in péeses two valiant and noble knights, and maiming the third, they slue and over-
threw the footbands about an hundred, so that all the English armie was disordered, and the Welsh-
men with victorie returned to their places of refuge. Which when the foresaid Hubert Fitz Spatheu un-
derstood, the morrow after he made forth with his three hundred waged men of armes, in hope to hem
in and take the Welshmen at advantage: but he was prevented and by them distressed, in so much that he was constrained with losse of men and hoxses to
returne to his holds, and scarce could be suffered to remaine there in safetie. This yere Rafe Hewill bi-
shop of Cicester and chancellour of England depar-
ted this life.

The deceasse
of the bishop
of Cicester.

Anno. Reg. 29.
P. V.

In the 29 yere of his reigne, king Henrie hauing spent much treasure with the great preparation of wars which he had taken in hand against the Scots, and also because he was constrained to be at further charges for the Welsh wars, he called a parlement to begin on the third daie of Nouember, in the which he demanded a great reliefe of monie, but the same being generallie denied of all men, he exacted it in particular of the richer sort of his subiects, & amongst other he caused the citizens of London to giue unto him 15 hundred marks for a fine, because they had receiued a banished man, one Walter Bokerell into their citie, contrarie to the law and order: but this they denied, affirming that his brother had got his pardon, as by the kings owne letters patents they could proue, but they were answered, that the king was under age when these letters were purchased, and therefore were of none effect. About the same time, sir Nicholas de Holis or Pules seneschall of Gascoigne, hauing warres against the king of Navarre, got the victorie in battell. ¶ About the midst of Nouember, great thunder and lightning chanced, with a marvellous bntemperat season for the space of 15 daies together, as a signe of some misfortune to succeed.

The sen-
eschall of Gas-
coigne banquet-
ted the king of
Navarre.
Anno. 1242.
as Matt. West.
saith, & Math.
Paris.

1 2 4 5

On S. Hughes daie died Margaret countesse of Penbroke the widow of Gilbert Marthall late earle of Penbroke, & sister to the king of Scots, and hox-
lie after the bishop of Cicester William de Beuwer likewise deceased, as yet being in his flourishing age, a man in manners, parentage, and knowledge right honorable, and highlie commended. ¶ On the daie of S. Marcellus was the quene deliuered of a man child, which at the font was named Edmund.

In Lent following nere to the castell of Mountgomerie in Wales, three hundred Welshmen were slaine by them that lay in garrison there by a policie of the capteine, which faining a counterfeited flight, drew the Welshmen within danger of an ambush, which he had laid to surprise them vnto wares as it came euen to passe according to his deuise. David that took himselfe for king of Wales, coueting to be re-
uenged of this displeasure, scassed not daie nor night to make incursions and to exploit enterprises to the damage of the marchers, the which valiantlie resisted the enemies, and drove them oftentimes into the mounteines, woods, bogs, and other places of refuge, and oftentimes the enemies hauing the advantage of place, did much displeasure to the Englishmen.

Upon a time as they (being got to the bright of an

hill, to cast downe stones and throw darts upon the Englishmen that assailed them beneath) chanced amongst other to slea with a mightie stone (which they threw downe by the side of the hill) sir Hubert Fitz Spatheu a right valiant knight, and a man of great account for his knowledge and seruice in warres. Thus the wars continued betwene the parties, and oftentimes the Welshmen by the sudden inuasions got the better: their prince David comming to the castell of Spouthault besieged it, and within a short time wan it, slaieng or taking all those whome he found within it. The owner thereof the lord Roger de Spouthault by chance was not at home, which hap-
pened well for him, where other wise he had bene in great danger: but nere to the castell of Spountgomerie, the Welshmen yet were effions ouerthrowne and 200 of them slaine by an ambush that brake forth upon their backs. About the middell of Lent the prelates of England were summoned to come to a generall counsell, the which pope Innocent had appointed to be holden at the feast of S. John Baptist next following.

Sir Hubert
Fitz Spatheu
threw slaine.

The castell of
Spouthault
taken by the
Welshmen.

A generall
counsell.

It chanced that about this time, a post comming from the pope with letters to his Nuncio maister Martin, containing instructions how he should proceed for the gathering of monie, was slaid at Dover, by the practise of such noble men as were græued to see anie such summes of monie to be conuiced out of the realme in sort as was used. He was had into the castell and his letters taken from him, where in such secrets were contained for the getting of monie, as ought not to haue bene reuealed. Maister Martin hearing that the post was thus slaid and imprisoned, made a græuous complaint unto the king, so that the post was set at libertie, had his letters to him restored, & so came unto maister Martin, and deliuered them unto him that he might understand the popes pleasure, which others to his griefe understood how as well as himselfe.

The popes
letters slaid.

The king this yere caused inquisition to be made through euerie countie within the realme, to understand the true valuation of all such benefices and spir-
ituall promotions as were in the hands of anie incumbents that were strangers boine, and such as had bene preferred by the court of Rome, and the whole summe of all their reuenues was found to be sixtie thousand marks. On Whitsondaie the king made the earle of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare knight, and 40 other yong gentlemen that attended upon him. And perceluting by the late inquisition what great reuenues the beneficed strangers had and possessed within the realme, and againe considering the exceeding great summes of monie which the court of Rome had reconiured of his subiects, he began to detest such couetous dealing. And hereupon a letter was deuised by the whole bodie of the realme, wherein were contained, the sundrie exortions and manifold exactions of the popes legats, and other of his chapleines, which vnder colour of his authoritie they had used. There were appointed also tago with these letters unto the generall counsell, certaine honorable and discreet personages, as Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, John Fitz Cestre, William de Cantlow, Philip Basset, and Raffe Fitz Nicholas, with other, the which presenting the same letters unto the said assemblee, should declare the greife of the whole realme; and require some redyesse and easement therein.

The valuing
of benefices
taken, that
pertained to
strangers.

This Gil-
bert was earle
of Gloucester,
deceased a
lord of Clare.

Ambassadors
sent to the ge-
nerall coun-
sell.
These were
barons.

Moreover, it chanced that there was a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled together at Dunstable and Linton, to haue kept a martiall iusts, and triumphant toynie, but they had a countercommanndement from the king, not to go forward with the same: whereupon, when they were disappointed

A iusts and
toynie appoin-
ted, and by the
kings com-
mandement
disappointed.

David king
or prince of
Wales.

Paul
was
man
pope
cio to
the ri

The
and
the
p
sum

Macl
Macl
The
sum
out of
reain

S. J
chun
well

The
amba
come
coun

The
amba
thou
pope,
thou
bore
Eng

Dir Hubert Fitz Walter new flaine,

The castell of Bonthaunt taken by the welshmen.

I generall counsell.

The popes letters hand.

The benefices taken, that pertained to strangers.

This Gilbert was erle of Gloucester, Hereford & 120 of Clare.

Embassadors sent to the general counsell.

I letters and some appointm. and by the king's commandment appointed.

Fouke Fitz Warren commaundeth the popes Nuncio to avoid the realme.

The king's answer unto the popes Nuncio.

Math. Paris. Math. West. The popes Nuncio sent out of the realme.

S. Peters church at Westminster.

The English ambassadors come to the counsell.

The English ambassadors threaten the pope, that he should not have any tribute out of England.

disappointed of their purpose herein. Upon occasion of their being altogether, on the morrow after the feast of Peter & Paul, they sent from them Fouke Fitz Warren, to declare unto maister Martine the popes Nuncio, as then lodging at the temple in London, in name as it were of all the whole bodie of the realme, that he should immediatly depart out of the land. Fouke doing the message somewhat after a rough manner, maister Martine asked him what he was that gave forth the said commandment, or whether he spake it of himselfe or from some other. His commandment (saith Fouke) is sent to thee, from all those knights and men of armes which latelis were assembled together at Dunstable and Luton. Maister Martine hearing this, got him to the court, and declaring to the king what message he had received, requirte to understand whether he was ppeue to the matter, or that his people took it upon them so rashly without his authoritie or no. To whome the king answered, that he had not given them any authoritie so to command him out of the realme: but indeed (saith he) my barons do scarselye forbear to rise against me, because I haue maintained and suffered thy pilling and inturious polling within this my realme, and I haue had much adoe to saile them from running upon thee to pull thee in peeces. Maister Martine hearing these words, with a fearefull voice besought the king that he might for the loue of God, and reuerence of the pope, haue free passage out of the realme: to whome the king in great displeasure answered, The diuell that brought thee in carrie thee out, euen to the pit of hell for me. Woluett at length, when those that were about the king had pacified him, he appointed one of the marshals of his house, called Robert Fitz Fitz, to conduct him to the sea side, and so he did, but not without great feare, sithens he was afraid of euerie body, least men should haue risen upon him and murdered him. Whereby on, when he came to the pope, he made a gracious complaint, both against the king and others. The church of saint Peter at Westminster was enlarged, and newlie repared by the king, speciallie all the east part of it, the old wals being pulled down, and builded vp in more comelie forme. The generall counsell, according to the summons given, was holden this yeare at Lions, where it began about midsummer, in which the English ambassadors being arrived, presented to the pope their letters, directed from the whole bodie of the realme of England, requiring a redress in such things, wherewith (as by the same letters it appeared) the realme found it selfe sore annoyed. The pope promised to take aduise thereto, but sith the matter was weightie, it required respit. Finally, when they were earnest in requiring a determinate answer, it was giuen them to understand, that they should not obtaine their desires, whereupon in great displeasure they came awaie, threatening and binding their words with othes, that from thenceforth they would neuer paie, nor suffer to be paid, a nie tribute to the court of Rome, nor permit the reuennes of those churches, whereof they were patrones, to be pulled awaie, by any prouision of the saie court. The pope hearing of these things, passed them ouer patientlie, but he procured the English bishops to set their scales vnto that charter, which king John had made concerning the tribute, against the mind of the archbishop of Canturburie Stephen Langton, who at that time, when king John should seale it, spake sore against it. When king Henrie was informed hereof, he was grievously offended; and ware in a great chafe, that although the bishops had done otherwise than they ought, yet would he stand in defense of the liberties of his realme, and would

not so long as he had a day to live, paie any dutie to the court of Rome, vnder the name of a tribute. In this meane while, the king with a puissant armie invadeth the Welsh rebels, to reduce them to some quiet, whereas with their continuall incursions and other exploits, they had sore harried, beread, and wasted the lands of the kings subjects. Hereupon the king being entred the countie, invadeth the same, vnto the confines of Denbodon, and there he began to build a strong castell at a place called Cannoke, remaking there about the space of ten weekes, during the which, the armie suffered great miserie through want of vittels and other prouisions namele appaerell, and other helps to defend themselves from cold, which sore afflicted the souldiers and men of warre, because they laie in the field, and winter as then began to approach. Moreover, they were bounden to keepe watch and ward vnto stronglie, for doubt to be surprisid by sudden assaults of the enemies, the which watched upon occasion euer to do some mischefe. The morrow after the Purification of our lady, Isabel de Boulbec countesse of Ardenford departed this life, and likewise the morrow after saint Walentines day died Baldouine de Kluers earle of Devonshire and of the Wight. Moreover, Geoffrey de March, a man sometime of great honour and possessions in Ireland, after he had remained long in exile, and suffered great miserie, ended the same by naturall death. Also Raimond earle of Provanche, father to the quenes of England and France deceased this yeare, for whome was kept in England a most solemne obsequie. Also in the weeke after Palmesundae, died a right noble baron, and warden of the north parts of England, the lord Gilbert Humfreys, leaving behind him a yong sonne, the custodie of whome the king forthwith committed to the earle of Leicester, not without the indignation of the earle of Cornewall, who desired the same. Finally, after that the king had lier at Cannoke about the fortifying of the castell there, the space of ten weekes, and also the weeke now fully finished, he appointed forth such as should lie there in garison, and therewith, on the morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, he raised his field, and returned towards England, leaving the Welshmen in great miserie, and like to starue for want of necessarie food. For the Ile of Anglesey, which is as a nurse to the Welshmen, those Irishmen that came to the kings aid, had vnterlie wasted and destroyed. Again, the king of purpose had consumed all the prouision of corne and vittels which remained in the marshes, so that in Cheshire, and other the parts adioining, there was such dearth, that the people scarce could get sufficient vittels to susteine themselves withall. The king also gaue forth commandment, that no prouision of corne or vittels should be conducted vnto the Welshmen, out of any parts, either of England or Ireland, on paine of forfeiting life, lands & goods. Moreover, he caused the byne pits in Wales to be stopped vp and destroyed. The king hauing thus ordered his businesse, returned into England, and shortly after, taking displeasure with the lord Spaurice, chiefe iustice of Ireland, because he had not made such speed as had bene conuenient in bringing the Irishmen to his aid, he discharged him of the office of chiefe iustice, and placed in his roome John Fitz Geoffrey. In this thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, Walter earle of Marshall and of Denbroke departed this life: and shortly after, to wit, three daies before Christmasse, his brother Anselme that succeeded him in the inheritance, deceased also without issue: and so all the fine sonnes of the great earle William Marshall, being departed this world with-

Math. Paris.

The king invades wales. He buildeth a castell at Cannoke.

The decease of the countesse of Ardenford, and of the earle of Devonshire. Geoffrey de March deceased. The decease of Raimond earle of Provanche.

The decease of the lord Humfreys.

Anno Reg. 30.

The king's returneth forth of wales. Irishmen destroyed Anglesey.

A dearth.

Byne pits destroyed in wales. The lord Spaurice chiefe iustice of Ireland.

John Fitz Geoffrey lord iustice of Ireland. Math. Paris. The decease of Walter erle Marshall.

1246

out heires of their bodies begotten, the whole heritage descended to the sisters, and so was divided amongst them as coparteners.

The king this yeare held his Christmas at London, and had there with him a great number of the nobilitie of his realme, which had bene with him in Wales, that they might be partakers of pastime, mirth and pleasure, as they had bene participants with him in suffering the diseases of heat, cold, and other paines abroad in the fields and high mountaines of Wales, considering with himselfe (as the truth is) that

Mal. Palin
suo cap.

*visa est quam proxima lesio,
Quam merito speranda animam si nulla voluptas
dulcent atq. leuent solatia nulla laborem.*

But that no pleasure should passe without some staine of greafe, there was a rumour spread abroad, that the pope conceived freshly rankor in his stomach against the king and realme of England, for the complaints which had bene exhibited in the counsell at Lion by the English orator, for the oppression done to the church of England: that thereupon, minding now to be reuenged, as was said, he earnestlie moued the French king to make warre against the Englishmen and to subdue them under his dominion: which enterprise the French king utterly refused, both for that he and the king of England were consens, and againe, because the king of France had no iust title or right to make claime to England.

The pope requirith the French king to make war against England.

The French king refuseth to gratifie the pope therein.

Further, there was as then a truce betwixt England and France, and before that England could be subdued, much gillie blood should be spilt. Also, the christians in the holie land were soye oppressed, and looked daillie for the arrivall of the king of France, and therefore he would be loth to attempt any new enterprise to hinder his sojnie thither. But about the feast of the Epiphanie, other news came out of Prouance, that troubled the king of England worse than the other before, as thus, That the countesse Beatrice his wiues mother had deliuered by the countie of Prouance into the French kings hands, together with certaine castels, which in right of the queene ought to haue remained unto the king of England. For the safe keeping wherof to his vse, the said countesse Beatrice had receiued yerrelie for the terme of five yeares last past, the summe of foure thousand marks of the king of England, and yet now in the deliuering of them, with the residue of the countrie unto the French king, the neuer made any mention of his right.

The countesse of Prouance denieth vniuersitie with the king of England her sonne in law.

Charles the French kings brother is made earle of Prouance.

The archb. of Canturburie purchaseth grant of the pope to leuie monie.

Shortlie after also, Charles the French kings brother married the ladie Beatrice, yongest daughter of earle Raymond, and had with hir the same countie of Prouance, and so was intituled earle thereof, as in the French historie appeareth. Moreover, the archb. shop of Canturburie procured a grant from the pope to recouer for one yeare the first fruits of all cures that chanced to be void within the cite, diocesse, and prouance of Canturburie, by and during the reareme of leauen yeares then next following, till the summe of ten thousand marks were leuied, towards the discharge of the said archbishops debts. The collection of the which ten thousand marks was assigned by the popes bulles unto the bishop of Hereford, who should also leaue two thousand marks of the revenues belonging to the church of Canturburie, to be conuerted to the same vse. The king at the first was sore offended herewith, but shortlie after, he was pacified and so the archbishop had his will.

David prince of Wales departed this life, after great penitence of mind, for the destruction and miserie into the which his countrie had bene brought through the present warres with the Englishmen.

After his deceasse, the Welshmen elected to succeed in his place, the sonne of Griffin, whom king Henrie had receiued in seruice, and honourable used, euen of a child: but now that he heard that the Welshmen had elected him to their prince, he sale away, and fled into Wales. On the day of the purification of our ladie, a robbrie was committed vpon certaine Jewes at Drenford, for the which fact, five and fortie of the offenders were put in prison, but at the suit of Robert bishop of Lincoln, they were deliuered by the kings commandement, because no man impeached them of anie breach of peace, or other crime. The citizens of London also about the beginning of the spring, were compelled to paye a talage, wherewith they found themselves sore aggrieved.

Ap Griffin chosen prince of Wales.

Jewes robbed in Drenford.

The Londoners paye a talage.

About the middell of Lent, there was a parliament holden at London, wherein diuerse statutes and ordinances were deuised, as penalties for those that offended in other mens parks and warrens: but the chiefest occasion of assembling this parliament, was to take aduise in matters touching the graces wherewith the church of England seemed to be oppressed by the pope and the court of Rome. The pope indeed to quiet the English ambassadoys, and to put the king and realme in some good hope of release any deliuerance out of such oppressions, as were opened vnto him in the face of the whole counsell, did not onelie promise largelie, but also caused diuerse priuileges to be made and deliuered vnto the said ambassadoys verie sanzable, in the behalfe of their request. But yet the same notwithstanding, with the breaking up of the said generall counsell, and return to the ambassadoys, manie things were done, to the increasing and continuation of the former graces, so that they stood in doubt of further oppressions to follow, rather than in hope of the promised redresse. Whereupon they concluded effionnes to write vnto the pope, and to the cardinals, both in name of the king, of the bishops and prelates, of the earles, barons, and other estates of the tempoalitie, and of the abbats and priors. In the meane time, the pope for a while somewhat relented in the point of bestowing benefices here in England, for when any of his freinds or kinsmen was to be preferred to any benefice, both in this realme, he would sue to the king for his grant and god will, that such a one might be admitted, and not saue of himselfe to grant it without the kings consent.

Parliament.

Statute against hunters.

Updication to the king.

The earle of Sauey in the presence of the archb. shop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Hereford and others, did homage to the king of England, acknowledging to hold of him certaine fees, as those of Suse, Auillan, S. Maurice de Chablais, and the castell of Ward, which he might well do, not preiudicing the right of the empire, with he held nothing of the same empire, except Aignes and the passages. This yeare, the office of the earle Marthall was given to Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, in right of his wiues the countesse, that was eldest daughter vnto the great earle William Marthall. Moreover, in this yeare the king holding his Casser at London, honored Harold king of Spain with the order of knight hood. About the same time, diuerse noble men of Wales submitted themselves, and were receiued vnto the kings peace. On Saint Markes day was a great frost and snow, which nipped the leaues of trees and hearbes in such extream cold, that for the more part they withered and faded a waie.

The earle of Sauey doth homage to the king of England.

Roger Bigod intitled to the office of earle Marthall.

March. Paris Harold king of Spain. Welshmen returned to the kings peace, by on their submission.

Updication to the king.

Updication to the king.

Updication to the king.

Updication to the king.

Furthermore, because the pope understood, that diuerse rich beneficed men were of late dead in England intestate, as Robert Hailes the archdeacon of Lincoln, Almerike the archdeacon of Bedford, and John Botolpe archdeacon of Northampton, he ordeined a decre, that all such spiritual persons

Decease of the pope.

Ann.

ions as dead intestate, their goods should remaine to the pope. The execution of which decre, he commaunded to the friers preachers and minors: but the king would not suffer it to take place, because he saw that it should rebound to the prejudice of him and his kingdom. wherein the popes oppression and wrong offered to the dead (by whose becaule their surviving friends should be benefited) and his cruell countenance extending to the verie senseles corpse doth manifestly appeare, so that it is verified of him, by way of comparison,

*Carnivorax tumidus ut gaudet hyana sepulchris,
Sic instat putidus ille cadaveribus.*

Also, where the pope required a talage of the clergy, the king flatly forbod it by his letters inhibitorye. In this meane while, William Botwin Chapleine, and Sir Henrie de Lamere knight, which were sent with the second letters, deused in the late parliament (as you have heard) to be preferred vnto the pope and cardinals, returned againe without obtaininge anye towardly answer, but rather (as they declared) they found the pope sharpe and rough in speech, saying, The king of England which now kickeley against the church, & beginneth to plate Frederiks part, hath his counsell, & so likewise haue I, which I intend to follow. Other answer they coulde not obtayne. Againe, the Englishmen that were tutors in the court of Rome, were strangelye bled, and coulde not get anye dispatch in their businesse, but were rather put backe as schismatikes, and with rebukes reuiled. Hereupon the king called a parlement at Winchester, to haue the aduise of his lordes in this matter, where howe soeuer they agreed, proclamation was immediatlye set forth, and published in euery shire & countie through the realme, that no man should consent to the popes contribution, nor lend anye monie out of the realme to his aid. When the pope heard of this, he wrote verie sharplye to the bishops, commanding them on paine of excommunication and suspension, to satisfie his Nuncio remaininge at the new temple in London, before the feast of the Assumption of our ladie. And whereas the king minded to haue stood in the matter, through threats of his brother the earle of Cornwall, and of certayne prelates, namelie, the bishop of Winchester (who had authoritie as was said to interdict the land) he yielded and suffered the pope to haue his will, to the great grieve and discomfort of manie.

3 proclamation
inhibiting monie
to be sent to
the pope.

**A large tempest
of hail.**

Isabell the
kings mother
departeth this
life.

Roger de
Quinciarle
of Winchester.

John lord
A. cuill depar=
ted this life
with diuers
other.

Anno Reg. 31.

have the thirde part of one yeares profit of everie beneficed man that was resident and of everie one not resident the one halfe. The bishop of London should have for his aid and collection teneid but it would not be granted. And in a parliament called this yeare on the morrow after the Purification of our ladye it was ordeined that new letters sealed with the common seale of the citie of London should be sent by sufficient messengers, from all the estates of the realme unto the pope and cardinals, requesting a moderation to be had in such exactions as were intolerable for the realme to beare. Whilist this parliament yet lasted, there came over the lord Peter of Savoy earle of Richmond bringing with him certein young ladies and damels, to be bestowed in marriage on such young lords and gentlemen as were warde to the king.

On S. Valentines euen, a great earthquake hap-
pened here in England, and namelie about London,
20 on the Thames side, with the which manie buildings
were ouerthrowen. These earthquakes, the seldo-
mer they chance in England, the more dreadful
the same are, and thought to signifie some great affec-
tion. A litle before this earthquake, the sea had ceased
from ebbing and flowing for the space of three mo-
neths together, by a long tract nere to the English
shore, to the great maruell of many, for either it flow-
ed not at all, or else so litle that it might not be per-
ceiued. And after the earthquake, there followed such
30 a season of foule weather, that the spring seemed to be
changed into winter, for scarce was there any date
without raine, till the feast of the translation of S.
Vener.

There were at this tyme diuerse ordinaunces de-
creed and enacted by waie of prohibition, to reſtreme
the authoritie of ſpirituall perſons, as that no eccle-
ſiaſtical ſudge ſhould determine in cauſes of anie
temporall man, except touching cauſes of matrimo-
nie and teſtaments. They were alſo prohibited to
ſue anie actions touching tithes, befoze anie ſpiritu-
all ſudge, and the writ whereby they were prohibited,
was called an *Indicauit*. Sundrie other ſuch ordinaun-
ces were deuised, which for breueneſſe we omit. What
ſped or answer ſo euer the meſſengers had that were
ſent to Rome with the letters deuised in the late par-
lement, truſt it is, that the pope ſent ouer into Eng-
land ſuch of his agents as gathered no ſmall ſurns of
monie amongſt the cleargie, as one Sparinus, and
an other named Iohannes Anglicus a ſtrier minor,
the which were not intituled by the name of legats,
to ſaue the priuileges which the king had, that no le-
gat might come into the realme without his licence.
The comming ouer of theſe men, becauſe it was to
gather monie, contented not manie mens minds,
as well appeared in a parlement called at Wyndſor a-
bout reformation thereof, but yet notwithstanding
it was there agreed, that the pope ſhould haue eleuen
thouſand marks to be leuied amongſt them of the
ſpiritualtie, exempt perſons and places reſerued.

About the same tyme, Baldwin naming himselfe
emperour of Constantinople, came againe into
England, to procure some new aid of the king, to
wards the recouerie of his empire, out of the which
he was was expelled by the Graekes. ¶ Also, there
arrived in England a cardinall that was bishop of
Sabine, hauing first receiued an oth, that he came
not for anie hurt to the king or his realme, for oth-
erwise being a legat he might not be suffered to enter
the land: he came this waie to passe ouer into Nor-
waie, whither he went to crowne and annoint Ha-
con king of that realme. There arrived here with
him the three halfe brethren to the king, Guy de Lu-
cignan, William de Valence, & Athelmarc a prest,
with their sister Alice. All these were begotten by
Hugh

1247
Matth. Paris.

**Intolerable
fractures.**

Peter de Sa
uny earle of
Richmond.

An earth-
quake.

A strange
wonder.

**Continually
rising.**

Acts made to
restrain pre-
sumptuous
authentic of
the spiritual-
ity.

The pope's collectors.

Shift by force
bearing the
name of legat.

The emperor
of Constanti-
nople com-
meth into
England.

cardinall
someth into
England, re-
aining an oth
ot to prei-
ce & realme.

The kings
and brethren
came to see the
king.

Lough Ewmarle of March, of quene Isabel the kings mother, and were therfore to be receiued of the king, with faithfull promise, that he would be to them a beneficall good brother, which his sayings with effectuall deeds he after fulfille persequuntly. The cardinall having saluted the king, toke leave of him and came to Lin, where he staid at the point of three moneths, making such purchase amongst religious men, that that by procuracies and other shifts, he got as was thought, a foure thousand marks towards his charges, and so departed. Edmund Lacie earle of Lincoln, and Richard de Burgh, as then waites to the king, were married unto two of those yong ladies of Honoune, which Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond brought puer with him, whereat manie of the English nobilitie groned.

Also about the thirtieth of August, the ladie Jone daughter to the lord Guarine de Ponchevise, was married unto William de Valence the kings halfe brother. The same ladie was heire to his fathers lands, by the death of his brother the sonne of the said lord Guarine. Sir William de Bueles knight a Norman boine, was made seneschall of Gascoigne about this season, and was sore vexed with wars by Gascon the sonne of the countesse of Biene and others, which Gascon shewed himselfe verie unthankfull, for the king had giuen both to him and to his mother (a woman of a monstrous stature) verie large intertainment to serue him in his wars at his last being in that countrie (as before ye haue heard). The archbishop of Canturburie suspended the preests of his prouince, because they would not consent (according to the grant which he had purchased of the pope) that he should haue the first fruits for one yeare, of euerie benefice that chanced to be vacant within the same prouince. The earles of Cornewall and Derby got much monie by waie of a collection, towards the reliefe of the warres in the holie land, having purchased of the pope certeine buls of indulgence for the same. Sir Fouke de Newcastell a valiant knight, and cosen germane to the king on the mothers side died at London, during the time of the parlement.

On the thirtieth of October was a paxtion of the holie bloud of Christ (as it was then supposed) shewed in most reuerent wise in a solenne procession, for the king comming to the church of S. Paule in London, receiued there the same bloud contained in a chrysalline glasse, the which he bare vnder a canopie supported with foure staves, through the streets, vnto the abbey church of Westminster. His armes were also supported by two lords as aids to him all the waie as he went. The masters of the Templers and Hospitallers had sent this relike to the king. To describe the whole course and order of the procession and feast kept that daie, would require a speciall treatise. But this is not to be forgotten, that the same daie the bishop of Norwich preached before the king in commendation of that relike, pronouncing six yeares and one hundred and sixtene daies of pardon, granted by the bishops there present, to all that came to reuerence it.

Also the same daie and in the same church, the king made his halfe brother William de Valence, and diuerse other yong bachelers, knights. Vnto the said William de Valence, for his further aduancement and maintenance, he gaue the castell of Hertford, and the honoz thereto belonging, with great treasure: & to the elder brother Guy de Lucignan, which about the same time returned into France, he gaue verie great and honorable gifts, lading his sumpters with plate and treasure of sterling monie, which in those daies in all countries was verie much esteemed. The

he had late possessions in right of his wife, was besieged of his owne tenants, within a castell where in he lodged, and being in danger either to be through famine, or else at the discretion of the enemies, he bote his way, and making way with his sword, escaped, and comming to the king of Scots, complained of the iniurie done to him by his people, whereupon the king toke such order, that the rebels were punished, and the earle set in quiet possession of his lands againe.

Toward the latter end of November, William earle Ferrers of Derby departed this life, a man of great yeares and long troubled with the gout, a iust man and a peaceable. The same moneth the countesse his wife died also, a woman of yeares vertue and same like to his husband: Thomas Becket the archbishop of Canturburie did minister the priestes office at their marriage. Their eldest sonne William succeeded his father in the earldome, a good man and a discret, but vexed with the gout verie pitifull, having that disease also as it were, by inheritance from his father. There died likewise other of the nobilitie, as Richard de Burgh, and William Fitz Ham. Beatrix the countesse of Honoune mother to the quene, and Thomas de Sauoy late earle of Flauers, came into England to visit the king and quene and were honorable receiued, and at their departure backe towards home, richly rewarded. This yeare in the octaves of the Purification, a parlement was holden at London, where all the nobilitie of the realme in manner was present. There were nine bishops, as the archbishop of Yorke, with the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, Chichester, Ely, Rochester and Carlisle, with the earls of Cornewall, Leicester, Winchester, Hereford, Northfolke, Devon, Lincoln, Ferrers, and Warwick, with Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond, besides lords and barons. The archbishop of Canturburie was at the court of Rome, & the bishop of Durlesme was litten by sickness.

In this parlement king Henrie earnestly required a reliefe of the great charges which he had diuerse waies susteyned, whereupon he was straightwaies by the peeres of the realme noted both of couetousnesse, unthankfulnesse, and breach of promise, because he neuer ceased gathering of monie, without regard had to his people: and where he had promised manie things, as that he would not be burdensome vnto them, and such like, he had performed verie little of those his gale promises. Manie misdeemeanors, and wrongfull doings, to the greivance of his people were opened and laid before him, as charging and enriching of strangers, & using his prerogatives too largely, to the great decaye & hinderance of the common-wealth. The king abashed herewith, and supposing that the confession of his fault should make amends, & assuage the displeasure which his nobles and other had conceived at his misgouernance, to content them all with one answer, he promised that he would reforme all that was amisse, and so quietting the minds of his barons, the parlement was proroged till the quindene of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist. Wherein his prudence and wisdom was to be commended, but his patience deserveth exceeding great praise, whereby he shewed himselfe princelike-minded, in that he could tolerate the exprobration and casting of his faults in his face, euen by such as should rather haue concealed than disclosed them: whereas it had stood with his roialtie to haue giuen them the counterchecke, and in angrie mood to haue tamed their malapertnesse: but that he proudly considered that

—paris ira furor, Turpia verba furor, verba ex turpibus exit

The earle of Winchester be sieged in Galloway by his owne tenants.

William earle Ferrers departed this life.

2248
The countesse of Honoune commeth into England.
A parlement.

A subsidy was granted. Polydor. March. Paris.

The king charged by his immoritate enriching of strangers.

The parlement proroged.

The cardinall maketh shift for monie.

William de Valence married the kings halfe brother.

Gascon de Biene maketh war against the kings lieutenant.

Preests of the prouince of Canturburie suspended.

Sir Fouke de Newcastell the kings cosen by his mothers side departed this life.

Pardon granted by bishops.

Knights made.

Anno Reg. 32.

earle of Winchester remaining in Galloway, where

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Anno
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William earle
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olydor.
larch. Paris

The king
parged by
is immoder
ate enriching
strangers.

The parlem
tozged.

Rix, ex hac oritur vulnus, de vulnere lethum :

— patientia virtus,

Qua quicquid caret, caret probitate necesse est.

Qui nil ferre potest, hominum commercia vitet.

In ordinance
for monie.

Inquire
made for was
Gers & clip
pers of monie.

Math. Paris.
The parlem
dissolved.
The king dy
uen to sell his
plate.

St. Edwards
saire at West
minster.

Sir Richard
Edward de
castell.

Death of
bishops.

In eclipse.
Newcastle
burnt by cas
tall fire.

The archb.
of Cant. curseth.

Anno Reg. 33.
In earthquake

About the same time, by reason that the sterling monie was generallie so clipped, that the inscription was cut off for the most part euen to the inner circle, a proclamation was set forth, that no peeces thereof should passe from one to an other, nor be receiued as currant and lawfull monie, except the same were of iust weight and fashion. Herewith also inquitie was made for those that had so defaced it, and sundrie felous bankers, and cloth-merchants of Flanders were found gilty. Also, the French king caused serch to be made within his realme for the same offenders, and such as were found gilty, were hanged, so that he was moze seure in punishing those falsifiers of the king of Englands coine, than the king of England was himselfe.

The parlement began againe at the day appointed, but nothing to accompt of was then concluded, but rather a displeasure kindled betwixt the king and his barons, for that they looked for a reformation in his doings, and he for monie out of their coffers, which would not be granted, and so that parlement brake by. The king hereupon for want of monie, was driven to so hard a shift, that he was constrained to sell his plate and iewels (which the Londoners bought) so much to his hinderance, that diuers peeces (the workmanship whereof was moze worth than the value of the stuffe) were sold notwithstanding after the rate as they wold.

This yeare, the king caused a faire to be kept at Westminster at saint Edwards tide, to indure for sixtene daies, and to the end that the same should be the moze haunted with all manner of people, he commanded by proclamation, that all other faires, as Elie, and such like holden in that season, should not be kept, nor that any wares should be shewed within the citie of London, either in shop or without, but that such as would sell, should come for that time vnto Westminster: which was done, not without great trouble and paines to the citizens, which had not roine there, but in booths and tents, to their great disquieting and disease, for want of necessarie provision, being turmoiled to pitifullie in mire and dirt, through occasion of raine that fell in that vnseasonable time of the yeare. The bishop of Elie complained sore of the wrong done to him by suspending his faire at Elie aforesaid.

Sir Richard Edward died this yeare, after he had lalen a long time vexed with the palsey, which sir Richard had in his daies bene a right worthie and famous knight. There died also the bishops of Bath and saint Davids. In the first day of June, the mone immediatlie vpon the setting of the sunne, was almost wholie eclipsed, so that little of hir might appeare. The towne of Newcastle vpon Tyne was almost wholie consumed with fire, together with the bridge there. The archbishop of Cantuarbie remaining still with the pope by his procurator the deane of Beauvais, denounced all them accursed which went about to impeach him of receiuing the first fruits of benefices that voided, which he had by the popes grant, the king and quene, with their children, and the kings brother the earle of Cornwell onelie excepted out of that curse.

There chanced another earthquake foure daies before Christmasse, namelie in the west countie about Bath and Welles, which shoke and ouerthrew some buildings, speciallie the tops and summets of steeples, turrets and chimnies were shaken therewith, and not the bases or lower parts. In Christmasse following, the earle of Leicester returned out of

Gascoigne, where he had bene as generall against Gaston de Biene, whome he had so afflicted and put to the worse, that the same Gaston was glad to sue for an abstinence of warre, where before he had done much hurt to the kings subiects. The said earle had also with the aid of the kings subiects apprehended an other rebell, one William Berthram de Egremont who had done much hurt in the parts of Gascoigne, and in the confines there, whome he had left in prison within the castell of the Rioll.

This yeare a little before Candlemas, the bishop of Durham being a man of great yeares, by licence obtained of the pope, resigned his miter, reseruing to himselfe onelie three manors, Houeden with the appurtenances, Stodon and Curington. The king hauing the last yeare receiued of his subiects a denie all of a generall subsidie to be granted him, practised this yeare to get some reliefe at their hands, in calling each of them apart: but first he got two thousand marks of the citie of London, and after fell in hand with the abbats and priors, of whome he got somewhat, though sore against their willes. By occasion of two merchant strangers of Babant, which chanced to be robbed about the parts of Winchester, whilst the king was there, vpon their importunate suit and complaint, there was a great nest of theues broken, amongst the which were manie wealthie persons and freeholders, such as bled to passe on life and death of their owne companions, to whom they were fauourable inough you may be sure: also, there were some of the kings seruants amongst them. About thirtie of those offenders were apprehended, and put to execution, besides those that escaped, some into sanctuarie, and some into voluntarie exile, running out of and utterlie forsaking the countrie.

About Easter, the archbishop of Rome came ouer into England, and doing homage for such reuenues as belonged to his church here within this realme, had the same restozed vnto him. In June there fell such abundance of raine, speciallie about Abington, that the willow trees, milles, and other houses standing nere to the water side, were bozne downe and ouerturned, with one chapell also: and the corne in the field was so beaten to the ground, that bread made thereof after it was ripe, seemed as it had bene made of bran.

About the same time, William de Longespée earle of Salisburie, and Robert de Wier, with other Englishmen, to the number of two hundred knights, hauing taken on them the crosse, went into the holie land, the said earle being their cheefe captaine, and had so prosperous speed in their iornie, that they arrived safe and sound in the christan armie, where (the French king being cheefe thereof) they were receiued ioiullie. But yet (as Matthew Paris writeth) the pride and disdain of the Frenchmen was so great, that vpon spite and enuie conceiued at the Englishmens glorie, which bare themselves right worthilie, the Frenchmen bled the Englishmen nothing frendlie; namelie the earle of Arras sicked not to speake manie reprochfull words against the said William de Longespée and his people, whereat they could not but take great indignation.

Also the same season, the earle of Leicester, who had likewise receiued the crosse, deferred his iornie for a time, and sailing into Gascoigne, mightie there subdued the kings enemies, as Gaston de Biene, also one Ruffeine, and William de Solares. This yeare died Peter de Geneure, a Breuancois borne, whome the king had preferred in marriage vnto the ladie Maud, daughter and heire of Walter Lacie a man of faire possessions in Ireland. Of which marriage there came issue a sonne and a daughter. Also about this tunc died a noble baron of the north parts,

The bishop of
Durham re-
signeth his
bishopske.

Math. Paris.
The king
practiseth to
get monie.

A nest of
theues broken.

The archbish.
of Rome.

Math. Paris.
Great raine.

The earle of
Salisburie &
other go into
the holie land.

Math. Paris.

The spite of
the French
towards the
Englishmen.

Peter de Ge-
neure.

242

The decess of Roger Fitz John.

The death of Hugh le Desp.

Anno Reg. 34. The archb. of Canturburie inthronized.

A toynie holden at Wackley, as some copies haue at Wackley.

1250 Common son to Richard earle of Cornwal bozne.

An ambassage sent to the pope.

The king taketh on him the crosse.

The lord Roger de Montehault.

Gaston de Berne submiteth himself to the king.

The earle of Leicester his service in Gascoigne.

The bishop of Lincoln.

parts, named the lord Roger Fitz John, whose sonne and heire being yong, was giuen in wardship to William de Valence the kings halfe brother. Also this yeare Hugh earle of March, father to the same William de Valence died in Cyprus, whilst the French armie wintered there, as then going into the holic hand.

In the feast of All saints, the archbishop Bonifacius was inthronized at Canturburie, and kept a solemne feast, at the which the king and queene, with the moze part of all the prelates of the land were present. About this season was a great toynie and iusts holden at Wackley, where the earle of Gloucester (contrarie to his accustomed maner) fauoured the part of the strangers, whereby they preuailed. In somuch that William de Valence handled one sir William de Ovingestelles verie roughlie, the same sir William being a right worthie knight. About the same time, the countesse of Cornewall at Berkehamsted was deliuered of a sonne named Edmund. This yeare about the beginning of the spring, the kings brother the earle of Cornewall with other noble men of the realme, as the earle of Gloucester, Henrie Hastings baron, & Roger Turkebie, went ouer into France in princelie arrate and furniture to visit the pope, who held his court still at the cite of Lions. The bishop of Lincoln also and the bishop of Worcester went thither. For that cause the other went, it was not openlie knowne. But the bishop of Lincoln went thither about such businesse as he had in hand against the Templers, Hospitallers, and such other which had appealed from him to the court of Rome, where he could not bring his purpose to passe, for his aduersaries with monie had purchased the iudges fauour. And so the bishop returned, hauing spent his trauell and monie in baine.

On the 6 of March being sundate, the king took upon him the crosse, with his brother de Valence, and a great number of other noble men, and amongst other the abbat of Burie, to the prejudice (as was thought) of his order. Roger de Montehault, a baron of great honour, meaning verelie to go in that iourne, to rescouer monie towards his necessarie furniture, set and sold the most part of his liuings. His woods and possessions, which he had about Countreie, he sold and let to fee farme vnto the countie there. The like chieuanee was made by sundrie noble men, which prepared themselves to go in that iourne.

Upon the 27 day of Aprill those that had taken on them the crosse, assembled at Bermondsey besides London, to treat of their setting forward, determining that the same should be at Spidsummer next: but by the popes letters which the king procured, they were commanded to staie till the king himselfe went. Thus their iourne for that time was disapointed. There was of them and their retinues that meant thus to haue gone, fise hundred knights, besides peomen or demilances and other common souldiers in great numbers. Gaston de Berne was so diuina to his shifts by the high proteesse of the earle of Leicester, that in the end he was constrained to come ouer into England, and submit himselfe to the king, whom he found at Clarendon, where he gat such mercie at the kings hands, that he was pardoned and restored to his lands. But the earle of Leicester put the king in possession of the castles of Fronsacke, Egremount, and others, and banished Kusein, and William de Solares, with diuerse other stubborne and disloiall rebels, depriuing them of their lands and inheritance in that countreie.

The bishop of Lincoln did excommunicat a prest within his diocese, that was accused of incontinencie. And bicause the same prest continued for tie daies without saking to be reconciled, the bishop

sent to the shiriffe of Rutland, within whose bailiwick the same prest dwelled, to apprehend him as a disobedient and rebellious person: but the shiriffe twinked at the matter, and would not execute the bishops commanement, whereupon the bishop did also excommunicat the shiriffe: whereof the king being informed, took displeasure, and sending to the pope, procured an inhibition, that no archbishop nor bishop should compell anie officer belonging to the king, to followe anie suit afore them, for those things that appertained to the kings iurisdiction, or giue sentence against them for the same.

The mondaie befoze the Rogation weeke, Richard the kings brother earle of Cornewall, returned from the court of Rome, where he had bene about certeine businesse vnknotowne to most men: but whatsoeuer the same was, the pope gaue him most courteous and honorable interteinement for his welcome, and made him great cheare during his abode at Lions, where the popes court as then laie. ¶ About this season, the king to rid himselfe out of debt, wherein he was indangered to certeine merchants, lessened the charges of his houshold, and kept but a meane port, diminishing euen the accustomed almesse of the pope, and also the great number of tapers and lights in his chapel, so that he was noted with the blame of too much niggardie sparing and pinching: but in that he discharged his debt to the merchants, he was thought to do wiselie and charitablie, for that he would not see them hindered to whom he was so indebted: besides the opinion that he had concerning himselfe, namelie that

Profectum faciunt rarum quos debita stringunt.

About the same time also, he caused the Jewes to giue vnto him a great portion of their goods, so that they were greatlie impouerished. There was one of them named Aaron bozne in Poike, the which since the kings last retorne out of Gascoigne, had paid to the king the summe of thirtie thousand markes, ouer and besides two hundred markes which he had giuen to the queene, as the same Aaron protested to Matthew Paris, vpon his faith and truth which he bare to his law. In the Whitsuntide was a generall chapter holden of the friers preachers at London in Holborne, where out of sundrie parts of the world were assembled aboue foure hundred of them, and they had meat and drinke found them of almesse, bicause they possessed nothing of their owne. ¶ On the first daie the king came into their chapter, that he might be partaker of their prayers, and found them meat and drinke that day, and dined there with them, to doe them the moze honour. Another day the queene likewise fed them, and afterwards the bishop of London, the abbats of Westminster, S. Albons, and Waltham, with others.

About the same season the citizens of London found themselves greued verie soze, for such liberties as the king granted to the abbat of Westminster, to the great hinderance and decaye of the franchises of their cite. The maiors and communaltie resisted all that they might against those liberties, and finally by the good helpe and fauour of the lords, as the earles of Cornewall and Leicester, they obtained their purpose. This yeare maister William de Kilkennie, a sober, faithfull and learned man, was made keeper of the great seale. ¶ The same yeare vpon inquisition made by Geoffrey de Langley, one of the kings counsell of transgressors in forrests and chauses, manie that had offended were presented, and most grauouslie punished by imprisonment, fines, and exceeding great amercements, and namelie in the north countreie.

On the ninetenth of Maie died Robert de Lexington cleark, the which hauing continued a long

An inhibition procured by the king of the pope.

The earle of Cornwal retourneth from the pope.

The king forcieth to bring himselfe out of debt.

The Jewes constrained to helpe the king with monie.

March, Paris.

A generall chapter of friers preachers.

March, Paris. Strife betwixt the Londoners and the abbat of Westminster.

William de Kilkennie keeper of the great seale.

Robert de Lexington departheth this time.

The decess of Roger Fitz John. The death of Hugh le Desp. The archb. of Canturburie inthronized. A toynie holden at Wackley, as some copies haue at Wackley. 1250 Common son to Richard earle of Cornwal bozne. An ambassage sent to the pope.

Mich. Wind.

March

The f. m. th. t.

Ship. Herbs. Wind.

Anno 1250. The p. of the b. to bise. the arc. Camm. of his.

Enrr. at S. A.

The p. eth. for. 1. to 1000. Barde.

time in the office of a iudge, purchased to himselfe great fame, and also most large possessions. But certaine yeeres before his death, because he was diseased with the pallie, he gave over that office, and dyed himselfe into a quiet trade of life, so ending his daies in prayers and doing of almesdeeds. About the feast of S. Margaret died Henrie Hastings a noble baron, and one Robert de Spulchampe a man of great renowne in the north parts. Also Walter bishop of Winchester departed this life, about the feast of S. Mattheu, in whose place (through the kings earnest suit) his halfe brother Athelmarc was promoted to succeede. Moreover, in the east parts, that ballant erle of Salisburie William de Longespée, with Robert de Aier, and others, was slaine in that vnfortunate battell in the which the Saracens vanquished the christian armie, and tooke Lewes the French king prisoner.

On the first day of October, the mone upon his change, appearing exceeding red and swelled, began to shew tokens of the great tempest of wind that followed, which was so huge and mightie, both by land & sea, that the like had not bene lightlie knowne, and seldome or rather neuer heard of by men then a liue. The sea forced contrarie to his naturall course, flowed twice without ebbing, yelding such a rozing noise, that the same was heard (not without great wonder) a farre distance from the shore. Moreover, the same sea appeared in the darke of the night to burne, as it had ben on fire, and the waues to striue and fight together after a maruellous sort, so that the mariners could not deuise how to saue their ships where they laie at anchor, by no cunning nor skill which they could deuise. At Hertburne three tall ships perished without recouerie, besides other smaller vessels. At Winchelsey, besides other hurt that was done in bridges, milles, bryakes and banks, there were three hundred houses, and some churches broken with the high rising of the water course. The countie of Holland beyond the sea, and the marish land in fflanders, sustained inestimable damage, and in manie other places; by reason that riuers beater backe and repelled (by the rising of the sea) swelled so high that they ouerdrowed their chanelles, and much hurt was done in medowes, brydges, milles, and houses.

Anno Reg. 35.
The practice of the bishops to disapprove the archb. of Cantuarie of his purpose
About the beginning of the five and thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, the bishops of England, vnderstanding that the archbishop of Cantuarie was about to purchase of the pope a grant to gather monie through his whole prouince of the cleargie and people for synods and procuracies, they thought to prevent him, and therefore made a collection euerie one through his owne diocesse, of two pence in euerie marke which any beneficed man might dispend, which monie so collected, they ment to impleie about charges in the popes court, for the fraie of the archbishops suit, that the grant should not passe.

Earthquake at S. Albons.
About the same time, to wit, vpon saint Lucies day, there was a great earthquake at S. Albons, and in the parts thereabouts with a noise vnder the ground, as though it had thundered. This was strange and maruellous, because the ground there is chalkie and sound, not hollow nor loose, as those places be where earthquakes for the most part happen. Dowes, rakes, and other birds that sat vpon houses, and in boughes of trees fearing this strange wonder, flied vp, and flue to and fro, shewing a token of feare as if a golshauke had bene ouer their heads. The pope required by sollemne messengers sent to the king of England, that he might come to the cite of Burdeaur in Gascoigne, & there for a time remaine. The king wist not well what answer to make, for loth he was to denie any thing that the pope should

require, and againe he was not willing for sundrie respects, that the pope should come so nere vnto him. Indeed, manie were in doubt, least if he came to Burdeaur, he would also come into England, and rather impaire the state thereof than amend it by his presence, sith by such vsurers and licentious liuers as belonged to him, the realme had already bene sore corrupted. Howsoever the matter went, there was delaie and such means deuised and made, that the pope came not there at that time.

On Christmas day in the night, great thunder and lightning chanced in Northfolke and Suffolke past measure, in token as was thought of some euill to follow. The king kept his Christmas at Winchester, but without any great port or liberallitie, for hospitalitie with him was greatlie laid aside. About this time, Guy de Lusignan the kings halfe brother came ouer into England, after his returne out of the holie land, and was of the king iustlicie receiued. Towards the releefe of his expenses made in that iourne, the king gaue him five hundred pounds which he got of the Jewes. Moreover, he gaue to his brother. Geoffrey the custodie of the baron Hastings lands, and so by such liberall and bounteous gifts as he bestowed on them and other strangers, he greatlie incurred the hatred of his naturall people the Englishmen.

On the day of the Epiphanie, the earle of Leicester came to the king in great hast out of Gascoigne giuing him to vnderstand, that the Gascoignes were reuolted in such number, that if speedie succour were not prouided, the whole countie would fall from the English subiection. Wherevpon the king furnished him with monie, and the earle himselfe got all that he could make of his owne reuenues, and likewise of the Amfrenilles lands, the heire whereof he had in custodie. He made no long abode, but with all speed returned, and reteined two hundred Ritters of the duke of Brabant countries, and with them certeine crossbowes. These were eger souldiers, and bloudie, but yet the Gascoignes prepared themselves to resist them all that they might: howbeit the earle put them still to the worke. Before his last returne from thence, he had rased the castell of Fronfacke flat with the ground, and likewise left desolate the castell of Egremount.

About this season, one of the kings iustices named Henrie de Bath fell in the kings displeasure, because he was accused that he had not exercised his office vprightlie, but to his owne priuat gaine, and peruered iustice through bribes, vpon occasion of a suit moued betwixt him and one Guerard de Trumington: he was appealed of falshood and treason by Sir Philip Marcie knight. His wife was of kin to the Balleys and Samfords, the which procured him great friendship at the hands of the earle of Cornwall, and of John Hanfell, and other of the kings counsell. But for all that they could do, he was in great danger to haue lost his life at the parlement holden that yeare, and begun on the sixteenth day of Februarie. For the king was so sore moued against him, that he caused proclamation to be made, that if any man had any thing to laie against the said Henrie de Bath, they should come forth, and their information should be heard. Wherevpon diuers came and presented their complaints, and amongst other, one of his owne fellows, that was a iustice also, declared that he had suffered an offendour counsell, to escape unpunished, for a bribe, which he receiued to the prejudice of the king, and the danger of his associates the other iustices, whereas it is required of one put in trust with the administration of lawes, to be incorrupt and sound in iudgement, according to this true position,

The popes presence more like to impaire than amend things.

1 2 5 7
a hunter and lightning.

Guy de Lusignan brother to the king.

The earle of Leicester returned.

He had of the king 3000 marks.

Ritters.

A iustice accused for taking bribes.

Indis est rectum munere nec prece flecti.

The king herewith rose up in a great fume, and said openlie: If any man will sea Henrie of Bath, he shall not be impeached for his death: for I do here plainlie declare him acquit and guiltlesse for the same. Here with diuers words he ran upon him to haue murdered him, but that John Spansell staied their outrage, the king them that the king might well herafter repent the words which he spake thus in his furie, and those that should do any violence vnto the man, were not like to escape punishment: for both the bishop of London would sue the accuse them, and other of his friends would not faile to seeke reuenge by tempoall force: and thus was Henrie of Bath in the kings high displeasure for the time. Howbeit at length, through intercession of the earle of Cornewall, and the bishop of London, he was put to his fine, and pardoned.

Henrie de Bath put to his fine.

Athelmarc of Dornare bishop of Winchester confirmed. A commendation of the bishops.

About the same time, Athelmarc the kings halfe brother was confirmed bishop of Winchester by the pope, although he was thought scarce sufficient to haue the place, for lacke of learning and the peares. About this time also, the bishops assembling at Dunstable, took aduise together, how to prevent the archbishop of Cantuarburie, that he should not visit: and in the end they concluded to send their procurator vnto the court of Rome, to trie what purchase might be made there for monie to staie the licence, and not to sticke for the disturbing of foure thousand marks, if need required. Their procurator did so much in the matter, that he found the pope saourable vnto his cause, though no determinate answer was giuen of a long time, till at length, to gratifie the archbishop and his kin, as the duke of Banop and other, the pope granted him licence to visit, but not generallie: for he might not visit anie parish church, except the person required him thereto. And whereas he had libertie to visit conuentuall churches, yet might he not receive for procuracies aboue foure marks. For this moderation to be had, the procurator for the bishops gaue vnto the pope six thousand marks.

Six thousand marks giuen to the pope.

The bishop of Lincoln visited the abbies.

The same peare the bishop of Lincoln visited the religious houses within his diocese, to vnderstand what rule was kept amongst them, vnto the matter somewhat stridlie (as they thought): for he entred into the chambers of the monks & searched their beds. And coming to the houses of the nuns, he went so nere as to cause their breasts to be tried, that he might vnderstand of their chaste linings. In Lent following he was suspended by the pope, because he would not suffer an Italian that had no skill of the English tongue to inioy a prebend in his church, which the pope had giuen to the same Italian. In this season, Wales was brought to be subiect vnto the English lawes, and that part which ioined to Cheshire, was committed to the custodie of Alain lord Zouch, the which gaue, for hauing of the profits thereof to farme, a hundred marks, and supplanted lord John Craic which should haue had it for five hundred. Certaine strangers and strangers borne called Caorsini, had bought faire houses at London, and so remained there as inhabitants, occupieng their trade without controulment, for the prelates durst not speake against them, because they alleged themselves to be the merchants of the popes highnesse: and the citizens durst not trouble them because they were defended by certein noble men, whose monie (as was said) they occupied, to gaue after the manner of the court of Rome. Howbeit at length they were called before the ciuill magistrate by the kings procurement, and grieuouse accused for their vnlawfull occupieng of vsurie, and some of them committed to prison, the residue hid themselves out of the way, till at length for a summe of monie they were licenced to be at rest,

The bishop of Lincoln suspended by the pope.

Wales subiect to the English lawes.

Alain lord Zouch.

Caorsins called Caorsini.

and so continued for a season. The feloes reioiced hereat to haue fellowship with them in their miserie.

In this season also, there depended a controuersie betwixt the archbishop of Cantuarburie with the bishop of London and his canons of Paules; so that the said bishop of London & the deane of Paules, and other of the canons were excommunicated. But the bishop perceiving which way the world went, reconciled himselfe: as for the deane, he stood long in the matter, & at length went himselfe to the pope to utter his griefe. This controuersie hangd long betwixt them, and was handled in such wise, that the men laughed at their doings, for now and then when the pope commanded to be absolved, their aduersaries by colour of the popes authoritie would command to be excommunicated. The first day of Julie the earle of Leicester in Gascoigne ouercame manye of the kings enemies, and took from them a fortrese called Chastellon.

Controuersie betwixt the bishop of London and his canons of Paules.

The earle of Leicester's speech in Gascoigne.

Countess of Leicester's speech in Gascoigne.

On St. Dunstons day there was a marvellous sore tempest of weather, the aire being darkened on euerie side from the four corners thereof, and with all chanced such a thunder as few the like had bene heard of. First it began as it had bene a great way off, but after it burst out with such terrible crackes as was wonderfull. But one amongst the rest exceeded, and withall such lightening flashed forth, as put men in great feare and terror. The chimney of the chamber, wherein the queene and hir children then were, was beaten downe to dust, and the whole building sore shaken. This was at Windsor, where in the parke, oaks were rent in sunder, and turned by by the roots, and much hurt done; as milles with the millers in them, sheepsolds with their shepheards, and plowmen, and such as were going by the way were destroyed and beaten downe. About the same time the sea on the coasts of England arose with higher tides than the naturall course gaue, by the space of six feet.

A sore tempest of weather.

Windsore.

High tides.

About Michaelmasse queene Dowager of Scotland, that was daughter to Monsieur de Cousie a Frenchman, came through England to returne into France where she was borne, and was of the king honorable receiued and welcomed. This peare the nunrie of Marton not far from Lin was founded by the ladie Isabell countesse of Arundell. Also this peare the lord William de Candlish departed this life, in whose heritage his son also named William succeeded. Also, John Cobham & Geoffrey Spenser (that was a man of great fame, and one of the kings counsell) departed this life, Cobham before Easter, and Spenser shortly after the same feast. Also in the octaues of Pentecost, Paule Deuier or Deuere departed this life, he was one of the kings chiefe counsellors, and lord steward of his house. This man at the first was not borne to anie great possessions, but by purchase attained to great reuenues. The ladie Ione his wife compounded with the king for the marriage of hir son named Paule, after his father, but the lord John Craic paid the monie, being five hundred marks, and so discharging hir of that debt, married hir some to one of his daughters at his manor of Eton, and afterwards at London married the mother of his sonne in law, where with the king was sore displeased, for he had giuen the marriage of hir vnto a stranger, one Stephan de Salines, so that the lord Craic was glad to giue to the king the summe of fiftie marks, by way of a fine to haue his good will.

The nunrie of Marton founded.

Paule Deuier.

The lord Deuier married the wife of Paule Deuier.

In the six and thirtieth peere of king Henries reigne, the church of Hales was dedicated of the foundation of Richard earle of Cornewall. At which dedication he kept a solemne feast on the euen of saint Leonard being Sunday. There was present the king and the queene,

Anno Reg. 36. March. The church of Hales dedicated.

12

The house of Cou.

The house of Cou.

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The house of Cou.

Controuersie
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The earle of
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Anno Reg. 34.
Match. Paris
The church
of Wales do
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The charges
of the build
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church of
Wales.

Courtesies
and
wills in those
daies were
handed in
more rough
manner than
is used in our
time.

1252

The house
of Coucie.

The king of
Scots did ho
mage to the k.
of England.

Sir Robert
Hoxce, and
Sir Stephan
Bausan.
An exceeding
great wind.

The bishop of
Rochester, bull.

The Gal
cognes make
warre against
the English
labours.

quene, and almost all the Nobilitie of England, both spirituall and temporall. The building of that church, all charges accounted, stood the earle in ten thousand marks, as he himselfe confessed unto Matthew Paris. ¶ About the same time the earle of Leicester and Guie de Lusignan the kings halfe brother came into England out of France, and landed at Douer, whome the king receiued with great ioy and gladnesse. He gaue to his brother at his returne great rewards, as he was ever accustomed. In the feast of the Conception of our ladie at a iustices holden at Rochester, the strangers were put to the worse, and well beaten by the English batchlers and men of armes, so that the dishonour which they did to the Englishmen at Hazlepy was now recompensed with interest. For the strangers fleeing to the citie for succour, were met by the way by the English knights seruants and yeomen, which fell upon them, beat them sore with clubs and staves, and handled them verie euill. Hereof sprang a great hatred betwixt the Englishmen and strangers, which daile grew and increased more and more, the rather because the king had them in so good estimation, and retained so many of them within the realme.

The king did celebrate the feast of Christmasse at Porke, whither came Alexander the yong king of Scots, and was there made knight by the king of England, and on saint Stephens day he married the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of England, according to the assurance before time concluded. There was a great assemblie of noble personages at that feast. The quene Dowager of Scotland mother to king Alexander, a French woman of the house of Coucie, had passed the sea, & was present there with a faire companie of lords and gentlemen. The number of knights that were come thither on the king of Englands part were reckoned to be at the point of one thousand. The king of Scots had with him thre score knights, and a great sort of other gentlemen comparable to knights. The king of Scots did homage to the king of England at that time for the realme of Scotland, and all things were done with great loue and fauour, although at the beginning some strife was kindled about taking up of lodgings.

This assemblie of the princes cost the archbishop verie deerie, in feasting and banquetting them and their traines. At one dinner it was reported he spent at the first course thre score fat oren. ¶ At request of the k. of Scots, the k. of England receiued Philip Lunell againe into fauour, or rather Lonell (as I take it) one of his counsell, against whome he had conceived displeasure in the yere last past, for such byberie as he was thought to be guilty of for shewing fauour to the Jewes. The king of Scots when he should depart, toke his leaue in most courteous manner, and led with him his new married wife, on whome attended sir Robert Hoxce knight marshall of the kings house, and sir Stephan Bausan, and also the ladie Guald, the widowe of the lord William Cantlow, with others. On the octaues of the Epiphanie chanced an exceeding great wind, which did much hurt in diuers places of the realme. The bishop of Rochester returning frō the court of Rome, brought with him a bull, authorising him to receiue to his owne vse the first part of the reuenues of all the beneficed men within his diocesse.

In this meane while the earle of Leicester remaining in England, the Galscognes made soze warre against such as he had left behind him, and withall gaue information to the king that the earle of Leicester was a traitor, and one that had spoiled the kings subiects: and furthermore by his vntrust dealings had giuen to the Galscognes cause of rebellion. The

king to boult out the truth of this matter, sent first his chapleine Henrie Wingham, and afterwards sir Nicholas de Moles de Valence, as commissioners to inquire of the earles doing, who went and returned without finding any manifest crime in the earles demeanour. The earle was much offended that his innocencie should be thus suspected; but at length being appointed to returne into Galscogne, he obeyed and hauing a great summe of monie, he retained a power of men of warre, as well Frenchmen as others, and meaning to be reuenged of those that had giuen the information against him, he strengthened himselfe with the aid of the king of Fflauarre, and of the earle of Bigorre and other, so that he oppressed his aduersaries on ech hand, and so abated their pride, that if conuenientlie they might, they would haue pashed themselves to some other prince, and utterly haue renounced the k. of England for ever. Whereby it should seme that he was thoughtlie reuenged of them euen to their no small smart, not in word and threating, but with sword and blond-shedding, defending his innocencie, and manfullie shewing his warlike mind. But yet he had purchased to himselfe a greater portion of praise, if he had not with weapon but with wisdom made a conquest of the enimie: according to this sound counsell of a sage writer:

*Ingenio studeas magis quam superare furor,
Ingenio vires cedunt prudentia victrix
Cuncta domat.*

The earle of
Leicester
danteth his
enimies.

Mal. Palin
suo cap.

On the thirtenth day of March, the new mone was seene, whereas the prime change by naturall course should not haue bene till the firstenth day following; and for the space of fiftene daies that then next ensued, the sunne, the mone, and starres appeared of a red colour. And herewith the whole face of the earth seemed as it had bene shadowed with a thicke mist or smoke, the wind notwithstanding remaining north and northeast. Then began a soze drought, continuing a long time, the which together with morning frosts, and northerlie winds, destroyed the fruits and other growing things, which were blasted in such wise, that although at the first it was a verie forward yere, and great plentie towards of cozne and fruit, yet by the means aforesaid, the same was greatly hindered and speciallie in the summer season, when the sunnes heat increased, and the drought still continued.

A strange
wonder of the
new mone.

A great
drought.

The residue of such fruits as then remained, withered awaie, so that scarce a tenth part was left, and yet there was indifferent store. For the abundance which the blossomes promised had come forward, the trees had not bene able to haue borne the same. The grasse was so burned by in pastures and meadowes, that if a man toke up some of it in his hands, and rubbed the same neuer so little, it might fall to powder, and so cattell were ready to starue for lacke of meat. And because of the exceeding hot nights, there was such abundance of fleas, flies, and gnats, that people were vexed and brought in case to be wearie of their lues. And herewith chanced manie diseases, as sweats, agues, and other. In the harvest time fell there a great death and murren amongst cattell, and speciallie in Northfolke, in the fens and other parts of the south. This infection was such, that dogs and rauens feeding on the dead carrens, swelled with freight and died, so that the people durst eat no beefe, least the flesh happlie might be infected.

Manie diseases
reigned.
A murren
of cattell.

Also this was noted not without great wonder, that yong heifers and bullockes followed the milch kine, & as it had bene calues sucked the same kine. Also apple trees and pear trees, now after the time of yielding their ripe fruit, began againe to blossom, as if it had bene in Aprill. The cause of the death of cattell was thought to come hereof. After so great a

The cause of
the death of
cattell.

brought (which had continued by all the space of the moneths of Aprill, Maye, June, and Julie) when there folowed good plenty of raine, the earth began to yeld hit increase most plentifullye of all growing things, though not so wholesome nor of such kindlie substance, as in due time and season she is accustomed to bring forth, and so the cattell which before were hungerstarved, fed now so greedilye of this new grasse springing up in vntow season, that they were suddenlye puffed up with flesh, and such vnnaturall humors, as bred infections amongst them, whereof they died.

The bishop of
Lincolne.

The Ga-
coigns meant
to complaine
of the earle of
Leicester.

The earle dis-
proueth the
allegations of
his accusers.

The bishop of
Lincolne au-
thoritie to in-
stitute vicars
in churches
impropriate.

The bishop of Lincolne would haue enforced all the beneficed men within his diocesse to be priests, but they purchased a licence from Rome, to remaine at the Vniuersities for certeine yeares, without taking the order of priesthood vpon them. ¶ The king meaning to go (as he pretended) into the holie land, had grant of the pope to leuie a tenth of his subjects both spirituall and temporall. The Gascoignes sore repining at the earle of Leicester his strict gouernance (who handled them more roughlye than they had bene accustomed) sent the archbishop of Bur-
dour ouer into England to exhibit a complaint against him in all their names. The earle of Leicester aduertised thereof, followed him, and comming to the court, found the archbishop readye to aduouch the information which he had made against the said earle, chesellie in that he had sought the destruction of those to whom the earle of Cornewall when he was ruler there, had granted life and peace, and whom sir Henrie Trumbleuile, and Waleran the Dutchman, late freindes of Gascoigne, vnder the king, had cherished and mainteined. With manie other things the archbishop charged him, the which the earle with-
tillie refelled and disproued, so as he was allowed in his iustificacion by those that stood by, as the earle of Cornewall and others.

The bishop of Lincolne got authoritie of the pope to institute vicarages in churches impropriat to religious men, where no vicars were; and where such were as seemed to slenderlye provided of sufficient allowance, to augment the same as he thought expedient: which his authoritie he used more largelye than stood with the pleasure of religious persons, because he shewed great fauour to the vicars. The copie of the letters which the bishop had procured of the pope, authorising him herein, followeth as we find the same in the chronicles of Matthew Paris.

The tenor of the popes grant.

Noocentius episcopus, &c. Cum sicut accepimus in tua ciuitate & diocesi, nonnulli religiosi & alij collegiati ecclesiarum perochiales in proprios usus obtrineant, in quibus nimis exiles aut nulla taxata sunt vicarie; fraternitati tue per auctoritatem summam mandamus, quod in iisdem ecclesijs de ipsarum prouentibus vicarias instituas, & institutas exiles adaugeas vice nostra: prout iuxta consuetudinem patrie secundum Deum videtur expedire, non obstantibus si pradiicti exempti sint, aut alias muniti apostolicis priuilegijs siue indulgentijs, per quae id impediri vel differri possit; & de quibus speciale oporteat in presentibus fieri mentionem: contradictores per censuras ecclesiasticas apostolica potestate compescendo. Datum Lugduni 7 Octob. pontificatus nostri, An. 8.

The earle of
Leicester sent
souldiers into
Gascoigne.

The earle of Leicester was effones sent into Gascoigne by the king, who had not cared if he had fallen

into his enemies hands, as should appeare. But the earle hired souldiers in France, and comming into Gascoigne, preuailed against his enemies, though in one conflict he was in danger of losing both life and the honour of the field. But yet through his good hap, Gods fauour, and the valiance of himselfe and some of his retinue, he got the upper hand, and put his enemies to flight, taking Kusseline, one of the chiefe ring-leaders, whom he caused to be presented to the king.

At the same time had the king inuested his son Edward with the duchie of Aquitaine to the offense of the earle of Cornewall, to whom by charter he had before giuen and confirmed the same. In a iustis holden at Malden, sir Arnold de Montaigne a right balliant knight was slaine by sir Roger de Lemboigne, for which mishance all the Nobles there assembled made great lamentation, and namelie the said sir Roger: but yet he was suspected to be in blame, because the socket of his staffe was polished, & not abated. Whereby it should appeare, that in qualitie of weapon, and not in maner of their running together, these iustis and toznie in those daies practised differed from the verie order of warre.

The 17 of September the cathedrall church of Ely was dedicated, which the bishop of that see named Hugh had builded of his owne proper costs and charges, together with the palace there. The king and a great number of the peres & nobles of the realme both spirituall and temporall were present at this solemn feast, which was kept in most plentifull manner. The 13 day of October, the king held a great feast at London, and had called the states of the realme, then and there to assemble in parlement, wherein he opened to them the popes grant, which he had obtained of the tenths due to the church, to be received by him for three yeares, towards his charges in his iourne which he meant to make into the holie land. The bishops, and namelie Lincolne, bitterly refused to be contributarie to his grant.

They alledged sundrie reasons for their excuse, as the pouertie of the English church being alreadye made bare, with continuall exactions and oppressions; but chesellie they excused themselves by the absence of the archbishops of Canturburie and Dojke, of whom the one was beyond the sea, and the other at home in the north parts. All the other English bishops were there, except Hereford & Chester, which Chester was sick, and therefore without the content of those that were absent, and namelie their pimat the archbishop of Canturburie, they could not conclude vpon any generall point touching the kings demand. And although the king fretted and stomped against them, yet could he not bring them to his purpose, so that the parlement for that time was dissolved. Yet before their departure from London, he communed with the bishops apart, to see if he might persuade them to giue him some portion of monie towards his charges: but they had tuned their strings all after one note, discording all from his tenor, so that not a penny could be got of them: wherefore he took high displeasure against them, reuiling them in most reprochfull maner, and amongst other he vphaided his halfe brother (the elect of Winchester) of great vnthankfulnessse, who also amongst the residue stood against him.

The king hauing this repulse at the bishops hands, began to fall in talke with the lords of the temporallie touching the troubles in Gascoigne, where things were in boile by the hard doings of the earle of Leicester, against whom the Gascoignes ceased not to make warre still, and of late hauing besieged him in the castell of Mountalbon, droue him to such strait, that to escape the present danger he was glad to set at libertie certeine rebels, which he had before taken captiues.

Russeline
taken.

The king
elect son
Edward created
duke of Aquai-
taine.
Sir Arnold
de Montaigne
slaine.

The church
of Ely dede-
cated.

Parlement.

The king be-
moueth the
tenths of the
spirituallie.

The bishops
refuse to pay
to the popes
grant.

The king
highlye offend-
ed with the
bishops.

The king de-
sireth to get
monie of the
lords tem-
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parlement.

The king be-
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trituallie.The bishops
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the popes
rant.The king
public office
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hops.The king al-
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dos tem-
pall.The London-
ers helpe at
a pinch.The death of
sir Nicholas
Hamfild.The countesse
of Winchester
departeth this
life.

Marth. Paris.

The decessie
of the coun-
tess de Lisle
de Wight.

Anno Reg. 37.

The pope of-
fereth the
kingdome of
Sicill unto
the earle of
Cornwall.

captives. Therefore to reduce that countrie unto quietnesse, the king determined to go thither himselfe, and to remove the earle of Leicester out of his office: but when he came to the pith of the matter, which was to desire their aid both of men and monie, the lords would not agree to grant him anie. And where he sought to burthen the erle of Leicester with misgoverning things against his honour, they refused the same earle, and so the lords also departed in displeasure of the king as well as the bishops. 10 Whobeyt the king got of the Londoners by way of princelie praiser twentie thousand marks of gold at that time. And to their further græfe for better meane to be reuenged against the bishop of Ely, he caused the said Londoners to keepe saint Edwards faire for fiftene daies together at Westminster, and in the meane time to keepe their shops shut through all the citie. Which thing (by reason of the foule weather chancing at that time) was verie greivous unto them, albeit there was such repaire of people thither, that London had not bene fuller to the iudgement of old ancient men neuer at anie time in their daies to their remembrance.

This yeare died sir Nicholas Hamfild knight, a man of great reputation and valiance. Also on the twentieth day of October, the countesse of Winchester daughter to the earle of Hereford departed this life at Grobie, a manour place belonging to hir husband the earle of Winchester, a little besides Leicester, and was buried at Bazlie. The said earle shortly after married an other wife in hope of issue. For neither by this his last wife, neither by his first that was daughter to the lord Alane de Calotwaite had he any children. Also the same yeare, that noble ladie Margaret countesse of Lisle surnamed Rivers, sometime wife to Foukis de Went, departed out of this world, about the second day of October. In the seauen and thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, one of the popes notaries called Albert came into England to offer unto Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicill. 30 But the earle supposing it not to stand with his honour, to deprive his nephew Henrie, sonne to the emperor Frederike the second, by his wife the emperesse Isabell that was sister to the said erle, refused to take that honour upon him.

About the same time, that is to say, on the octaves of saint Martin, Boniface the archbishop of Cantuarburie arrived in England, coming from the court of Rome, where he had bene long resident. At the same time there chanced a great occasion of strife betwixt the said archbishop, and the bishop of Winchester. For where maister Eustace de Lin, official to the said archbishop had first excommunicated, and after for his contumacie caused to be attached a priest which by authoritie of the elect of Winchester as diocessane there, was entred into possession of an hospitall in Southwarke, as governour thereof, by the name of prior, without consent of the official: who pretended title as patron in his maisters name. The said elect of Winchester caused a riotous sort of persons after the manner of warre to seeke revenge hereof, the which after many outrages done, came to Lambeth, and there by violence took the said Eustace out of his owne house, and led him to Farnham, where he was kept as prisoner.

The archbishop thus served at his first coming over, and taking the same but for a homlie welcome, was marvellously offended, and committing to London accompanied with the bishops of Chichester and Hereford, in the church of saint Marie botwe; being trusted in pontificalibus, pronounced all those accursed, which were authors or fauourers of such a rash and presumptuous deed, and further commanded

all the bishops within his prouince, by vertue of their obedience, to denounce the same in their churches euerie fundate and holie day. The bishop of Winchester on the other part, sent commandement to the deane of Southwarke, to resist the archbishop to his face, and to denounce his curse to be void, vaine, and of no force, but deuised of a craftie purpose and wicked meaning. The archbishop continuing in his conceiued displeasure, went to Oxford, and there on the morrow after saint Nicholas day, renewed the same curse in solemne wise before all the learned men, students, and scholars of the Uniuersitie.

Whobeyt, at length the matter was taken by betwixt them, for the king in his brothers cause, and the queene for hir uncle the archbishop, took some paine to agree them: and so in the octaves of the Epiphanie they were made friends, and those absolved that were excommunicated, in which number William de Valence, and John de Warren were thought to be contained, as those that should be present in vsing the force against the official (as before ye haue heard.) 20 By inquirie taken about this time by the diligence of the bishop of Lincoln, it was found that the perillie profits and reuenues of spirituall promotions and livings resting in strangers hands preferred by the popes prouisions, amounted to the summe of threescor and ten thousand marks, which was more by two third parts, than the kings reuenues belonging to his crowne.

The earle of Gloucester and the lord William de Valence went ouer into France in most triumphant manner, to conclude a marriage betwixt the sonne of the said earle of Gloucester, and the daughter of the lord Guie of Engolesme. Which marriage the king had motioned for the affection which he bare towards the aduancement of his linage, by the mothers side. Whereat because they were strangers, the English nobilitie somewhat repined. And whereas like lustie yong gentlemen they attempted a iusts and toynie to shew some proufe of their valiant stomachs, they were well beaten by the Frenchmen, that disdained to see yong men so presumptuous, to prouoke old accustomed warriors to the trial of such martiall enterprises. About the beginning of Lent, the new mone was seene foure daies before she ought to haue appeared by hir due and common course.

The king by a gift got of the Londoners 1000 marks. For as it happened about the same time the youthfull citizens (for an exercise and trial of their activitie) had set forth a game to run at the quintine, and whosoeuer did best, should haue a peacocke which they had prepared for a prise. Certeine of the kings seruants, because the court laie then at Westminster, came (as it were in spite of the citizens) to the game, and giuing reprochfull names to the Londoners (which for the dignitie of the citie and ancient priuileges which they ought to haue intioed were called barons) the said Londoners not able to beare 60 so to be misused, fell upon the kings seruants, and bet them shewdrie, so that upon complaint, the king caused the citizens to fine for their rash doings. Wherein the Londoners followed the counsell of him that in a case of strife, said

*Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito,
Audaces fortuna iuvat.*

Whereouer, about the same time, the king upon displeasure conceiued against the earle of Leicester, had caused him to resigne his office of the wardenship of Gascoigne: and because the earle had it by patent, the king not able to find any iust cause of forfeiture, agreed to paie unto him for the resignation no small portion of monie. And whereas the Gascoignes had charged the earle with too much strict hand

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The archb. of
Cantuarburie
and the bishop
of Winchester
made friends.
William de
Valence, and
John de Warren.

The value of
spirituall li-
uings in stran-
gers hands.

The new
mone appe-
red before
hir time.

Running at
the quintine.

The London-
ers called
barons.

The earle of
Leicester re-
signeth his go-
uernment of
Gascoigne.

The Rioll,
S. Whilom,
townes in
Calcoigne.

Knights to
be made.

An ordinance
against rob-
bers.

The cause of
the Calcoignes
to rebellion.

A parliament.

Tenth gran-
ted of the spi-
ritualite.
Ecuage
granted.

Magna charta.

handling of them, whereby they were occasioned to raffe tumults, the matter was now nothing at all amended. For after the earle had resigned, they continued still in rebellion, so that the Rioll with S. Whiloms and other places were taken by the aduersaries out of the kings hands, and great slaughter of people made in those parts: wherefore the king minding to go thither, caused musters to be taken, and men put in a rediness according to the custome, that he might understand what number of able men furnished for the warre were to be had. He also took order that euery man that might dispend yerlie sixtē pounds in lands should be made knight.

Moreover, for the better preservation of peace and quietnesse amongst his people, he appointed watch to be kept by night in cities and borough townes. And further by the aduise of the Sauoines, which were about him, he ordeined that if any man chanced to be robbed, or by any meanes daunted by any thiefe or robber, he to whom the keeping of that countrie chafellie appertained where the robbrie was done, should competentlie restore the losse: and this was after the vsage of Sauoy; but was thought more hard to be obserued here, than in those parts, where are not so many bypaths and starting corners to thift out of the waie. ¶ The Calcoignes continued in their seditious doings, and namelie Gascon de Biene, who renouncing his dutie and obedience to the king of England ioined himselfe to the king of Spaine, through his helpe to be the stronger & more able to annoie the English subiects. The euill intreating vsed towards the Calcoignes which brought hither twines, in that the same were oftentimes taken from them by the kings officers, and other, without readie monie allowed for the sale, gaue occasion to them to grudge and repine against the king.

In the quindene of Easter a parlement began at London, in which all the states being assembled, the matter was moued for aiding the king with some relafe of monie towards the iourne which he ment to make into the holie land: and so at length it was agreed that a tenth part of all the reuenues belonging to the church was granted to him for thre yeares space, and that escuage should be lenied for that yeare, after thre markes of euery knights fee, and the king on the other part promised faithfullie to obserue and mainteine the grant of the great charter, and all the articles contained within the same. For further assurance whereof, on the third day of Maie, in the great hall at Westminster, in the presence and by the assent of the king and the earles of Norfolke, Hereford, Oxford, Warwike, and other noble men, by the archbishop of Canturburie as pismate, and by the bishops of London, Ely, Lincolne, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, Salisbury, Durham, Exeter, Carlisle, Bath, Rochester, and S. Dames, reuisted and apparelled in pontificalibus, with tapers, according to the maner, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all transgressors of the liberties of the church, and of the ancient liberties and customes of the realme of England, and namelie those which are contained in the great charter, and in the charter of forest.

Whilest the sentence was in reading, the king held his hand vpon his breast with glad and cherefull countenance, and when in the end they threw awate their extinct and smoking tapers, saying, So let them be extinguished and sinke into the pit of hell which run into the dangers of this sentence; the king said, So helpe me God, as I shall obserue and keepe all these things, euen as I am a christian man, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and annointed. But afterward when he through other counsell brake his promise therein, he was aduised by some

to giue a portion of that monie which he got at this time, to the Pope, that he might of him be absolved.

Immediatlie after the breaking vp of the parlement, that is to saie, about the first of June, the king being earnestlie called vpon by messengers sent from the Calcoignes to prouide in time for the defence and safegard of that countrie, with otherwise he stood in danger to lose it, with all speed he resolved to go thither; and thereupon caused summons to be giuen to all those that held of him by knights service, to prepare to be at Portesmouth, with horse and armour in the octaues of the Trinitie. Herewith he made great prouision of ships, the which being assembled, and the armie likewise come together, through lacke of conuenient wind he was enforced to stay a long time, to his great greefe and no lesse charges.

Finallie, on the 6 of August he took the sea, leaving his brother the earle of Cornetwall, and the quene in charge with gouernance of the realme, and of his sonne the lord Edward. There departed with him from Portesmouth thre hundred sailes of great ships, besides a number of other smaller vessels. And thus accompanied, he took his course to Calcoigne, & about our ladie day named hir Assumption, he arrived at Burdeaur, where he was of the citizens honorably receiued. Immediatlie after his arriual there, he caused the towne of the Rioll to be compassed about with a strong siege, within the which a great number of rebels were inclosed, which valiantlie defended the place in hope of rescue, which Gascon de Biene that was fled to the king of Spaine had promised to procure for them. But the king of England to prevent them in that point, sent the bishop of Bath, and his trustie chapleine sir John Spanfell by to the said king of Spaine, to conclude frendship and aliance with him, so that the lord Edward his eldest sonne might marrie the king of Spaine his daughter.

After long treatie, by the diligence of the said ambassadors, a full conclusion followed of their motion. And whereas the king of England had giuen and assigned the dominion of Calcoigne to his said sonne the lord Edward, the king of Spaine in the instrument that contained the covenants of the marriage, resigned and quite claimed all the right and title within Calcoigne which he had or might haue by the gift of king Henrie the second, and by confirmation of the kings, Richard and John. In this meane while, the townes and castels which the rebels held, were won and deliuered into the kings hands, and herewith followed a great dearth in the kings armie, so that a hen was sold for six pence sterling, a pound weight in bread was at two pence or three pence, a gallon of wine at two shillings, a come of foure bushels of wheat at twentie shillings, so that a knight with his esquire, and costrell with his two horses, might scarce be competentlie found for two shillings in siluer. Wherefore the king to relieue his people there with him on that side the sea, sent the prior of Beubourgh with other into England, to cause prouision of vittels and other necessaries to be conueied and brought vnto him into Calcoigne, and so there was a great quantitie of graine and powdered flesh taken up and sent a waie with all conuenient speed.

The earle of Leicester came to the king, bringing with him out of France where he had remained for a time, a faire companie of soldiers and men of warre to the kings aid, and was verie courteously receiued. The Calcoignes then persequed the kings power to increase, and saw how not onelie the castels therein they trusted to haue refuge were looke and gotten out of their hands by the king of England, but also that their viues (wherein theie consisted their hope of sustentation) were burned by and de-

The king pro-
uolent to go
himselfe into
Calcoigne.

He taketh the
sea.

He arriveth at
Burdeaur.

Ambassadors
sent into
Spaine.

A marriage
concluded be-
twixt the sonne
of England
sonne & the
of Spaines
daughter.

A dearth in
the kings
camp.

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sell no doubt.

The Gascoigne begin to humble themselves.

The bishop of Chichester Richard writ and Crooked b. of Lincaine depart this life

The praise of Crooked.

The king pur oserth to go himselfe into Gascoigne.

he taketh the

he arriveth at Burdeaux.

Embassadors sent into Spaine.

A marriage concluded betwixt the R. of England and one of the R. of Spaines daughter.

A death in the kings temple.

troied, they began to humble themselves, and so by little and little returned to their due obedience, after that the authoys of their seditious tumults were either apprehended, or chased out of the countrie.

This yeare died Richard the bishop of Chichester, a man of great vertue and singular knowledge. Also that famous cleark Robert Crooked bishop of Lincaine departed this life on the day of S. Denise in the night, at his manor of Bugdon, whose learning coupled with vertue and brightness of life was to him perpetuall commendation. He was a manifest blainer of pope and king, a reprover of prelates, a corrector of monks, a director of priests, an instructor of clarkes, a sustainer of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of incontinent liuers, a diligent searcher of the scriptures, a contemner and a verie mallet of such strangers as sought preferment in this realme by the popes prouisions: in housekeeping liberall, in corporall refection plentiful, and in ministering spirituall food, deuout and godlie affected: in his bishoplike office diligent, true, and neuer wearied: a singular example of a bishop, speciallie in those daies, and at whose life our reformed bishops may fetch light to abandon their darkenesse, and to amend that which is amisse in them, with

Le papa.

The R. wil. Elsie departeth this life.

Great sweet.

Great drought.

Anno Reg. 38. The lady Is. therein the kings daughter boine.

winter thunder.

1254

The queenes liberalitie towards the R.

A strang sight in the aire.

Beddome.

A death of hope.

*Placidiora sunt exempla quam precepta,
Et plenius docemur uita quam uerbo.*

Whereouer there died in Gascoigne, William de Elsie a baron of great fame in the north parts. Also in the spring and summer of this yeare was a great drought, and in the haruest season fell such wet, that great floods by the rising of the rivers, and ouerflowing their banks, did much hurt in sundrie places of the realme. Again in the later end of haruest about Michaelmasse, there was efflonies such a drought, that men could get no grinding at the milles, but were constrained to go in some places a daies iournie off, to haue their coine ground. In the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henries reigne, the queene was deliuered of a daughter which was called Is. therein, because the same was boine on saint Katharins daie.

On S. Lucies daie, there fell a great snowe, and withall a winters thunder, for a token of some euill to follow. The king to settle the state of the countrie of Gascoigne in better order, tarried there all the winter, and repaired certeine decayed towncs and castles. The queene kept hir Christmasse at London, where she laie in child-bed, and was purified on the euen of the Epiphanie, making a roiall feast, at the which manie great lords were present, as the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Elie, the earls of Cornetwall and Gloucester, and manie other. She sent ouer at the same time to hir husband for a new yars gift the summe of five hundred marks of hir owne reuenues, towards the maintenance of his warres. On the euen of the Circumcision of our Lord, in the night season, whilst the aire was most cleare and bright with shining starres, the mone being eight daies old, there appeared in the element the perfect forme and libenesse of a mightie great ship, which was first sene of certeine monks of saint Albons, who remaining at saint Amphibalus, were got vp to behold by the starres, if it were time for them to go to mattens; but perceiving that strange sight, they called vp such of their acquaintance as lodged nere at hand, to view the same. At length it seemed as the bowes and ioints thereof had gone in sunder, and so it vanished awaie. There followed a marvellous soze later end of a winter, through cold and ouer sharpe weather, which continued till the feast of S. Gregorie in March next ensuing. Also there chanced the same yeare a great murren and death of sheepe

and deere, so that of whole flocks and heardes scarce the one halfe escaped.

Whilst the king remained still in Gascoigne, he sent for his wife queene Elenor, with his eldest sonne Edward, but because he could not make an end of all his businesse that winter, he continued there the summer also. And forsomuch as he stood in need of monie, to haue some reasonable pretence to demand a subsidie, in the beginning of March, he sent to his brother Richard the earle of Cornetwall (which was come ouer before this time for that purpose) certeine instructions, to declare how there was like to follow great warre, by means of Alfonso the tenth of that name king of Castile, who manaced verie hostilie to inuade the confines of Gascoigne pertaining to the English dominion, and therefore he requited of his faithful subiects some aid of monie, whereby he might be able to resist his aduersarie the said R. of Castile. Earle Richard did what he could to persuade the people to this payment, but he cast his net in vaine before the face of the feathered fowle, as the old proverbe saith,

Apparens rete fugere volucris quaeq.

For though he set forth the matter to the uttermost in the presence of the Nobles and other estates, yet would they not heare of anie payment to be made, as those that smelled out the feined sutch and forged tale of the kings need. For they had intelligence that there was an agreement concluded betwixt him and the king of Spaine. And for the same cause the queene and the lord Edward were gone ouer, that the king of Spaine might haue a sight of him, as he had required, when the couenants of the marriage were accorded.

The states of the realme were twice assembled at London about the grant of this payment, but all in vaine; so that they were constrained to passe it ouer with silence, and to surceasse in the matter to their great græfe, and namelie the earle of Cornetwall, who had taken great paines therein. Yet for that he would not returne with empty hand, he leuied by rigorous means a great summe of the Jewes (of whom a maine multitude inhabited at that season in London) and therewith returning to his brother king Henrie, shewed him how he had sped. The king was not a little offended with them that thus had denied to helpe him with monie, insomuch that vpon euerie light occasion, he was ready to reuenge his displeasure towards them, in taking awaie such grants of priuileges and liberties as before he had made. But now to auoid suspicion of his feined pretence of war betwixt him and king Alfonso, he sent his sonne Edward into Castile vnto the same Alfonso, vnder a colour to compound with him for peace, whereas the verie occasion of his going thither, was to purchase him the lady Elenor to wife, that was sister to the said king Alfonso.

At his comming to the court of Spaine, he was verie honorablie receiued of the king, and in the end, vpon conference had of his message, obtained his suit, so that king Alfonso was content to bestow vpon him his daughter in marriage, with the countie of Pontieu in France, which he held in right of his mother queene Ione, the second wife of Ferdinand the king of Castile, father vnto this king Alfonso, which Ione was the onelie daughter and heire of Simon earle of Pontieu, and had issue by his husband the said Ferdinand two sonnes, Ferdinand and Aluise, with one daughter; to wit, the foresaid Elenor, the which by reason his brethren died young, was heire to his mother. The lord Edward hauing dispatched his businesse according to his desire, returned with a iollull hart to his father, and declared to him what he had done. His father most glad thereof, set

The king remandeth a subsidie.

The king offended with them that refused to helpe him with monie.

Edward the kings sonne is sent to the R. of Castile.

He marryeth the lady Elenor daughter to R. Alfonso.

Ran. Higd. Polydor.

Edward the
king sonne
of Edward
the first
and
second of
England

Edward the
king sonne
of Edward
the first
and
second of
England

Edward the
king sonne
of Edward
the first
and
second of
England

Edward the
king sonne
of Edward
the first
and
second of
England

I mightie
floure of
hail.

Anno. Reg. 33.
The king re-
turneth hom-
wards from
France

The countesse
of Cornwall.

an augmentation of honour, created him prince of Wales and earle of Chester, and appointed him to be his depuie and generall lieutenant both in Guern and in Ireland, and gave to him the townes of Bergham, Stamford and Grantham. Hereof came it, that after the kings death sonne was made prince of Wales upon his birth prince of Wales and earle of Chester. He created also his other sonne named Edmund earle of Lancaster.

About this season were certaine ships driven by force of wind and weather into certaine hauens on the north coasts of England towards Hartwich, which ships were of a verie strange forme and fashion, but mightie and strong. The men that were aboard the same ships were of some farre countrie, for their language was unknowen, and not understandable to any man that could be brought to talke with them. The freight and ballast of the ships was armour and weapon, as habergeons, helmets, speares, bowes, arrows, crossbowes and darts, with great store of buttels. There laie also without the hauens on the coast divers other ships of like forme, mold and fashion. Those that were driven into the hauens were stayed for a time by the bailiffes of the ports. But finally, when it could not be knowen what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licenced to depart without loss or harme in bodie or goods.

About Candlemasse, Eustace de Wierne, assembling together a multitude of the kings enemies, through the intelligence of some of the citizens of Winton that favoured not the king, wrought so, that certaine of his number entred that cite, meaning to have bereft the king of the dominion thereof. But other of the citizens (namely those of the meaner sort which favoured the king) made such resistance, that the enemies which were entred, were apprehended, and diuerse of them suffered punishment, as they had well deserved. After this, there chanced a mutinie in the English armie, because the kings brethren and the bishop of Hereford took upon them to punish certaine Welshmen, for that without commission they had bene abroad to spoile within the French confines. Therefore in asmuch as the punishment seemed to exceed the degree and qualite of the offense, and againe, for that the earle of Hereford being constable of the host by inheritance ought to haue had the order of all corrections in cases of such offenses, the Englishmen were in mind to haue slaine all the Poitouins in despite of the kings brethren, if the king had not in humble wise sought to haue appeased their furie.

The wind continuing this yeare for the space of three moneths and od daies northerlie, did greatly hinder the growth and increase of floures and fruits: and about the first of Julie there fell such a floure of hail and raine, as the like had not bene seene nor heard of in those daies, breaking downe the tiles and other coverings of houses, with boughes of trees, by the violent abundance and force of the water and hailstones, which continued about the space of an houre pelting and beating downe incessantlie. After this, when the king had remained a whole yeare in Guern, he returned homewards through France, and coming unto Charters, was honorablie there received of Lewis the French king, as then lately returned out of the holie land, and from thence he was roiallie by the same king Lewis brought unto Paris. The countesse of Cornwall went over with a noble traine of lords, gentlemen, and others, to be present at the meeting of hir two sisters, the queenes of England and France, so that the roialtie of the assemblie on eche part was great.

After that king Henrie had continued there for his pleasure certaine daies, he returned to England,

landing at Dover in Christmaslike week. This iourne into Calcoigne was verie costlie, and to small purpose (as writers haue recorded) for the kings charges amounted to the summe of 27 hundred thousand pounds and above, except lands and rents, which he gave unadvisedlie to those which little deserved, but rather sought the hinderance both of him and his realme, besides the gift of 20 thousand marks, which he bestowed upon his halfe brethren by the mothers side, not reckoning the lands nor rents, neither yet the wards nor the hostages, nor rewards which he gave to them besides, bring of price incalculable. Thus in two iournies which he made, the one into Poitou, which countrie he lost; and the other into Calcoigne, which he hardlie preferred; he spent more treasure than a wise chapman would haue giuen for them both if they had bene set on sale (as Matthew Paris writeth) so that it might be verified in him that is meant by the old proverbe,

*Qui procul excurrit, sed nil mercatur ibidem,
si via longa fuit, rediens tristatur hic idem.*

Whereupon to increase the kings daime charges, so it fell out, that pope Innocent bearing grudge towards Conrade king of Sicill, offered that kingdome (as before is partly touched) to Richard duke of Cornewall, who refused the offer, aswell for other causes, as chieflie for that the pope would not agree to such conditions as earle Richard thought necessarie for his assistance. Whereupon the pope granted that kingdome unto king Henrie, with manie goodlie promises of aid to his furtherance for attaining the possession thereof. King Henrie forthwith received that grant, and called his sonne Edmund openlie by the name of R. of Sicill, and to furnish the pope with monie for the maintenance of his war against Conrade, he got together all such sums as he could make, aswell out of his owne coffers, and out of the exchequer, as by borrowing of his brother earle Richard, and likewise what he could scrape from the Jewes, or otherwise extort by the rapine of the iudices itinerants: all which he sent to the pope, who not content herewith (when he began editions to want) wrote againe to the king for more.

The king through the instigation of the devil, to answer the popes avarice, sent him letters patents obligatorie, signed with his roiall seale, by which he might take by way of loan such summes of monie, as would largelie serue his turne of the merchants Italians, willing him not to sticke at the disbursing of treasure, nor at the great quantitie of the interest rising upon the vsurie, for he would discharge all: and hereunto he bound himselfe under paine to forsaie his kingdome and other his heritages. The pope consenting hereunto, accepted this large offer. If he did well herein (saith Matthew Paris) the Lord the iudge of all iudges iudge it, to whom appertineth the care of all things. To conclude, much monie was spent, for the pope spared not the king of Englands purse, though little good was done therewith. At length Conrade died, not without suspicion of poison. The pope being aduertised of his death, reioiced greatly, as he well uttered in plaine words, saying; Let us all that be the children of the Romish church reioice, for now two of our greatest enemies are dispatched out of the world; the one a spirituall man, that is to saie, Robert bishop of Lincoln; and the other a laie-man, that is Conrade king of Sicill. But yet the pope missed of his purpose, for Manfred the bastard sonne of the emperour Frederike the second, was shortly after proclaimed king of Sicill, and so the second error was greater than the first.

About the quindene of Easter, there was a parliament holden at London, at the which were assembled all the states of the realme in greater number than had

The pope offered
to the king
dome of Sicill
in returne for
the king of England.

The king
sent great
summes of
monie to the
pope.

The king
sent the
pope a
rent to take
up monie.

Manfred
king of
Sicill.

The pope
liberall of
other monie
purse.

Manfred
king of
Sicill.

A parliament

had bene commonlie seene. This parlement was cheeflie called, to let them understand the kings necessitie of monie for discharging of his debts, and to require them of their aid towards the same. But whereas he requested more than was thought good with reason, they would not agree therunto, but desired that he would confirme, and without all cavillation sweare to observe the liberties which by the charter he had promised to hold. Whereupon they required, that by the common counsell of the realme they might chose to them the cheefe iustice, the chancellor and treasurer, but they were answered plainelie by some of the privie counsell, that this request would at no hand be granted.

Furthermore, the prelates complained, that they were driven to paie the tenths which they promised conditionallie, as it were now by constraint and of dutie, to the prejudice of the liberties of the church. The nobles also found themselves grieved for the exactions which they saw at hand, but finally, after manie things had bene debated touching these matters, the parlement was adjourned till Michaelmas next, and everie man departed to his home, with no great trust of the kings good will towards them, nor anie hartie thanks received of him for their paines, as may be thought by that which writers have recorded. Two noble men, to whom the custodie and guiding of the king and queene of Scots was committed, that is to say, Robert de Ros, and John de Bailioll, were accused, for misusing themselves in the trust and charge which they had taken upon them.

King Henrie was the same time at Nottingham. The information came forth by a physician, who was sent from the queene of England, unto his daughter the queene of Scots, to be about his regard of his health, but because the same physician (whose name was Reignold de Bath) perceived the queene of Scots to be impaired in health through anguish of mind, by reason of the misdeemeanor of such as had the government of him and his husband, he stilled not to blame and reprove them in their doings, for the which he was poisoned, as some thinke: for the truth was, he shortly after sickened and died, signifying upon his death-bed unto the queene of England what he misliked and thought amiss in those that had the doings about his daughter and his husband the Scottish king.

The more suffered a marvellous eclipse on the night following the day of S. Margaret in Julie. It began afore midnight, and continued foure houres. The king in the behalfe of his daughter the queene of Scots raised a power, and drew northwards, sending before him the earle of Gloucester, and John Spanfell that was his chapleine and one of his counsell. These two so used the matter, that they came to Edinburgh, where the king and queene of Scots then lay in the castell, into the which they entered, and altered the order of the household, so as good with the contentation of the king and queene, which were in such wise used before that time, that they were not suffered to lie together, nor scarce come to talke together.

Robert de Ros was summoned to appeare before the king of England, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. At the first he withdrew himselfe, but afterwards he came in, and submitted himselfe to the kings pleasure. Divers of the nobles of Scotland toke it not well, that the earle of Gloucester and John Spanfell should thus come into the castell of Edinburgh, and order things in the kings house in such sort at their pleasure: whereupon they assembled a power, and besieged the castell, but at length perceiuing their owne error, they raised their siege and departed. John de Bailioll being accused

of the like crime that was laid to the charge of his fellow Robert de Ros, for a peece of monie bought his peace and was pardoned, but the lands of Robert de Ros were seized into the kings hands. Finally, the king and queene of England came to an entervue with the king of Scots and the queene their daughter, and setting all things with them in such order as was thought convenient, they returned towards the south parts.

In the meane season, the bishop of Hereford devised a shift to helpe the king with monie, towards the payments of his debts, by obtaining certeine autentike seales of the prelates of this land, wherewith he signed certeine instruments and writings, wherein was expressed, that he had received diverse summes of monie for dispatch of businesse pertaining to them and to their churches, of this and that merchant of Florence or Siena, whereby they stood bound for repayment thereof by the same instruments and writings so made by him their agent in their names.

This shift was devised by the said bishop of Hereford, with licence obtained thereunto of the king, and also of the pope, unto whom for the same intent the said bishop was sent, with sir Robert Malarane knight. The pope was the sooner persuaded to grant licence for the contriving of such manner of shift, because the monie should go to the discharging of the kings debts, into the which he was run, by bearing the charges of the warres against the king of Scotland.

About the feast of saint Edward, the parlement began againe at London, in which the states treated of a subsidie to be granted to the king, but they could not conclude thereof, neither would Richard earle of Cornewall disburse anie monie at that season to his brother the king, because he allowed not the maner of laiens it out for the warres against Spanfied, being taken in hand without his consent. The same yeare, the king by the procurement of his brother Richard earle of Cornewall, had seized the liberties of the citie of London into his owne hands, under colour that the maior had not done his dutie in the iust punishing of bakers for breaking of the assises of their bread. Hereupon, where the maior and communalitie of the citie had by the kings grant the citie to farme, with diverse customes and offices, at a certeine rate and stinted summe of monie; now the king set officers therein at his pleasure, which were accountable to him for all the revenues and profits that grew within the citie.

But whereas the malice which the earle of Cornewall bare to the citie, was, for that they would not exchange with him certeine grounds that belonged to their communalitie, they were glad to agree with him, and paie unto him six hundred marks. After which agreement concluded, about the nineteenth daie of November, they were shortly after restored to their liberties. This chanced before the kings coming over, who at his coming to London, lodged in the tower, and upon new displeasure conceived against the citie for the escape of a prisoner (being a cleaerke convicted out of Pelugate, which had killed a prior, that was of alliance to the king, as cousine to the queene, the king sent for the maior and the shirifs to come before him to answer the matter. The maior laid the fault from him to the shirifs, for so much as to them belonged the keeping of all the prisoners within the citie: and so the maior returned home againe, but the shirifs remained there as prisoners by the space of a whole moneth or more, and yet they excused themselves, in that the fault chafelie rested in the bishops officers: for whereas the prisoner was under his custodie, they at his request had granted him licence to imprison the offender within their ward

A shift to get monie of the bishops devised by the bishop of Hereford.

A parlement. Richard earle of Cornewall standeth against his brother for the grant of a subsidie.

The liberties of London seized into the kings hands.

The king's coming to London.

The king's lodging in the tower.

The king's coming over.

The king's lodging in the tower.

The king's coming to London.

The shirifs of London imprisoned.

The states refused to grant a subsidie.

The parlement adjourned.

Rob. de Ros & John de Bailioll accused.

Reignold de Bath a physician.

An eclipse.

The earle of Gloucester & John Spanfell sent into Scotland.

Robert de Ros summoned to appeare.

The pope offereth the king dome of Sicill unto the king of England.

The king maketh great shift for monie to send to the pope.

He sendeth to the pope a warrant to take by monie.

Matth. Paris.

The pope is liberal of al other maner pursse.

Mar. frep. claimed king of Sicill.

A parlement.

ward of Newgate, but so as his officers were charged to see him safe kept. The king notwithstanding demanded of the citie three thousand marks for a fine.

The king demanded monie of the Jewes.

Moreover, whereas he stood in great need of monie, he requited by way of a tallage eight thousand marks of the Jewes, charging them on paine of hanging, not to deferre that payment. The Jewes enforced themselves by the popes vsurers, and reproued plainelie the kings excessive taking of monie, as well of his christian subiects as of them. The king on the other side, to let it be knowne that he cared not his people without iust occasion, and upon necessitie that he owe him thereto, confessed openlie, that he was indebted by his bonds obligatorie, in three hundred thousand marks: and againe, the yearelie reuenues assigned to his sonne prince Edward, arose to the summe of fiftene thousand marks and above, where the reuenues that belonged vnto the crowne were greatly diminished, in such wise, that without the aid of his subiects, he should neuer be able to come out of debt. To be short, when he had siced the Jewes to the quicke, he set them to farme vnto his brother earle Richard, that he might pull off skin and all; but yet considering their pouertie, he spared them, and neuertheless, to relieue his brothers necessitie, vpon a pawne he lent him an huge masse of monie. These thifts did the king vse from time to time, not caring with what exactions and impositions he burthened the inhabitants of his land, whereby he procured vnto himselfe the name of an oppressor and couetous scraper. But what wonder is it in a king, sith

The kings debt 300000 marks.

The earle of Cornewall lendeth the king monie.

Hor. lib. 2. serm.

An elephant sent to the k.

A newer of pearle, per-adventure an agat.

Strange wonders. High tides. A comet.

The decease of walter archbishop of yorke.

Elizanoz the wife of prince Edward cometh to the citie.

The liberties of the citie restored to the Londoners.

A legat from the pope named Ruscand a Gascoigne.

Teniths ga-

About the same time, Leues the French king sent vnto king Henrie for a present an elephant, a beast most strange and wonderfull to the English people, sith most seldome or neuer any of that kind had bene seene in England before that time. The French quene also sent for a present vnto the king of England an ewer of pearle like to a peacoeke in forme and fashion, garnished most richlie with gold, siluer, and sappires to furnish him forth in all points of fine and cunning workmanship, to the verie resemblance of a liuing peacoeke. Manie wonders chanced about this time. The sea rose with most high tides, riuers were so filled with abundance of water, by reason of the great continuall raine, that marvellous floods followed thereupon. A comet also appeared, and manie high buildings were stricken by force of tempests. The death of Walter archbishop of Yorke followed these prodigious wonders, who had governed that see the space of forty yeares. After him succeeded one Senall the 34 archbishop of that citie.

About the feast of S. Etheldred, the ladie Elizanoz wife of prince Edward the kings son, came to London, where she was honorablie receiued of the citizens, & conueied through the citie to S. Jones without Smithfield, and there lodged for a season, and per long she removed to the Sauoy. It was not long after, that the king seized the liberties of the citie of London into his hands, for certeine monie which the quene claimed as due to hir of a certeine right to be paid by the citizens, so that about the feast of S. Martine in Nouember, they gaue vnto the king four hundred marks, and then had their liberties to them againe restored, and the kings vnder-treasor discharged, which for the tyme was made custos or keeper of the citie.

About the same tyme came another legat from the pope, namelie, one Ruscand a Gascoigne borne, to whom, with the archb. of Canturburie, and the bishop of Hereford, the pope had granted authoritie to collect and gather the teniths of the spiritualtie within

England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the vse of the pope and the king, notwithstanding all priuiledges, for that cause or vnder that forme of words to crier the same had passed. This Ruscand also absolved the king of his vow made to go into the holie land, to the end he might go against Spanfred king of Sicill. He also preached the croffe against the same Spanfred, promising all those remission of their sins which should go to war against Spanfred, as well as if they should go into the holie land, to warre against Gods enemies there, whereat faithfull men much marvelled, that he should promise as great meed for the shedding of christian blood, as the blood of infidels.

The craftie and sic fetches which were vsed in this season by this Ruscand the bishop of Hereford, and other their complices, to get monie of the prelates and gouernors of monasteries within this realme, were wonderfull, & verie greuous to those that felt themselves oppressed therewith; and namelie, for the debt which the said bishop of Hereford had charged them with, they being not priue to the receipt, nor hauing any benefit thereby. Ruscand called a counsell at London, & propounded great causes why the prelates ought to aid the pope, and so thereupon demanded great summes of monie. Amongst other summes, he demanded six hundred marks of the house of S. Albons.

To conclude, his demands were esteemed unreasonable, so that the bishops and abbats were in a marvellous perplexitie, perceining into what miserable state by reason of immoderate exactions the church of England was brought. The bishop of London stricken not to saie, that he would rather lose his head, than consent that the church should be brought to such seruitude as the legat went about to enforce. And the bishop of Worcester openlie protested, that he would sooner suffer himselfe to be hanged, than to see the church subiect to such oppression by their examples. Wher also taking a boldnesse vnto them, affirmed, that they would follow the steps of Thomas sometime archbishop of Canturburie, which for the liberties of the church suffered himselfe to haue his haines cut out of his head. Yet were those prelates euill troubled, for the king was against them on the one side, and the pope gaping after monie was become their bitter enemy on the other: neither were the noble men much moued with pittie towards the church their mother (as the terme then went) now thus in miserie.

Finallie, the prelates appealed from Ruscand, vnto the popes presence, and would not obey the wilfull and violent oppressions of the same Ruscand, so that much ado there was, and a great complaint made to the king by Ruscand, of the stubbozne disobedience of the prelates, and namelie of the bishop of London. The king was in a great chafe with him, and threatened that he would cause the pope to punish him according to what he well deserved: but the bishop answered thereto; Let the pope and king (saith he) which are stronger than I am, take from me my bishopricke, which by law yet they cannot do: let them take awaye my mitre, yet an helmet shall remaine.

This yeare after S. Lukes daie, the king assembled a great number of the nobilitie at London, and thither came the bishop of Bologna la grassie from the pope, bringing with him a ring, with the which he inuested Edmund the kings sonne king of Sicill and Naples. About the same time, the burgesse of Darbie obtained of the king for a summe of monie to haue the iustices itinerants to hold their assises at Darbie for the countie of Darbie, and likewise the shiriffes to keepe their tournies there, and not at Nottingham, as before they had bene accustomed for both the shires. But now to returne to the bishops.

The croffe preached against Spanfred.

A counsell called at London by the legat.

March. Paris. The churchmen being pinched by their purses, fret and fume against the popes proceedings in this behalf.

The bishops would rather become martyrs, than lose their monie.

Ruscand complained to the king of the forwardnesse of the prelates. The bishop of London was saiens.

Anno Reg 44

Edmund the kings sonne inuested king of Sicill and Naples. Chro. Du.

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ope.

The croffe
reached a
at in S^han
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March. Paris.
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popes proce-
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The bishops
would rather
become mar-
tyrs, than lose
their monie.

Rufcand ch-
plaineth to
the king of
the forward-
nesse of the
prelats.
The bishop
London his
saicings.

Anno Reg 4^a

Edmund the
kings sone
inued king
of Sicill and
Paples.
Chro. Dun.

The counsell
proposed.

The R. licty
in wait for
mens goods.

March. Paris.

The Lord
Gray was
both the court.

Jews ac-
cused & executed
for crucifying
a child at
Lincolne na-
me Hugh.

In the meane time, the bishop of Hereford and
Rufcand sought to set variance and discord amongst
the English prelats, whereby being divided in parts,
and not consenting together, they should be lesse able
to give true information to the pope, how the verie
truth rested. But finally, because the archbishop of
Canturburie was in the parts beyond the sea, and
for that also the see of Poike was vacant, and diuerse
bishops were absent, the counsell was prozaged till
the feast of S. Hilarie, and so they departed euerie
man to his home in a marvellous doubt what waie
were best for them to take, sith they saw themselves
in great distresse, if Rufcand did suspend or excom-
municate any of them either iustlie or otherwise.
For sure they were, that the king as a lion lieng in
wait whome he might deuoure (to get monie) after
fortie daies were past, if they submitted not them-
selves, would spoile them of all their goods as forfeit-
ed. So that the pope and the king seemed as though
the shepheard and wolfe had bene confederate to-
gether to the destruction of the poze stocke of shepe,
threatning euerie mans vndoing, to their owne in-
riching: and not ceasing, till with fullnesse they were
forced to fall from the fleshy, much like bloudsucking
hoylaeches, of whose nature it is notable noted, that

*Non missura prius carnem, quam plena cruoris,
Quando heret tenera mollis hirudo cuti:
Sic ignara dolis emungitur are caterua,
Imbellis populi quid nisi preda manent?*

Thus by reason of couetous greedinesse to get mo-
nie for the furnishing of the popes warres against
Spanfred king of Sicill, both the pope and the king
of England ran in slander and hatred of the Eng-
lish nation, namely, of the spiritualtie, so that such as
recorded the acts and doings of that time, spared not
to make manifest to the world by their writings,
how inuirtuouslie they were handled, blaming the
practises of the court of Rome in plaine terms, and
affirming that the pope had power in those things
which woike to edification, and not to destruction.
About this season, John lord Grey, being one of the
chefe counsellors to the king, a right honourable
knight, and for his good demeanour and high valian-
cie greatly commended of all, withpzeu himselfe
from the court, either by reason of age that desired
rest, or rather (as was thought) for that he doubted to
beare blame for such excoz as were daily commit-
ted by them that bare rule about the king, which could
not but bring the authours into great infamie at
length, and therefore was he loth to be partaker with
them of such slander as might haue repounded to
him also, if he had still continued and taried amongst
them.

Also, upon the two and twentieth of Nouember,
were brought unto Westminster a hundred and two
Jews from Lincolne, that were accused for the cru-
cifying of a child in the last summer, in despite of
Christes religion. They were upon their examinati-
on sent to the tower. The child which they had so cru-
cified was named Hugh, about an eight yeeres of
age. They kept him ten daies after they got him in
to their hands, sending in the meane time, unto di-
uerse other places of the realme, for other of their na-
tion to be present at the crucifying of him. The more
they came out, by the diligent search made by the
mother of the child, who found his bodie in a well, on
the backe side of the Jewes house, where he was cruci-
fied: so he had learned, that his sone was lastlie
sene plaicing with certeine Jewes children of like
age, to buye for the poze of the same Jew. The Jew
that was owner of the house, was apprehended, and
being brought before the John de Lerington, upon pro-
mise of pardon, confessed the whole matter. For they
used peartie, if they could come by their preie, to

crucifie one christian child or other. The king upon
knowledge had hereof, would not pardon this Jew
that had so confessed the matter, but caused him to
be executed at Lincolne, who comming to the place
where he should die, opened more matter concerning
such as were of counsell and present at the crucifi-
eng of the poze innocent. Whereupon at length also
eightene of them that were so brought to London,
were conuined, adiudged and hanged, the other re-
mained long in prison.

When the feast of saint Hilarie was come, the
cleargie met againe at London, and fell to intreat
of their former businesse, at what time one maister
Leonard alias Reignold that was chosen prolocutor
for all the prelats, amongst other answers made to
the legat Rufcand, when the same Rufcand alledged
that all churches were the popes; Truth it is said
Leonard, to defend, and not to vse and appropriate
them to serue his owne turne, as we saie, that all is
the princes, meaning that all is his to defend, and not
to spoile: and such was the intent of the founders.
Rufcand soze offended herewith, said, he would that
euerie man should speake afterwards for himselfe,
that as well the pope as the king might vnderstand
what euerie man said in their businesse and matters.
The prelats were stricken in a dumpe herewith, for
they perceiued how the matter went: they appealed
yet against the demands that were made by Ruf-
cand, who would not change a word of that he had
written, in which was contained, that the prelats had
acknowledged themselves to haue borrowed of the
merchant strangers, no small summes of monie, and
the same to be converted to the vse of their churches,
which was most vntreue as all men well vnderstand:
whereupon the prelats affirmed, and not without rea-
sonable cause, that there was a greater occasion in
this cause of martyrdome, than in that of Thomas
sometime archbishop of Canturburie.

Rufcand at length, perceiuing their manner, be-
came somewhat more mild, and promised that he
would talke with the pope of this matter. But first
there was sent to Rome the deane of Pauls in Lon-
don, and certeine others, as attornies or agents for
the whole cleargie of England. These sped so in their
suit, that the pope toke order that if the prelats paid
the monie by force of the contriued writings, where-
by they stood bound for them, their houses and churches,
then, to ease their burthen, they might retaine
in their hands such parcell of tenths as they ought to
paie to the king, for furnishing of his wars against
the Saracens, amounting to the summe which they
should be constrained to paie for the bonds made to
the merchants, by the bishop of Hereford (as before
is recited.)

In this season the deuotion, which manie had con-
ceined of the pope and the church of Rome, began to
waie cold, reputing the vertue which he shewed at his
entring into the papacie, to be rather a colourable hy-
pocrysie, than otherwise, sith his proceedings answere-
d not to his good beginnings: for as it was mani-
fest, where sutors brought their complaints into the
court of Rome, such sped best as gaue most bribes,
and the two priors of Winchester, the one expelled,
and the other got in by intrusion, could well witness
the same: and all the world knoweth that the vici-
ous generation of Romanists, reckoning from the
ringleader to the simplest shaueling, haue made
gaine the scope of their holinesse, and as it is true,
he said,

*Qua libet arripiunt, lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualiber, imponent, hos scelus omne iuuat:
Accipiunt quodvis, si non sonat are crimena,
Sine sigo aditus, fardida sine pecunia, &c.*

This yeare died William of Poike bishop of Sa-
lisbury,

Eightene
Jews hanged

1256

The prolocu-
tors answer
to the popes
legat.

The prelats
appeale.

Marke the
cause of mar-
tyrdome.

The deane of
saint Pauls
sent to Rome
on the behalfe
of the prelats.

Shens deu-
otion towards
the pope was
cch cold.

Antish. de prefel.
Christi, &c.

The b. of Sa-
lisbury repa-
rith this inis.

Suit of court
when it was
first received
for a law.

March. Paris.
Magnus
king of
Spain.

Proclama-
tion for
knighthood.

3 daye tem-
pest of wind
and raine.

The king of
Scots comes
meth into
England.

John Mans-
ell feasted the
two kings.

Others deny-
ed for the
appearance of
thiriffes.
The thiriffes
fined.

The king of

liffourie, which had bene brought up in the court, euen from his youth. This bishop first caused that cu- stome to be receiued for a law, whereby the tenants of cuerie lordship are bound to owe their suit to the lords court, of whom they hold their tenements.

In the feast of Easter this yeare, the king adoy- ned Spagnus king of Spain, with the order of knight- hood, and bestowed vpon him great gifts and honours. ¶ The countesse of Warren Alesia or Alesia (as some booke haue) sister to the king by his mother, departed this life in his flourishing youth, vnto the great griefe of his brother, but speciallie of his hus- band John earle of Warren that loued hir interlie. ¶ About the midd of Maie, the Jewes that were in the towne, and in other pylons for the murder of the child at Lincolne, and had bene indited by an in- quest vpon the death of him that had suffered at Lincolne, were pardoned and set at libertie, to the number of foure hundred of them. ¶ In Whit- suntide was holden a great assise at Wile, where the lord Edward the kinges eldresonne first began to shew proofe of his chivalrie. There were diuerse o- uerthrowen and hurt, and amonge other William de Longspe was so hurt, that he neuer after recouer his former strength.

The king caused a proclamation to be set forth, that all such as might dispend thre pounds in lands, should receiue the order of knighthood; and those that would not or could not, should paie their fines. This yeare, thre daies after the feast of S. Ciricus, a marvellous soye tempest of wind, raine, haille, and thunder chanced, that did exceeding much hurt. Mill-wheles by the violence of waters were caried away, and the wind-milles were no lesse toym- ented with the rage of wind. Arches of bridges, stacks of hie, houses that stood by water sides, and children in cradels were borne afloat, that both won- derfull and no lesse pitifull it was to see. At Bedford the river of Ouse bare downe six houses together, and did vnspokeable hurt thereabouts.

Alexander the thirde king of Scots with his wife quene Margaret, came about the beginning of Au- gust into England, and found the king at his manor of Woodstoke, where he solaced him a season, and had the lands of the earle of Huntingdon restored vnto him, which his grandfather king William in his time lost and forfeited. Here he did homage to king Henrie. Upon the day of the decollation of S. John, the two kings with their quenes came to London, where they were honorablie receiued, and so conuer- ted vnto Westminster. On the day of S. Augustine the bishop, being the eight and twentieth of August, John Mansell the kings chapleine besought the two kings, and other states, to dine with him on the mor- row following, which they granted, and so he made a marvellous great dinner. There were seuen hun- dred messes serued vp, but the multitude of guests was such, that scarce the same sufficed; his house was not able to receiue them all, and therefore he caused tents and booths to be set vp for them. The like dinner had not bene made by any chapleine before that time. All those that came were worthilie receiued, feasted and interteined, in such sort, as euerie man was satisfied.

About foure dates before the feast of S. Edward, B. Henrie came into the archbishop himselfe, & there be- mised order for the appearance of thiriffes, and bring- ing in of their accompts. At the same time also, there was fine marks set on euerie thiriffes head for a fine, because they had not disreined euerie person that might dispend 15 pounds land, to receiue the order of knighthood, as was to the same thiriffes commanded. The king of Scots, after he had re- mained a while with the king of England, returned

backe into Scotland, and left his wife behind with his mother till she should be brought to bed, for she was as then great with child.

In the 41 yeare of the reigne of king Henrie, his brother Richard earle of Cornuwall was elected em- perour, by one part of the Countessers: and diuerse lords of Almaine comming ouer into his land (vpon the daie of the innocents in Christmasse) presented vnto him letters from the archbishop of Colen, and o- ther great lords of Almaine, testifieng their consents in the choosing of him to be emperour, and withall, that it might stand with his pleasure to accept that hono- r. Finallie, vpon god deliberation had in the matter, he consented thereto: wherupon the lords that came with the message, being right glad of their answer, returned with all speed to signifie the same vnto those from whom they had bene sent. The trea- sure of this earle Richard now elected king of Al- maine, was esteemed to amount vnto such a summe, that he might dispend euerie day a hundred marks, for the terme of ten yeares together, not reckoning at all the reuenues which bailie accrewed to him of his rents in Almaine and England.

In this meane time the unquiet Welshmen, after the death of their prince Dams, chose in his stead one Leolin, that was son to the same Cristin that brake his necke as he would haue escaped out of the towne of London; and herewith they began a new rebelli- on, either dring out such Englishmen as laie there in garlions within the castles and fortresses, or else entering into the same by some traitorous practise, they slew those which they found within them, to the great displeasure of their soueraigne lord Edward the kings eldresonne, who cōfessing to be reuenged of their rebellious enterprises, could not bzing his purpose to passe, by reason of the vnseasonable wea- ther and continuall raine which fell that winter, so raising the waters & setting the marishes on floods, that he could not passe with his armie.

Howeuer, his father the king wanted monie and treasure to furnish him withall, to followe his pur- pose towards the maintenance of that war. The rebellion of the Welshmen speciallie rose by the hard dealing of sir Gethrey de Langley knight, the kings collector amongst them, who handled them to straightlie, that in defense of their countrie, lawes, and liberties (as they pretended) they put on armie. They toke and destroyed the lands and possessions which were great and large, of Cristin Spanet, be- ing fled for safegard of his life vnto the king of Eng- land. There were of those Welsh rebels at the point of twentie thousand men, and of them ten thousand were horsemen, the which perceiving the reason to make for their purpose, defended themselves so man- fullie, that they drove backe prince Coluand with his armie, & so continuing the wars, did much hurt to the English marishes. Their power & increase, that at length they divided the same in three equal parts, the better to recouer battles, and in either scote there were chosen thirde thousand men, each after the manner of the countie, of the which there were five hundred men of armie in each part, with barbed bowes all covered in iron. This being of such puissance, they did much mischance to the Eng- lishmen that inhabited on the marishes, neither were the lords marchers able to resist them, although the earle of Gloucester added the same force all that he might.

King Henrie being better married, and with all speed Stephen Baner, a man skillfull in feats of warre, with a great number of soldiers into Wales, against the rebels, who continuing into the summer, and entering into the lands of a Welsh lord named

Scots trea-
sured into
the countrie.

Anno Reg. Ric.
Richard earle
of Cornuwall
elected empe-
rour.

1257

The great
treasure of
Richard earle
of Almaine.

The welsh
men chose
themselves
a new prince,
and rebell
against
the king.

The king
wanted
monie.

Sir Gethrey
de Langley
knight, the
kings collector,
amongst them,
who handled
them to
straightlie.

March. Paris.
The murder
of the welsh
princes.

The welsh
men divide
their power
into three
parts.

Nic. Trevet.
Stephen
Baner, a man
skillfull in
feats of
warre.

An. Reg. 41.

1257.

cots retur-
ed into his
intrie.

ino Reg. 41.
Richard earle
Cornwall
aced emp-
ur.

1257

he great
asure of
Richard king
Almaine.

he welch-
in chole
en a go-
rnour, and
bell against
e king.

The king
entirely
ons' and
regard

the Giffrey
Langlais
ard dealing,
use of the
celthmuns
bellion.

larch. Paris.
The number
the welch-
muns.

the welch-
en divide
eir power
to two
irts.

ic. Treue-
stephen
saugan,
saugan.

Englishmen
overthwone.

Southwales
and South-
wales joined
together in
league.

The king
pallied him-
self in person
into wales.

The lord
Spottimer the
king's lieute-
nant in wales
Polydor.

A legat from
Rome.
Mauh. Paris.

A new order
of friers.

A parliament.

Kille Laugban, was intrapt by such ambushments as his enemies laid for him, and thereby was slaine with the more part of his armie. This ouerthrowe chanced by the treason of Griffin de Brunet, who at that present reuolting from the English side to his countrymen, instructed them in all things, how they might banquish their enemies. At that time, Southwales and Southwales joined in league and frendlie amitie together, which commonlie was not sene in those daies, they being for the more part at variance, the one rather seeking still how to indamage the other: but now in defense of their liberties (as they pretended) they agreed in one.

The king soze moued herewith, determined to go himselfe into Wales, that he might take worthie punishment of those his aduersaries, that could neuer be sufficientlie chastised. Whereupon raising a great power, he hasted forth, and coming into Wales, put the rebels in such feare, that they withdrew to their accustomed places of refuge, I meane the woods and marshes. The king would faine haue had them forth, that he might haue punished them according to their deserts, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he sent for an armie of soldiers into Ireland, and caried for their coming at the castell of Beeknoke, but the peare was farre spent per his people could be gathered, so that by the aduise of his lordes he strengthened certeine castles, and so returned for that peare into England, leaving the lord Roger Spottimer his lieutenant in Wales, to resist the rebels. But now let vs speake of other doings which chanced in the meane while that the warres thus continued and lasted betwixt England and Wales.

Ye shall vnderstand, that in the Lent season, the archbishop of Beffina came as legat from the pope hither into England, with letters of procuration, to demand and receiue, and also with power, to punish such as should denie and seme to resist; and so being here arriued with a great traine of seruaunts and horses, he sent forth his commandements in writing to euerie prelat, to provide him monie by way of prorie to that of the house of St. Albons, and of the celles that belonged thereto, he had one and twentie marks, and when the monks of St. Albons came to visit him in his house, they could not be permitted to depart, but were kept as prisoners, till they had satisfied his conetous demand: for whereas they alledged that they had not brought any monie with them, he asked them whie they were such beggers, and further said, Send ye then to some merchant, that will lend you monie, and so it was done: for otherwile they might not haue libertie to depart. This archbishop was of the order of the Friers preachers, in whome (saith Matthew Paris) we had hoped to haue found more abundant humilitie. About the same time, there appeared at London a new order of Friers, not known till thise daies, bearing per the popes autentike bulles, which they opened shewed, so that there seemed a confusion of maner, as the same Matthew Paris recordeth, and because they were apparelled in sackcloth, they were called sackcloth Friers.

About the middelt of Lent, there was a great parliament holden, to the which the maisters of the Vniuersitie of Oxford were summoned, that peace might be concluded betwixt them and the bishop of Lincoln, which had then in first aduise their liberties. There came to the same parliament, the earle of Gloucester, and sir John Spansell, lately returned out of Almaine, where they had taken a pilgrimage from Richard the elect king of Almaine: Whither came also the same elect king of Almaine, and almost all the Nobilitie of the realme, so that scarce might

the citie of London receiue the number that repaired to that parlement. The king of Almaine meant to take his leaue at that time of the lordes and pères of the realme, purposing shortly after, to take his iourne towards Almaine, and to ordeine the bishop of London gouernor of all his lands and possessions within England.

In this parlement, the lord Edmund the kings ponger sonne was shewed as king of Naples and Sicill, for the obtaining of the possession of which dominions and kingdoms, his father king Henrie demanded no small subsidie and aid of monie, both of the tempoalitie and also of the spiritualitie, but namely, he required to haue the tenths of spiritual mens linings for the terme of five yeares, according to the new tarations without any deductions to be allected except necessarie expences: also, the tenths for one yeare of benefices that chanced to fall void within the said terme of five yeare. Whereupon, sundrie other duties he required to haue of the spiritual men, soze to their grauance, and speciallie, because they knew that such tyrannie first took beginning from the pope. In the end (though long they were to consent) yet conditionallie that the king would confirme the liberties contelied in the great charter, and obserue the same throughlie, now after it had bene so manie times brought out and redeemed, they offered to giue him towards his instant necessitie two and fiftie thousand marks, to be receiued in three equal payes, pouerishing the church. And yet, as it is said, the king refused the gift, as that which he thought not to be sufficient.

Truelie it should seme, that there was a great vntowardlie disposition in the subiects of that time, for the helping of their king with necessarie aid of monie, towards such great charges as he had bene diuers waies occasioned to be at, since his first coming to the crowne. But because it was perceived that he bestowed no small quantitie of his treasure to the aduancing of his kinsfolke and alliance, namely strangers, and againe defraied great summes in vaine hope to obtaine the kingdoms of both the Sicills which the pope offered to him freely inough in words, as before ye haue heard, the English subiects conceiued a great miliking of the whole gouernement, and namelie, for that he seemed to be led and ruled by the aduise and counsell of those strangers, who being not throughlie acquainted with the nature of the English people, nor fullie instructed in the lawes and customes of the realme, caused him to do manie things, that procured both to him and them much ill will, as well of the hie states as of the commons, which as occasion serued, they were readie inough to discouer, and therefore they were verie inquisitiue, both to learne what he receiued, and also in what sort he bestowed that which he did receiue and take.

It was therefore knowne, that since he first began to waste his treasure, his charges amounted vnto the summe of 950000 marks, as the booke of accoupts remaining in the hands of the clearks of his closet plainelie witnessed, and yet of all those vaine expences no great aduantage was growne thereby to the king or realme, but rather disadvantage, as the most part of men then took regard no maruell: for there was such hart-burning amongst the nobilitie, one enuiling an others aduancement, & repining at each others doings, that it was not possible to bring any good dist forward amongst them so far at ods together. But we will let this passe as a thing manifest inough to them that shall well consider the course of that time, and will returne to the parlement aboue mentioned.

Before the end of this solemne assemble of states, the

Mauh. Paris.

The lord Edmund the kings sonne.

A subsidie demanded.

The offer of spiritualitie.

The archbish.
of Cullen and
other embas-
sadors of Al-
maine.

the archbishop of Cullen with a duke, & an other bi-
shop came ourt out of Almaine, vnto their elect king
Richard, to whome they did fealtie and homage, as to
their soueraigne liege lord and gouernour, which thing
once done, he gaue to the said archbishop five hun-
dred marks to beare his charges, with a rich miter set
with stones, & furnished with plates of beaten gold;
which miter when the archbishop had set it vpon his
head; he hath (saith he) giuen a rich gift to me and to
my church, and verelie, euen as I haue put this miter
on my head, so will I set on his head the crowne
of the kingdome of Almaine; he hath mitered me,
and I will crowne him. The other lords of Almaine,
which at the same time did homage vnto earle Ri-
chard, were also presented with great and rich gifts.

Sir archbish.
present at
London in
time of the
parlement.

Here is further to be noted, that there were pre-
sent at this parlement six archbishops, Canturburie,
Dorke, Dublin, Bessina, Tarento and Cullen. The
archbishop of Bessina was come to the king to set
him on dotage for the businesse about the conquest of
Naples and Sicill. At the feast of Ester next follow-
ing, the archbishop of Cullen returned into his coun-
trie, and the third day after Easter, the elect king of
Almaine toke his leaue, and departed toward Par-
mouth, where he purposed to take the sea, to saile ouer
into Almaine, but by reason of contrarie winds he
was diuen to remaine there a long time, to his
great gréfe and inestimable charges before he could
passe ouer; yet finally, about the latter end of Aprill,
he got forth to the sea, and landed at Dordzeigh the
first of Maie next ensuing.

The elect k.
of Almaine
taketh his
leane of the
king his bro-
ther.

The landerth at
Dordzeigh.
A synod.

About the same time, the archbishop of Canturbu-
rie called a synod of the bishops and abbats inhabi-
ting within his prouince, that inuocating the grace
of the holie-ghost, they might forese some redresse
for relese of the English church, now in these late
peares soe disquieted by new oppressions, more gre-
uous than had bene accustomed: for the king by
counsell, or rather by the whispering of some flatter-
ers and enemies to the realme, was so induced, that
he permitted certaine euill customs, as thorne bren-
bles to increase in the fruitfull garden of pleasure,
and to choke vp the trees that brought forth fruit in
great plentie. Whereupon in this yeare, king Henrie
caused the walles of the citie of London, which were
soe decayed and destitute of turrets, to be repaired in
more seemelie wise than before they had bene, at the
common charges of the citie.

Marth. Paris.

A decree made
by the pope.

There was an ordinance made at Rome by the
pope and his cardinals (which berie diligentlie fore-
saw to aduance their temporall commodities, not
much passing for other mens advantages) that eue-
rie one which should be chosen an exempt abbat,
should come to the court of Rome to be there confir-
med, and receiue the popes blessing, by which heinous
ordnance, religion was laid open to great danger,
and the church depriued of temporall prosperitie (as
saith Matthew Paris) for by this means (saith he) it
was needfull for religious men, to chole to their
gouernour a man not religious, but rather halfe
temporall, and such a one as to whome rather Iusti-
nians lawes than Christs which conuerteth soules
should be familiar. The monks of Durham, who
lie with the canons of Gilsborne resisted the wicked
proceedings of the popes exactors, and stood therefore
interdicted a long time, at length, after manie alter-
cations, were absolved. Wh (saith Marth. Paris) if
that their tribulation they might haue had fellows;
and in their constant doings aidors, how hapilie had
the church of England triumphed ouer hir tormen-
tors and oppressors!

Marth. Paris
The monks
of Durham
that were ex-
communicated
are now ab-
solved.

Marth. Paris.

Upon haue heard how Richard earle of Cornewall
being elected king of Almaine, sailed thither, where
on the Ascension day last, he was crowned king by

the archbishop of Cullen, of whom, and diuerse other
great princes of Germanie he was holpen for their
lawfull king and gouernour (as in the Dutch histo-
ries you may find more largelie exprelled) though o-
ther of them had chosen Alfonse king of Castile, the
which Alfonse wrote to the king of England, as his
confederate and alie, requiring aid of him against
the said Richard that was his owne brother, to the
which unreasonable request the king would in no
wise consent.

Whereupon, in this fortie one yeare of king Henries
reigne, by reason of a roll closed in greene war and
found in the kings Wardrobe at Windosor, contain-
ing as it were an information against the maiors and
shiriffes of London, for oppression and wrongs done
to the communalitie of the citie, the king toke great
displeasure, and caused streit inquisition to be made,
as well by Fouke Spots, as Willard Spots, & diuerse
other means. At length, the maiors and shiriffes, with
the chamberlaine of the citie, were discharged by
John Spantell, one of the kings iustices, afoze whom
and other the kings counsell, the inquisition was ta-
ken, and then was the custodie of the citie assigned
vnto the constable of the tower, and in place of the
shiriffes were appointed Michael Lorie, and John
Andrian. At length, the maiors, shiriffes and Alder-
men that were accused, perceiving the kings displea-
sure towards them, submitted themselves whole to
his mercie, sauing to them and to all other the citi-
zens their libertie & franchises, and so in the arch-
bishops chamber at Westminister afoze the king, there
sitting in iudgement vpon the matter, they were
condemned to paie their fines for their offenses com-
mitted, and further, euerie of them discharged of his
ward and office. Shortly after was William Fitz
Richard by the kings commandement made maiors,
and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Crap-
gate shiriffes.

The archbishop of Dorke was accused by the
popes commandement through all England, with
boke, bell and candle, that by such terror his constan-
cie might be weakened. But the archbishop (saith
Matthew Paris) informed by the example of Thomas
Becket, and by the example and doctrine of saint Co-
mund someraine his instructor, and also taught by the
faithfulnesse of blessed Robert, late bishop of Lin-
colne, he refused not of comfort from heauen, in bea-
ring patientlie the popes tyrannie; neither would he
bestow the wealthie revenues of his church vpon
Italians, being vnworthie persons and strangers;
neither would he obeie and incline to the popes will
like a faint-hearted person, by leaning and setting a-
part the rigour of the law, lest thereby he might seme
to resist from his pastoral office, and animate the
wolfe of Rome to breake into the shepfold of the
church, whose purpose was to sucke the verie bloud
quite and cleane out of euerie veine, yea to bite out
hottels and all. With qualitie to rest in him, wofull
experience hath taught, and the testimony of in-
ten verities hath shewed, among which this one is
the truth thereof is too thie to be reported euen to the
praise of the deuiler for his partie. deuile therein
compelled, and here set downe as fit for the purpose:

Non pmissen sed pmissen.

Non pmissen sed pmissen.

Non pmissen sed pmissen.

Est papa pater pmissen.

About the beginning of the first and fortieth yeare
of king Henries reigne, the lord James Audelie that
had bene ouer lordly the king of Almaine, and was
latelie returned home in company of the lord Iher-
rie, come to the said king (who some booke from his
father about the feast of saint Michael last past) vnder-
standing how the Welshmen in his absence had
burnt,

Fabian.
An informa-
on against the
lord maiors of
London.

The lord ma-
ors and shi-
riffes of Lon-
don dischar-
ged.

The lord
maiors and
shiriffes had

Marth. Paris
The archbis-
hop of York
accused.

The com-
mission of the
archbishop of
York.

The li-
berall
reth by
wellshyn

Embail-
ment in
France

The me-
ans of wale,
imponer

A great
dearth.
Marth. P.

The gra-
dealing o
London
the hurt o
common-w

burnt, wasted, and destroyed his lands, possessions, and castles, which belonged unto him in the confines of Wales, he meant to be revenged of those injuries, and invading them, he slew a great number of them, so revenging the death of those his friends, servants and tenants, whom they before had murdered. The Welshmen were not so discouraged herewith, but that they brake upon him out of their starting-holes and places of refuge through the marshes, and slaying their enemies horses, put them backe to their power, & ceased not to do what mischiefe they could, by spoiling, killing, and burning houses and castles where they might come unto them, and so the realme of England was daile put to losses & hinderances. For out of Wales, England was accustomed to be furnished with horses, cattell, and other things, to the great profit of both the countries. About the same time there was an ambassage sent from the king of England to the French king by the bishop of Worcester, the elect of Winchester, the abbat of Westminster, the earle of Leicester, & Hugh Bigod earle of Marshall, with Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walron. The effect of their message was to require restitution of those countries, lands, cities, and townes which had bene evicted out of the hands of king John and others, appertaining by right of inheritance to the king of England. These lords did their message, but as was thought, they had no towardlie answer, but rather were put off with trifling words & scoonefull shewes, so that they returned hostile againe all of them; the abbat of Westminster onelie excepted, who remained there behind for a fuller answer, not melie to those requests exhibited on the part of the king of England, but also on the behalfe of the king of Almaine. The marshes towards Wales in this season were brought almost desert, by reason of the continuall wars with the Welshmen, for what with fire & sword, neither building nor living creature, nor any other thing was spared, that fire & sword might bring to ruine.

In this yeare was an exceeding great dearth, in so much that a quarter of wheat was sold at London for foure and twentie shillings, whereas within two or thre yeares before, a quarter was sold at two shillings. It had bene more deere, if great store had not come out of Almaine, for in France and in Flanders it likewise failed. But there came fittie great ships fraught with wheat and barlie, with meale and bread out of Dutchland, by the procurement of Richard king of Almaine, which greatly relieved the poore; for proclamation was made, and order taken by the king, that none of the citizens of London should buy any of that graine to laie it up in store, whereby it might be sold at an higher price unto the needie. But though this provision did much ease, yet the want was great ouer all the realme. For it was certeinlie affirmed, that in thre shires within the realme, there was not found so much graine of that yeares growth, as came ouer in those fittie ships. The proclamation was set forth, to restrain the Londoners from ingrossing by that graine, and not without cause: for the wealthe citizens were evill spoken of in that season, because in time of scarcitie they would either saie such ships as fraught with vittels were coming towards the citie, and send them some other way forth; or else buy the whole, that they might sell it by retaile at their pleasure to the needie. By means of this great dearth and scarcitie, the common people were constrained to live upon hearbs & roots, and a great number of the poore people died through famine, which is the most miserable calamitie that can betide mortall men, and was well marked even of the heathen, but notable by Ouid, who making a description of famine, setteth

his forth in most ouglie and irkesome sort, intending thereby the deadfulness of that heauie plague, saicng:

*Quæsiâque famem lapidoso vidi in antro,
Vnguibus & raris vellentem dentibus herbas,
Hirtus erat crinis, caua lumina, pallor in ore,
Labra incana sim, scabri rubigine dentes,
Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent,
Ossa sub incurvis extabant arida lumbis,
Ventre erat pro ventre locus, pendere putares
Pellus & a spina tantummodo crute teneri,
Auxerat articulos macies, genuumque tumescit
Orbis, & immodico prodibant tubere tali, &c.*

This yeare after Easter a parlement was holden at London, in the which manie weightie matters were intreated of touching the kings causes, namelie, about the conquest of the realme of Naples, the pope hauing sent a messenger named Hurfred for the discharge of monie, which the pope had received of merchants, as it were to the kings use, and entred bonds for the payment thereof. Also, whereas the king was sore disquieted for the warre which the Welshmen made against him, he asked advice of the states, how he might proceed to seeke his iust revenge of them, who by reason of their god hap were become verie stout and loftie, and had of late by the expiring of a truce which had bene accorded betwixt them, spoiled and wasted the most part of Denbroke shire, of which iniurie the earle of Denbroke, namelie William de Valence, sore complained.

But whereas the king knowing him to be rich, willed him to lay out some great portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his wars, the erle toke great displeasure therewith, as though the king had made that request by the suggestion and setting on of some of the English lords, in somuch that words passed in displeasing sort betwixt him and the earles of Gloucester and Leicester, so far forth, that the earle of Denbroke called the earle of Leicester traitor, who therewith made towards him, to haue reneged the iniurie, and so would haue done indeed, if the king had not bene moderator betwixt them. Finally at this parlement the lords told the king that they might not aid him with any great summes of monie, except it should rebound to their great impoverishment: they told him also, that he had not done wiselie to enter into covenants, for the purchase of the kingdom of Naples for his sonne, without their consents.

They also declared to him, what articles it should be good for him to propone unto the pope, if he would haue him to continue in bearing the charges of the wars against Hurfred. But when those articles were afterwards presented to the pope, he allowed them not, & so the matter remained without any certeine assurance of the promises, which had bene and still were from time to time made to set the king on daga. The archbishop of Yorke had his crosse taken from him by the popes commandement, but the archbishop would not yet bow his knee unto Baal, to be shew the benefices of his church upon aliens, and such as were unworthie persons, as it had bene to call pearles unto swine. ¶ There came from the pope as his Nuncio, unto king Henrie, a frier minor named Sanctus, furnished with great power and authoritie, in somuch that he toke upon him to adsolue men for changing their bowles, and to iustifie those that were excommunicated persons, false perjured, and such like. Whereupon, manie of euill disposition presumed to offend: for easinesse to purchase pardon byed boldnesse in manie, howbeit the wise seemed to laugh at such doings.

The parlement still continued, till the sundaie after the Ascension day, with hard hold betwixt the king and the lords, who laid it sore to his charge, that

Ouid. lib. 8.
Met. fab. 11.

¶ parlement.
Marth. Paris.

Hurfred, a
messenger fro
the pope.

The welsh-
men spoile
Denbroke-
shire.

¶ variance be-
twixt the earle
of Denbroke
and others.

The archbi-
shop of Yorke
deprived of
his crosse.

¶ Sanctus
the popes
Nuncio.

The lord
Audelle war-
reth upon the
welshmen.

An ambassage
sent into
France.

The marshes
of Wales sore
impoverished.

¶ great
dearth.
Marth. Paris.

1258

The greedie
dealing of the
Londoners to
the hurt of the
common welth.

¶ Fabian.
In informati-
on against the
lord maier of
London.

The lord ma-
ior and the
citizens of Lon-
don dischar-
ged.

The lord
maior and
citizens kne-

Marth. Paris
The archbif-
shop of Yorke
cursed.

The constan-
cie of the arch-
bishop of
Yorke.

The archbi-
shop of Yorke
deprived of
his crosse.

¶ Sanctus
the popes
Nuncio.

he had not performed the promises which he made touching the obseruing of the liberties contained in the great charter. They also complained greaillie of his insgouernance, in that he so much aduanced the Poitouins and other strangers, to the impoverishment of himselfe and the whole realme, and further, mainteined them so far forth, that they were ready to offer wrong vnto other, vpon presumption of his fauour and bearing with them, he hauing by commandement restrined that no procelle should passe out of the chancerie against certeine of them that were his cosins, as the earle of Denbroke and others. Finally, when the lords were in doubt which way to worke for their owne safeties, they caused the parlement to be proroged, till the feast of saint Barnabe, then to begin againe at Wyndesore. In the meane time the lords of the realme, as the earles of Gloucester, Leicester, Hereford and Northfolke, with other, did confederate themselves together, because they stood in feare to be intrapped by the kings subtil sleights, and by the craftie willes of those strangers whom he restrained against them.

The parlement
proroged.

In the same yeare by the wind, which continually certeine months together kept northerlie, the flours, with other growing things, were so hindered, that scarcellie they appeared to anie purpose, till the most part of June was past, whereupon the hope of receiuing the fruits of the earth was quite taken away, & so vpon the great dearth that happened, a fore death and mortalitie followed, for want of necessarie food to susteine the pining bodies of the poore people. They died so thicke, that there were great pits made in churchyards to laie the dead bodies in one vpon an other.

A late growth

A dearth accompanied
with a death.

Small archb.
of York departed
this life.

Matth. Paris.

The kings
halfe brethren.

About the feast of the Ascension, Henall the archbishop of York departed this life, who constantlie had resisted the tyrannie of the court of Rome, in defence of his church, suffering in this world manie greuous tribulations, but now was removed from thence vnto the kingdom of heauen, to be crowned with the elect for his good seruings, as was then certenlie beleued. About this time, a great number of Poitouins were come into England, by reason of their alliance and consinage to the king, the which by the kings fauour being highlie aduanced, began to war proud thereof, and to require to be restored vnto such lands and liuings as befoze time they had possessed: namelie the kings halfe brethren, Athelmar and Domare, that was a priest, with William, Geoffrey and Gue, these were the sonnes of Hugh le Brun earle of March, by his wife queene Isabel, the mother of king Henrie, and being come into England, they shewed themselves verie loslie & high-minded, partly, because of their consinage to the king, & partly by reason of his courteous interteining of them, in somuch that forgetting themselves, they began to despise (vpon a presumptuous pride) the English nobilitie, looking still for preferment of honoz aboue all other. And suerlie Domare obtained at the first a great peece of his purpose, being made by the kings gift bishop of Winchester, and by that means bare a stout port, and greatlie holpe and mainteined his other brethren.

Infantum parliamentum.

The English barons not well able to suffer such presumption in strangers, who seemed to haue them in derision, complained to the king, in so much that at length, as well for a reformation hereof, as in other things, a parlement was called (as befoze you haue heard) first at London, and after reioined to Wyndesore, there to be assembled about the feast of saint Barnabe in the moneth of June. This (of some writers) is named *Infantum parliamentum*, that is to say, The mad parlement, for at this parlement (to the which the lords came with great retinues of armed

men, for the better safeguard of their persons) manie things in the same yeare enacted contrarie to the kings pleasure, and his roiall prerogative. For the lords at the first determined to demand the confirmation of the ancient charter of liberties, which his father king John had granted, and he himselfe had so often promised to obserue and mainteine, signifieng plainelie, that they meant to pursue their purpose and intent herein, not sparing either for losse of life, lands or goods, according to that they had mutuallie giuen their faiths by ioining of hands, as the manner in such cases is accustomed. Besides the grant of the great charter, they required other things necessarie for the state of the common-wealth, to be established and enacted.

The demand
of the lords.

It was therefore first enacted, that all the Poitouins should auoid the land, together with other strangers, and that neither the king nor his sonne prince Edward should in anie secret manner aid them against the people. Moreover, that the king & his sonne should receiue an oth, to stand vnto the decrees and ordinances of that parlement, and withall speed to restore the ancient lawes and institutions of the realme, which they both did, rather constrained thereto by feare, than of anie good will. Thus not onelie the king himselfe, but also his sonne prince Edward receiued an oth, to obserue the ordinances of that parlement. But John earle Warren, and the kings halfe brethren, namelie the earle of Denbroke refused that oth; and likewise the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, excused himselfe by his fathers absence, without whose consent he would not receiue it, vnto whome this answer was made, that if his father would not consent to the agreement of the baronage, he should not possesse one furrowe of land within this realme.

Ordinances
made.

In oth exacted
of the king

Also, whereas the earle of Leicester resigned the castles of Killingworth and Widdam into the kings hands, which he had latelie receiued by his gift, and newlie repaired, the earle of Denbroke and his other brethren swore depelie, that they would for no mans pleasure giue ouer such castles, rents, and wardships of theirs, as they had of the kings gift. But the earle of Leicester told the earle of Denbroke flatlie and plainlie, that he should either render them by, or else he should be sure to lose his head. This saying was confirmed by the generall voices of all other the barons, because it was a speciall article concluded amongst other in that parlement. The kings halfe brethren, perceiuing which waie the world went, stood in doubt of themselves, and secretlie thereupon departing from Wyndesore, first withdrew vnto Winchester, where Domare, one of the same brethren was bishop, through whose support, and by reason of the strength of such castles as he held, they trusted to be in more safetie: but finally, perceiuing themselves not to be so out of danger, as the barons minded to pursue them, about the eighteenth daie of Iulie they departed the realme with a great number of other of their countremen; and amongst those, William de saint Herman the kings caruer was one.

The earle of
Leicester
threateneth
the earle of
Denbroke.

The kings
halfe brethren
shift about.

They depart
the realme.

Henrie Montfort, sonne to the earle of Leicester, vnderstanding of their departure out of the realme, followed; and hearing that they were arrived at Bullogne, he landed in those parts, & by such friendship as he found there amongst those that bare god will vnto his father, he got together a power, and after a manner besieged the Poitouins within Bullogne, laing watch for them in such sort, both by sea and land, that there was no waie left for them to escape. When they saw themselves in that danger, they sent a messenger with all post hast to the French king, requiring his safe conduct, to passe threlie through his

Henrie Montfort
pursueth
the kings halfe
brethren.

They sent to
the French king

Richard
Earle of
Aer castle
and lord
warden
the ports

Mat. VV.

Fourte
a
twentie
a
hundred

The abn
of those
a
hundred

M. Pal. in
Virg.

Fabian.

Content
betwixt
the
earles
of
Leicester
and
Gloucester

The lost
come to
the
Cathedral
have their
dinances
granted.

demand
lozgs.Richard
Crab cap-
tured of Do-
uer castle,
and lord
warden of
the ports.

nances

Mat. VVest.

h exac-
the kingFour and
twenty go-
vernours.The abuses
of those go-
vernours.entic of
other
stretch
arie of
jobse.M. Pal. in
Virg.

Fabian.

: kings
: byethy
await.: depart
Realm.rie Wals-
purfuch
unghall
hpen.Contention
between the
earles of Lei-
cester and
Glocester.ey sent to
French h.The lords
come to the
Gulldhall to
have their or-
dinances con-
firmed.

his realme, as they trusted he would be content to grant unto such, as for refuge and safeguard of life should repaire unto him for comfort. The French king courteously granted their request, and so they were in safetie permitted to passe quietly through the countrie. In the meane while one Richard Cray, chateleine of Dover castle, a right balliant man and a faithfull, suffering no man to passe that waie without searched, according to that which he had in commandment: whereupon he took & seized into his hands a great portion of treasure, which was brought thither to be transported over to the Poitouins that were fled out of the realme. Also, there was found a great quantitie of treasure in the new temple at London, which they had gathered & hoarded up there, which also was seized to the kings use.

But now to returne unto the doings in the parlement holden at Drford. It was ordeined (as some write) that the king should chose twelve persons of the realme, and the communalte of the land should chose other twelve, the which having regall authoritie in their hands, might take in charge the governance of the realme upon them, & should from yeare to yeare provide for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, and see for the safe keeping of the castles which belonged to the crowne. These foure and twentie governours appointed as providers for the good gouvernement of the realme, began to order all things at their pleasure, in the meane time not forgetting to use things chiefe to their owne aduantages, as well in providing escheats and wards for their sonnes and kinfolks, as also in bestowing patronages of churches (belonging to the kings gift) at their pleasures, so that these providers seemed to provide all for themselves, in so much that neither king nor Christ could receive ought amongst them: and as for iustice they regarded nothing lesse, their minds were so ravished with desire of great wealth, which they so hunteth after, being in place of magistracie, he must needs neglect the law and course of equitie, and therefore this counsell is good which a good writer giveth in this behalfe, saying;

*Sine ius vult esse aliquis non vtile querat,
Iusticia est multis laudata, domestica paucis.*

There be that write, how there were but twelve of these governours chosen; whose names were as followeth. First, the archbishop of Cantuarburie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke and marshall of England, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Gloucester, Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford, the earles of Warwick and Arundell, sir John Pansell chiefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Mortimer, sir Hugh Bigod, sir Peter de Savoy, sir James Audley, and sir Peter de Mountfort. To these was authoritie onelie given to punish and correct all such as offended in breaking of any the ordinances at this parlement established.

It was not long after the finishing of this parlement, but that strife and variance began to kindle betweene the king and the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, by reason of such officers as the said earles had removed, and put others in their rooms: among the which John Pansell was discharged of his office, and sir Hugh Bigod, brother to earle Marshall, admitted in his room. Also because the foresaid governours had knowledge that the king minded not to performe the ordinances established at Drford, they thought to make their part as strong as was possible for them to doe, and therefore upon the morrow after the feast of Marie Magdalene, the king as then being at Westminster, the earle Marshall, the earle of Leicester, and diuerse other came to the Gulldhall of London, where the maior and al-

dermen, with the commons of the citie were assembled, and there the lords shewed the instrument of writing sealed with the kings seale, and with the scales of his sonne prince Edward, and of manie other lords of the land, containing the articles of those ordinances which had bene concluded at Drford, willing the maior and aldermen to set also thereunto their common seale of the citie. The maior and aldermen upon advise amongst them taken, required respite till they might know the kings pleasure therein, but the lords were so earnest in the matter, and made such instance, that no respite could be had; so that in the end the common seale of the citie was put to that writing, and the maior with diuerse of the citie swoore to mainteine the same, their allegiance saved to the king, with their libertics and franchises, according to the accustomed manner.

Upon the ninth day of August, proclamation was made in diuerse places of the citie, that none of the kings takers should take any thing within the citie, without the will of the owner, except two tunnes of wine, which the king accustomed to have of euery ship coming from Burdeaur, paying but 40 shillings for the tun. By meanes of this proclamation, nothing was taken by the kings officers within the citie and libertics of the same, except readie payment were made in hand, which use continued not long. Hereupon the king held a parlement at Westminster, and another at Winchester, or else prorogued and removed the same thither. Also sir Hugh Bigod lord chiefe iustice, with Roger Turkefey, and other called Itinerarij, kept the terme for pless at saint Sauours: for you must vnderstand, that in those daies they were kept in diuerse places of the realme, which now are holden altogether at Westminster, and iudges ordeined to keepe a circuit, as now they keepe the assises in time of vacation. The foresaid iudges sitting on that maner at saint Sauours, punished bailiffes, and other officers verie extremelie, which were couid afore them for diuerse trespasses, and speciallie for taking of merciaments otherwise than law gaue them. After this, the same sir Hugh came unto the Gulldhall, and there sat in iudgement, and kept pless without order of law; yea contrarie to the libertics of the citie, he punished bakers for lacke of true size, by the tumbrell; where before they were punished by the pillorie, & manie other things he used after such manner, more by will than good order of law.

There was a bruit raised (whether of truth or otherwise) we leaue to the credit of the authors) that the Poitouins had practised to poison the most part of the English nobilitie. Indeed diuers of them were grievously tormented with a certeine disease of swelling and breaking out, some died, and othersome verie hardlie escaped, of which number the earle of Gloucester was one, who late sicke a long time at Summing a place besides Reading. At length he recovered: but his brother William died of the same disease, and upon his death-bed laid the fault to one Walter Scotenie, as the occasioner of his death, which afterwards cost the said Walter his life. For although he was one of the chiefe counsellors, and steward also to the said earle of Gloucester, yet being had in suspicion, and therupon apprehended and charged with that crime, when in the yeare next following in June he came to be arraigned at Winchester, and put himselfe to be tried by a iurie, the same pronounced him guiltie: and when those that were impaneled upon that iurie were asked by the iudges how they vnderstood that he should be guiltie, they answered, because that where the said Walter was neuer indebted, that they could heare of, either to William de Malence, or to any of his brethren, they were fullie certified that he had late received no

A proclama-
tion against
purueers.

A parlement.

The iustices
sit at S. Sa-
uours.Bailiffes and
other officers
punished.Bakers pun-
ished.Matth. Paris.
The Poitou-
ins suspected
to haue poi-
soned the Eng-
lish lords.Walter Sco-
tenie arraign-
ed and con-
demned.

He suffereth.
A late harvest
Dearth of
cozne increaseth.
Fastes & processions blessed.

small sum of monie of the said W. de Valence to pay for both his maister and other of the English nobilitie as was to be thought, sith there was no other apparent cause why he should receiue such a gift at the hands of theire enemie the said William de Valence, and so was the said Walter executed at Winchester as afore said.

The harvest was verie late this yere, so that the most part of the cozne rotted on the ground, and that which at length was got in, remained yet abroad till after Alhallowentide, so vntemperate was the weather, with excessive wet and raine beyond all measure. Whereupon the dearth so increased, that even those which had of late receiued other, were in danger to starue themselves. In all the sollempne fasts and generall processions were made in diuerse places of the realme to appeale Gods wrath, and (as it was thought) their prayers were heard, for the weather partly amended, and by reason the same serued to get in some such cozne as was not lost, the price thereof in the market fell halfe in halfe. A good and memorable motiue, that in such extremities as are about the reach of man to redresse, we should by and by haue recourse to him that can giue a remedie against euerie casualtie. For

Elehtur iratus voce rogante Deus.

Richard
Crap lord
warden of
the ports.
Crotus the
popes Nuncio
returneth
home.

Richard Crap the chancellaine of Douer looking diligentlie vnto his charge, toke a thousand marks which the bishop of Winchester had sent thither to haue bene transported ouer into France. Crotus the popes Nuncio perceiuing the trouble that was like to insue within the realme would no longer tarry, but wiselie departed and got him home. Herewith certeine wise personages were sent to Rome on the part of the king and baronage, to informe the pope in that state the realme stood, and to giue him to vnderstand how greuouse the people had bene handled by the practise of certeine Romane prelates promoted in this land.

Matth. Paris.
The lord of
Bedwellie
daine.
Matth. Paris.

This yere nere to Carmardin Patrike of Chertoun lord of Bedwellie, Hugh de Mun, and diuerse other both barons and souldiers were slaine through treason by the Welshmen: yet it should appeare by Mathew Paris that the Englishmen procured this mischance to light on their owne heads, through their dissocial dealing. For where they were come to the place to talke of an agreement, some of the marchers supposing they had bene too strong for the Welshmen, perswaded the said lord of Bedwellie to assaile them vpon the sudden, in hope to haue destroyed them all: but in the end the Englishmen were distressed through the valiance of David one of the sonnes of the great Leolin and other capteines of the Welsh nation. Wherefore Mathew Westminster saith by the way, that the Englishmen were treasonable slaine: so that it seemeth that Mathew Paris speaketh rather of an affection and good will which he bare to the Welsh proceedings in those daies, than otherwise.

Matth. Paris
not well affected
towards
the gouernement
of the
realme as it
then stood.

For who so marketh the course of his historie, shall perceiue that he had no good liking of the state in those daies, neither concerning the ecclesiasticall nor temporall policie, in so much that he sticketh not to commend the Welshmen greatly for their holding together, against the oppression (as he meaneth it) of the English gouernement, and no doubt there was cause that moued him to such misliking, namely the often painments and collections of monie by the popes agents, and other such misorders as daily were permitted or rather maintained to the impoverishing of both estates spirituall and temporall.

Godfrey de
Hinton arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.

Godfrey de Hinton was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie at Rome, about the feast of Christmas last past, and so returned from thence home to

his cure. There was an ordinance made about this time, for punishment to be had of the extortion of sheriffes, so that aswell the receiuer as the giuer of bribes was punishable. Which law if it were now executed vpon all officers & occupiers, whatsoeuer, there would not be so much wealth and substance, so great riches and treasure raked vp together in the possession of some few men, as the old sage saing importeth,

Quisquis dilatur rapidos miluis imitatur.

The bishops of Worcester and Lincoln, with the earles of Hereford and Leicester, were sent ouer in ambassage vnto a counsell holden at Cambrey, for a league and peace to be concluded betwixt the kingdoms of England and France, and also the empire; but because the French king looked to haue the king of England there, when he heard that the same king came not, he also staid at home, and so no conclusion followed at that assemblee.

Anno Reg. R.
Ambassadors
sent to the
counsell at
Cambrey.

Some countesse of Denbroke, the wife of William de Valence the kings halfe brother, demanded hir right of dower, in such lands as belonged to hir by title of inheritance. At length she had to the value of five hundred marks assigned hir of the same lands, notwithstanding hir heritage amounted to the sum of a thousand marks and above of yearely reuenues, but for that she should not aid hir husband with part thereof, the one halfe was thought sufficient for hir maintenance. About Advent next ensuing, she went ouer vnto hir husband, either for the desire she had to inioy his personall presence, or for that she thought hirselfe not well dealt with, to be abridged of those reuenues, which by right of inheritance were hir owne. In the first night of December, there chanced a marvellous fore tempest of lightning and thunder, with mightie winds and raine, as a token and signe of the troubles that after followed, the more noted, for that thunder in the winter season is not commonlie heard of. Guy de Rochford a Doctour, to whom about two yeres before the king had giuen the castell of Rochester, was now banished the realme, and depriued of all that he held in this land.

Some countesse
of Denbroke.

A great tempest
of lightning and
thunder.

About this season there rose great variance amongst the scholers of Oxford being of sundrie countries, as Scottishmen, Welshmen, Hereford men, and Southern men: who fell so farre at square, that they raised baners one against an other, and fought together, in so much that diuerse were slaine, and manie hurt on both parties. ¶ The Welshmen this yere, notwithstanding their good successe had in these late wars, considered with themselves, that if the barons of England did once ioinie in one knot of friendship, they would with maine force easilie subdue them, therefore to preuent that which might chance vnto them by stubborn resistance, they made suit to be receiued into the kings peace, offering to giue vnto him the summe of foure thousand markes, and to his sonne the lord Edward three hundred markes, and to the queene two hundred markes. Yet the king would not accept those offers, and so the matter depended in doubtfull balance a certeine time. The Welshmen in the meane season attempted not any exploit, but rather sate still in hope to come at length to some reasonable agreement. ¶ The monks of Winchester meaning to prouide themselves of a bishop, notwithstanding that Athelmarc alias Doomore the kings halfe brother was banished the realme, elected one Henrie de Wingham the kings chancelor, in hope that the king would be contented with his election, and so he was, but yet conditionallie, that if the pope would allow his said halfe brother for bishop, then should the other giue place.

Guy de Rochford
banished.

Warlike and
debat betwixt
the Scottish
English.

The Welshmen
sought to
agree with
the king.

Henrie de
Wingham
elected bishop
of Winchester.

About the feast of S. Hilarie, when knowledge was giuen that king Richard of Almaine meant to returne into England, there were sent ouer vnto him of Almaine.

1259
Ambassadors
sent to the
king of Almaine.

An. Reg. 43, 44.

m. 1259.
An ordinance
against ex-
tortion.

Anno Reg. 43.
Ambassadors
sent to the
council at
Cambryp.

Some coun-
tells of Den-
broke.

A great tem-
pest of light-
ning and
thunder.

Guy de Roch-
ford banished.

Warlike and
debat betwixt
the knights of
W. 1259.

The well-
men like to
agree with
the king.

Henrie de
Wingham
laced bishop
of Winchester.

1259
Ambassadors
sent to the
king of Almaine.

His protesta-
tion to their
demand.

He changed
his purpose
and commeth
over into
England.

He receiveth
an oath not to
violate the
statutes of
W. 1259.

Parliament.

A peace con-
cluded upon
betwixt the
king of Eng-
land & France

him the bishop of Worcester, the abbat of saint Edmundsburie, Peter de Hauop, and John Panfell, as ambassadours from the baronage and communalte of the realme, to require of him an oath, to stand unto and obeie the ordinances of the late parlement holden at Drenford. When the said ambassadours came before his presence, and declared to him the effect of their message, he beheld them with a sterne loke, and frowning countenance, saieing (and binding it with an oath) that he would neither be sworn, nor kepe any such ordinances as had bene made without his consent, neither would he make them of counsell how long his purpose was to staie within the realme, which the ambassadours required also to understand. Hereunto he further added, that he had no pere in England, for he was the sonne of the deceased king, and brother of the king that now reigned, and also earle of Cornewall, and therefore if the barons of England ment to reforme the state of the kingdom, their duetie had bene first to have sent for him, and not to have proceeded so presumptuouslie in such a weightie cause, without his presence or consent. When one of the ambassadours was about to have made answer somewhat roundlie, and also nippinglie unto this speech uttered by the king of Almaine, he was staied by one of his associates. And so the ambassadours understanding his mind, returned with all convenient speed.

The king of Almaine had assembled a great host of men on the further side the sea, meaning with all expedition to have passed hither into England: but when he had advertisement given that there was a powder raised in England, and bestowed both by sea and land to resist him, he changed his purpose by advice of his friends, so that he consented to receive such manner of oath as the barons required, and here, with taking the sea, he arrived at Dover on saint Julians daie with his owne household-servants, bringing with him no traine of strangers, except onelie two earles of Almaine, which brought with them but onelie three knights, and he himselfe had but eight knights: his brother king Henrie was readie to receive him, and brought him from Dover unto Canturburie, for neither of them was suffered to enter into the castell of Dover, the lords having them in a gelousie, least they should be about to breake the ordinances which were concluded. On the morow after, the king of Almaine received the oath, in the presence of Richard earle of Gloucester and others, within the chapter house of Canturburie. And on the day of the Purification of our lady, the two kings with their queenes and a great number of noble personages made their entrie, and passage into the citie of London.

In the octaves of the said Purification, the parlement began at London, to the which came the earle of Leicester from the parts of beyond the sea, where he had for a certeine time remained. There came also an ambassadour from the french king, one that was deane of Burges, and so there was an earnest treatie had touching a peace to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France, which on the day of saint Valentine was accorded and put in articles, with condition that the same should remaine firme and stable, if the kings would assent to that which had bene talked of and agreed upon by their speciall and solemne agents. For the further perfecting of this agreement and small peace betwixt the kings of England and France, about the beginning of April, the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, John Panfell, Peter de Hauop, and Robert Walerane were sent over into France, having also with them letters of credence, to conclude in all matters as had bene talked of by their agents. But when the countesse of

Leicester would not consent to quite claime and release his right in such parcels of poymandle as belonged to him, which king Henrie had coveted with the residue to resigne unto the french king. The earle of Gloucester fell at words with the earle of Leicester, about the stubborne demeanour which his wife shewed in that matter, and so by reason that either of them stood at defiance with the other (although by meane of friends they staied from further inconvenience) they returned backe without concluding any thing in that whereabout they were sent.

About the same time there was a certeine mansion house by waie of devotion given unto the friers that are called preachers within the towne of Dunstable, so that certeine of them thinking themselves in there, began to inhabit in that place, to the great annoiance of the prior and convent of Dunstable, as it were by the example of the other order called minours (which in the last preceding yeare, at saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke had practised the like matter against the willes of the abbat and convent there) they began to build verie sumptuous houses, so that in the eyes of the beholders such chargeable workes of building, so suddenlie advanced by them that professed voluntarie povertie, caused no small wonder. The said friers building them a church with all speed, and setting up an altar, immediatlie began to celebrate divine service, not once staieing for the purchase of ante licence. And so building from day to day, they obtained great aid of such as inhabited nere unto them, of whom the prior and convent ought to have received the revenues that were now converted to be imployed on the said friers towards their maintenance. Thus by how much more their house increased, by so much more did the prior and convent decrease in substance and possessions: for the rents which they were accustomed to receive of the messuages and houses given to the friers, were lost, and likewise the offerings (which were wont to come to their hands) now these friers being newlie entred by occasion of their preachings, usurped to themselves.

Richard Craie constable of the castell of Dover, and lord warden of the cinque ports was this yeare removed by the lord chiefe justice Hugh Bigod, who took into his owne hands the custodie of the said castell and ports. The cause wherfore the said Richard Craie was discharged, we find to have fallen out by this means. He suffered a frier minor called Walscho, coming from the pope (because he had the kings letters under the great seale) to enter the land, not staieing him, nor warning the lords of his coming, contrarie (as it was interpreted) unto the articles of their provisions enacted at Drenford. This frier indeed was sent from the pope to have restored Athilmarus or Adomarus (as some write him) the kings halfe brother, unto the possessions of the bishopricke of Winchester, to the which he had bene long before elected. But the lords were so bent against him, that upon such suggestions as they laid forth, Walscho refrained from doing that which he had in commandement, and returned to make report what he understood, so that Adomarus was now as farre from his purpose as before.

About the feast of saint Michaell, the bishop of Bangor was sent from Leolin prince of Wales unto the king of England, to make offer on the behalfe of the said Leolin and other the lords of Wales, of sixtene thousand pounds of silver for a peace to be had betwixt the king and them, and that they might come to Chester, and there have their matters heard and determined, as in time past they had bene accustomed. But what answer at his returne was given to this bishop by the king and his nobles, it is uncerteine.

The countesse
of Leicester.

Contention
betwixt the
earles of Gloucester
and Leicester.

The friers
preachers be-
gin to inhabit
at Dunstable.

The monks
hindred by the
the coming
of the friers.

Richard
Craie discharged
of his
office of lord
warden.
Walscho a
friar sent from
the pope.

The bishop of
Bangor sent
to the prince
of Wales to
king Henrie.
The Welsh-
men offer to
resort unto
Chester.

Anno Reg. 44.
¶ parlement.

The statutes
of Oxford
read, and the
breakers of
the same de-
nounced ac-
cursed.

Escuage
granted.

Knights fees
how manie
were then in
England.

Fabian.
¶ folkemote.

The king as-
keth licence to
passe the seas.

Matth. West.
The king sat-
teth ouer into
France.

1260
The compoun-
deth all differ-
ences with
the French k.

Polydor.
N. Trivet.
Wil. Rifaing.

Matth. VVest.

Dissention be-
twixt prince
Edward and
the earle of
Glocester.

telne. In the forthe and fourth ycare of king Henries
reigne, the first daie following the feast of Simon and
Jude, in a parlement holden at Westminster, were
read in ptesence of all the lordes and commons, the
acts and ordinaunces made in the parlement holden
at Orenford, with certeine other articles by the go-
uernours therevnto added and annexed. After the
reading wherof the archbishop of Canturburie be-
ing requested with his suffragans to the number of
nine bishops, besides abbats and others, denounced
all them accursed that attempted in word or deed to
bzeake the said statutes, or anie of them. In the same
parlement was granted to the king a talke called
scutagium, or escuage, that is to saie, forthe shillings
of euerie knights fee throughout England, the which
extended to a great summe of monie. For as diuerse
writers do agree, there were in England at that time
in possession of the spiritualtie and tempozaltie be-
yond forthe thousand knights fees, but almost halfe of
them were in spiritual mens hands.

Upon the first day of Nouember the king came
vnto Paules, where by his commandement was the
folkemote court assembled, and the king (according
to the former ordinaunces made) asked licence of the
communalte of the citie to passe the sea, and promi-
sed there in the ptesence of a great multitude of peo-
ple, by the mouth of Hugh Bigod his chiefe iustice,
to be good and gracious lord vnto the citie, and to
mainteine the liberties thereof unhurt. Wherewith
the people for ioy made a great shout. The eight day
of Nouember he rode through the citie towards the
sea side, and vpon the thirteenth daie of Nouember,
he toke the sea at Douer and arriued at Whitland;
and so from thence he rode vnto Paris, where, of the
French king he was most honozable receiued. The
cause of his going ouer was chiefele to conclude
some assured peace with the French king, that he
should not need to doubt any foren enemies, if he
should come to haue warre with his owne people,
whereof he saw great likelihoods, and therefore he
made such agreement with king Lewes (as in the
French historie more at large appeareth) which (to be
short) I here omit.

This one thing is here to be noted, that besides
the monie which king Henrie had in hand, amount-
ing to the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand
crownes for his resignation then made vnto For-
mandie, Aniou and Paine, it was accorded, that he
should receiue yearelie in name of a tribute the sum
of ten thousand crownes. Others write that he had
three hundred thousand pounds of small Turon mo-
nie, which he receiued in readie payment, and was
promised restitution of lands to the value of twentie
thousand pounds of yearelie rent: and that after the
deceale of the French king, that then was, the coun-
te of Poitou should retorne vnto the English do-
minion. Some write that immediatlie after king
Henrie had concluded his agreement, he began to
repent himselfe thereof, and would neuer receiue
penie of the monie, nor leaue out in his stile the title
of duke of Normandie. But it is rather to be thought
that such an agreement was at point to haue bene
concluded, or at the leastwise was had in talke, but
yet neuer concluded nor confirmed with hands and
seales, as it ought to haue bene, if they had gone
through with it.

In the meane time that king Henrie was thus
occupied in France, dissention fell in England be-
twixt prince Edward and Richard earle of Gloce-
ster, for the appeasing wherof a parlement was cal-
led at Westminster, to the which the lordes came with
great companies, and speciallie the said prince and
earle. They intended to haue lodged within the citie;
but the maiors going vnto the bishop of Glocester,

to sir Hugh Bigod, and to sir Philip Basset (vnto
whome, and to the archbishop of Canturburie, the k.
had committed the rule of the land in his absence)
required to know their pleasure here in. Wherupon
they thought it good to haue the aduise of Richard the
king of Almaine, and thereupon went to him, where
they concluded, that neither the said prince nor earle
nor anie of their partakers should come within the
citie, the gates wherof were by the maiors appoint-
ment closed and kept with watch and ward both day
and night. Some after also, for the more safegard of
the citie, the gates were by the maiors appointment
closed and kept with diligent watch and ward both
day and night. Some after also for the more safegard
of the said citie, and sure keeping of the peace, the
king of Almaine with the said sir Hugh and sir Phi-
lip came and lodged in the citie with their compa-
nies, and such other as they would assigne, to streng-
then the citie if need required. Wher in their prouident
consent to withstand so foule a mischief as sedition
might haue bred in the citie, deserueth high com-
mendation, for it was the next waie to preserve the
state thereof against all occasions of ruine, to witte
harts and hands in so sweet an harmonie, which the
law of nature teacheth men to do, and as by this
sage sentence is insinuated and giuen to vnderstand,

Manus manum lauat & digitus digitum,

Vir virum & ciuitas ciuitatem.

Shortlie after, the king returned out of France,
and about the feast of S. Sparke came to London,
and lodged in the bishops palace. And because of cer-
teine rumors that were spzed abroad sounding to
some euill meaning, which prince Edward should
haue against his father, the king brought ouer with
him a great power of men in armes being stran-
gers, howbeit he brought them not into the citie, but
left them beyond the bridge in the parts of Surrie,
notwithstanding being entred the citie, he so kept the
gates and entrees, that none was permitted to en-
ter, but such as came in by his sufferance. The earle
of Glocester by his appointment also was lodged
within the citie, and the prince in the palace at West-
minster. Shortlie after by the kings commandement
he removed to S. Johns, & all the other lordes were
lodged without the citie, and the king of Almaine
removed againe to Westminster. In which time a
drection was taken betwixt the said parties, and
a new assemble and parlement assigned to be kept
in the quindeine of S. John Baptist, and after defer-
red or prorogued till the feast of Saint Edward; at the
which time all things were pacified a while, but so
as the earle of Glocester was not beside the roome
which he had amongst other the peers, and so then
he joined in friendship with the earle of Leicester,
as it were by way of confederacie against the resi-
due, and yet in this last contention, the said earle of
Leicester toke part with the prince against the earle
of Glocester.

This ycare the lord William de Beauchampe the
elder deceased. The lord Edward the kings sonne,
with a faire companie of knights and other men of
armes, passed the seas to exercise himselfe in iusts,
but he himselfe and his men were euill intreated in
manie places, so that they lost horse, armour, and
all other things to his great grieve and disliking (as
may be esteemed) yet (as some write) he returned
home with blazour in the iusts. This ycare at Leu-
keburte, a Jew falling by chance into a talle spout
the saturdaye, in remembrance of his sabbath would not
suffer any man to plucke him forth, wherof the earle
of Glocester being aduertised, thought the christians
should doe as much reverence to their sabbath which
is sundae, and therefore would suffer no man to go
about to take him forth that day, and so lieng thit
till

Prince Ed-
ward and the
earle of Gloce-
ster are not
suffered to
come within
the citie of
London.

The king re-
turneth into
England.

Fab
31
bolt
30

In
true
king

The
choi-
sist

Ann
The
tuo-
ding
bard
the k

The earle of
Glocester con-
federateth him-
selfe with the
earle of Lei-
cester.

Chr. Dunda.

Matth. West.
A Jew of
Leukeburte
fallerth into a
talle.

Matth
29 an

till mondaie, he was there found dead.

March. Westm.
Death of Rich.
Eleanore.

Diuers noble men departed this life in this peare, as the earle of Albemarle, the lord William Beauchampe, Stephen de Longespée lord chiefe iustice of Ireland, and Roger de Turkeby one of the kings chiefe counsellors and iustices of the land, William de Kirkham bishop of Durham, and John de Crake hales treasurer of England, a spiritiual man, but rich beyond measure: also Henrie de Ba another of the kings iustices of the bench. In the 45 peare of king Henries reigne, Alexander king of Scotland came to London anon after the feast of S. Edward, with a faire companie of Scotishmen, and shortly after his wife the quene of Scots came thither also. Forpouer king Henrie kept a roiall feast at Westminster, there he made to the number of foure score knights, amongst whom, John sonne to the earle of Britaine, who had married the ladie Beatrice, one of the kings daughters was there made knight. Shortly after was sir Hugh Spenser made lord chiefe iustice.

1261
Chro. Dun.

After Christmasse the 11. comming into the towre of London, fortified it greatlie, & caused the gates of the citie to be warded, sending forth commandement to his lords that they should come to the towre, there to hold a parlement; but they denied that he so to do, sending him word that if it pleased him, they would come to Westminster, where usually the parlement had bene kept, and not to any other place, whereupon there rose dissention betwixt him and the barons. After the feast of the Purification, at a folkemote holden at Baules crose (where the king was present in person, with the king of Almaine, the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other of the nobles) commandement was giuen to the maior, that euerie striping of the age of 12 peares and aboue, should before his alderman be sworn to be true to the king and his heires kings of England, and that the gates of the citie should be kept with armed men, as befoze by the king of Romans was deuised.

Fabian.
A folkemote
holden at
Baules crose.

In oth to be
true to the
king.

The lord
Spenser dis-
charged of
his office.

Anno Reg. 46.
The presumptuous proce-
dings of the
barons against
the king.

About Easter the barons of the land with consent of the prelates, discharged sir Hugh Spenser of his office of chiefe iustice, and placed in his come sir Philip Basset without the kings assent, he being not made priue thereunto. Whereupon a new occasion of displeasure was ministered to kindle debate betwixt the king and his lords, but by the policie of the king of Almaine and some prelates, the matter was quieted for a time, till after at Hallowentide next ensuing, which was the 46 peare of H. Henries reigne. At that time the barons took upon them to discharge such shiriffes as the king had elected & named gardians of the countiees and shires; and in their places put other shiriffes, and besides that would not suffer the iustice which the king had admitted, to do his office in keeping his circuit, but appointed such to do it, as it pleased them to assigne, whereupon the king was so much offended, that he laboured by all means to him possible about the disanulling of the ordinances made at Oxford; and upon the second fundaie in Lent, he caused to be read at Baules crose a bull, ordained of pope Urbane the fourth, as a confirmation of an other bull before purchased of his predecessor pope Alexander, for the abolishing of the king, and all other that were sworn to the maintenance of the articles agreed upon at Oxford. This abolition he caused to be shewed through the realmes of England, Wales & Ireland, giving straight charge that if any person were found that would disobey this abolition, the same should be committed to prison, there to remaine till the kings pleasure were further knowen.

March. West.
Amp. gouern.

Swerte the most part of those prelates which had the rule of the king and kingdom thus in their hand,

perceiuing the enormitie that baslie grew of so manifold heaps and gouernours, were minded of themselves to dissolve those provisions and ordinances so made at Oxford, in somuch that there were but five which stilled stood in defense of the same, that is to saie, the bishop of Worcester, and the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, with Henrie Spenser, and Peter de Spontfort, the which by no means could be brought to confesse that they might with a safe conscience go contrarie to those ordinances which they had confirmed with their solemn oth, notwithstanding the popes dispensation; whereas the same oth was rather a bond of iniquitie (as saith March. Westminster) deuised to conspire against Christ and his annointed, that is to saie, their naturall liege lord and lawfull king, than any goodlie oth aduiseable taken, or necessarie to be receiued of god meaning subiects, yea and of such a frivulous oth it is said, that

In aqua scribitur & in puluere exaratur.

In June the king of Almaine took shipping and sailed ouer into Dutchland, and king Henrie at a folkemote holden at Baules crose the fundaie after S. Peters day, had licence to saile into France, and the morowe after he departed from London towards the sea side, with the quene and other lords, his two sonnes prince Edward and the earle of Lancaster being at that present in Guen. When he had bene a season in France, he went unto Bourdeaur, and there fell sicke of a feuer quartane, by occasion whereof he taried in those parties till S. Nicholas tide next following. There were few that went ouer with him that escaped free without the same disease, so that in manner all his companie were taken and sore handled therewith. Marie died thereof to the number of thre score, and amongst them as chiefe were these, Baldwin de Lisle earle of Deuonshire, Ingram de Berce, and William de Beauchampe.

In this peare died Richard the Clare earle of Gloucester, and his sonne sir Gilbert de Clare was earle after him, unto whom his father gaue great charge that he should mainteine the ordinances of Oxford. In the 47 peare of king Henries reigne, by reason that a Jew had wounded a christian man at London within Colechurch, in the ward of Cheap, not onelie the said Jew was slaine by other christians that followed him home to his house, but also manie other Jewes were robbed and slaine in that furie and rage of the people. The Welshmen with their prince Llewlin made wars against the men and tenants of Roger de Mortimer; and took two of his castles (the one called Ikenet) and rased them both to the ground. The said Roger being sore grieved herewith, got such assistance as he could of other lords there in the marches, and watching the Welshmen at aduantage, distressed diuerse companies of them, sometime thre hundred, sometime foure hundred, and other whiles six hundred. But at one time he lost thre hundred of his souldiers that were entred the countie, and so he trusted that they could make no shift to escape.

Upon the euen of S. Thomas the apostle, the king landed at Wboud, and came to London the Wednesday before the bodie day of Christ made. In this peare the frost began about S. Nicholas date, and continued for the space of a moneth and more; so extreme, that the Thames was frozen, so that men passed ouer on horsebacke. The same winter the kings little hall at Westminster, with manie other houses thereunto adjoining, was consumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kings seruants. Variance rose betwixt the citizens of London, and the constable of the towre, for that contrarie to the liberties of the citie he took certeine ships passing by the towre with wheat and other vittels into the towre, making

noys pernicious to a commonwealth.

The king of Almaine goeth ouer into Germanie. Fabian. The king having licence passeth ouer into France.

The sailleth sick of a feuer quartane. Chro. Dun.

Death of noble men.

The earle of Gloucester departeth this life.

Anno Reg. 47. Jewes slaine.

March. Westm. The Welshmen warre against the lord Mortimer & tenants.

The seeketh his reuenge against them, & slayeth them.

Fabian. 1263 The Thames frozen.

Variance betwixt the citizens of London and the constable of the towre.

ince & de-
d and the
e of Glouce-
are not
red to
e Smithin
cite of
ndom.

e king re-
ach into
gland.

e earle of
cester con-
ratch him
with the
e of Leicester.

Dundub.

zh. West.
few at
the barne
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making the price thereof himselfe. The matter was had before sir Philip Basset lord chiefe iustice and others, who upon the sight and hearing of all such evidences and pmissibges as could be brought forth for the advantage of both the parties, took order that the constable should (when he lacked provision of graine or vittels) come into the market holden within the citie, and there to haue wheat two pence in a quarter within the maiors price, and other vittels after the same rate.

Math. West.
Prince Edward goeth against the welshmen.

The archb. of Cantuarburie goeth to Rome.

Fabian.

The lord mayor of London sworne to be true to the king.

Cloked malice bursteth out.

The barons raise people.

The lord Clifford.

Chron. Dun.

Prince Edward taketh monie out of the treasure of the temple.

Mar. lib. 11.
Hor. lib. car. 3.
ode 24.

The Londoners rob the house of the lord Gray.

Prince Edward the kings sonne returning from the parts beyond the sea, went with a great power (as well of Englishmen as strangers) against the Welshmen towards Snowdon hills: but the enemies withdrawing themselves to their strength within the woods and mounteines, he could not much indamage them, whereupon after he had fortified certeine castles in those parts, with men, munition, and vittels, he returned being sent for backe of his father. The archbishop of Cantuarburie seeking the trouble that was like to issue betwixt the king and his barons, got licence of the king to go unto Rome, about such businesse as he failed to haue to do with the pope, and so departed the land, and kept him a while till the trouble was appeased. Upon Midlent sundaie, at a folkemote holden at Pannes crosse, before sir Philip Basset and other of the kings counsell, the maior of London was sworne to be true to the king, and to his heires kings of England, and upon the morrow at the Guildhall euerie alderman in presence of the maior took the same oth. And upon the sundaie following, euerie inhabitant within the citie, of the age of 12 yeares and above, before his alderman in his ward was newlie charged with the like oth.

Then began the displeasure betwene the king and his barons to appeare, which had bene long kept secret, diuers of whom assembling together in the marches of Wales, gathered unto them a power of men, and sent a letter unto the king, vnder the seale of sir Roger Clifford, beseeching him to haue in remembrance his oth and manifold promises made for the obseruing of the statutes ordeined at Oxford. But although this letter was indited and written verie effectually, yet received they no answer from the king, who minded in no wise to obserue the same statutes, as by euident tokens it was most apparent. Whereupon they determined to attempt by force to bring their purpose to passe. The king and the queene for their more safegard got them into the towne of London, and prince Edward laie at Clerkenwell, but such necessity and discredit for monie, that neither had they any force to furnish their wants, neither was there any man that would trust them with a groat.

Prince Edward not able to abide such dishonor, in the feast of the apostle Peter and Paule, taking with him Robert Waleran, and certeine others, went to the new temple, and there calling for the keeper of the treasure-house, as if he meant to see his mothers Jewels, that were laid up there, to be safely kept, he entred into the house, and breaking the coffers of certeine persons, that had likewise brought their monie thither, to haue it in more safetie, he took away from thence the value of 1000 pounds.

*quantum cogit, egesset in illis, et in illis
Magnum pauperies opprobrium inbet in illis
Quidam facere et pati in illis, et in illis
vntusque vnam deserit ardua.*

The citizens of London were so offended herewith that they rose in armour against him and other of the kings counsell, in somuch that they assailed the lodging of the lord John Gray without Ludgate, and took out of his stables 32 horses, and such other

things as they might laie hold upon, keeping such sure that the lord Gray himselfe was forced to flee beyond Fleetbridge. The like rule they kept at the house of John de Basseleu.

John Mansell departing forth of the towne to the Thames, with the countesse de Aile, and other ladies that were strangers borne, sailed into France, and landed at Whittland, where the said Mansell hearing that the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, that then held with the barons was in those parts, he caused the lord Ingram de Fines to stile him as prisoner, and so he remained, till king Henrie upon the agreement betwixt him and the barons, found meanes to get him released, and so then he returned into England.

But now touching the barons, they proceeded in their businesse which they had in hand with all earnest diligence, of whome these were the chiefe that undertooke this matter: young Humfrie de Boun, the lord Henrie son to the king of Almaine, Henrie Spontford, Hugh Spenser, Baldwin Wake, Gilbert Cusford, Richard Gray, John Kos, William Sparmon, Henrie Hastings, Waimon le Strange, John Fitz John, Godfrey Lacie, Nicholas Segraue, Roger de Leiboine, John Welle, Roger de Clifford, John de Claus, Gilbert de Clare, Gilbert de Lacie, and Robert Wepont, the which with one generall consent leued for their chiefe captains and generall gouernours, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester, Gilbert of Clare earle of Gloucester, and Robert Ferris earle of Darbie, and John earle of Warren. On the kings part these persons are named to stand with him against the other. First, Roger Bigod earle of Hereford, and Suffolke, Humfrie de Boun earle of Hereford, Hugh Bigod lord chiefe iustice, Philip Basset, William de Valence, Geoffrey de Laignan, Peter de Sauoy, Robert Walrand, John Mansell, Geoffrey Langley, John Gray, William Latimer, Henrie Berrie, and manie other. The barons notwithstanding hauing assembled their powers, resolved to go through with their purpose.

The first enterprise they made was at Hereford, where they took the bishop of that se named John Beeton, and as manie of his canons as were strangers borne. After this they took sir Mathew de Weylles knight of Gloucester, a stranger borne, and keeping on their waie towards London, with banners displayed, so manie as came within their reach, whom they knew to be against the maintenance of the statutes of Oxford, they spoiled them of their houses, robbed them of their goods, and imprisoned their bodies, hauing no regard whether they were spirituall men or temporall. In diuers of the kings castles they placed such captains and soldiers as they thought convenient, and displaced others whom they either knew or suspected to be aduersaries to their purpose.

About the thirtieth of March when they were nere to London, they sent a letter to the mayor and aldermen vnder the seale of the earle of Hereford, willing to understand whether they would obserue the aces and statutes established at Oxford, or else aid and aduise such persons as meant the breach of the same. And here with they sent unto them a copie of those articles, with a provision, that if any of them were principall, or in any wise hurtfull to the reuerie and common wealth, that then the same by the advice of discreet persons should be amended and reformed. The maior bare this letter, and the copie of the articles unto the king, who in this meane time remained in the towne of London, together with the queene and the king of Almaine, latelie returned out of Almaine, also his sonne prince Edward, and manie other of his counsell. The king asked of the maior what he thought of those articles: who made such answer as the king seemed

John Mansell
fleeth into
France.

The barons
that rose
against the
king.

Their chiefe
captains.

The barons
that took part
with the king.

Rifanger
with this
1264.

The barons
make havoc

The
disposon
of the
citie
London

Abings

seemed well pleased therewith, and so permitted the maior to returne againe into the citie, who toke much paine in keeping the citie in good quiet now in that dangerous time.

All such the inhabitants as were strangers borne, and suspected to fauour either of the parties, were banished the citie, but within a while after, prince Edward let them of the most part of them in offices within the castell of Wyndsoze. On the saturday next after the translation of saint Benet, as the queene would haue passed by water from the towre vnto Wyndsoze, a sort of lewd naughtypacks got them to the bridge, making a noise at hir, and crying; *Do youne the witch, thew do youne stones, cudgels, dirt, and other things at hir, so that she escaped in great danger of hir person, fled to Lambeth, and through feare to be further pursued, landed there, and so she staid till the maior of London with much ado appeasing the furie of the people, repaired to the queene and brought hir backe againe in safetie vnto the towre. And (as some write) because the king would not suffer hir to enter againe into the towre, the maior conueied hir vnto the bishop of Londons house by Paules, and there lodged hir.*

The misde-meaning of lewd persons towards the queene.

Chron. Dunst.

Manh. Weat.

Chron. Dunst. Bishops tra- uell to make peace.

Strangers haue the cas- tle of wynd- soze.

The great bishop in the citie of London.

Abington.

so that the whole citie revolted from him, and prepa- red to besiege him in the castell, not doubting but easilie to win it. When he saw how the world went, he sent to the bishop of Worcester that was of the barons side, promising that he would agree with the barons, if he would helpe to deliuer him out of the Bristow mens hands. The bishop taking his promise conueied him forth in safetie toward the court; but when he came nere vnto Wyndsoze, he turned thi- ther, greatlie to the mistaking of the bishop; yet neuertheless when the barons came forward to besiege that castle, the lord Edward met them not farre from Abington, offering them conditions of peace. Some write that he was traied and not suffered to returne againe to Wyndsoze, after he had ended his talkes with the barons; but howsoeuer it was, the castell was surrendered, with condition that those that were within it should safelie depart, and so they did; and were conueied to the sea by Humfrey de Bohun the younger. About the same time, Leolin prince of Wales destroyed the lands of prince Edward in Cheshire, and the marches therabouts. The two castles of Delford and Cannoc he toke and destroyed, being two very faire fortresses.

Nic. Treuer.

A parlement.

Abington.

The kings protestation against the articles at Wrenford.

About the feast of the Ascension of our Moie, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which all the nobles of the realme both spiritual and tempo- rall were present, and then the citie of London, and the cinque ports joined in league as confederats with the barons; but the king plainlie protested be- fore all the assemblee, that by the statutes and proui- sions (as they termed them) made at Wrenford, he was much deceived. For contrarie to that which the barons had promised, he felt himselfe rather charged with more debt than anie thing released; and there- fore sith he had obtained of the pope an absolution of the oth both for himselfe and his people, his request was to be restored vnto his former estate of all such prerogatiues as in time past he had inioied. The barons on the other side stiffelie mainteined, that they could not with safe consciences go against their oth, and therefore they meant to stand in defense of the articles aforesaid euen so long as they had a daie to liue.

Thus thilest both parts kept so farre from all hope of agreement, and were now in point to haue depar- ted in sunder, through mediation of some bishops that were present a peace was concluded, and the parties so agreed, that all matters in controuersie touching the articles, prouiisions, and statutes made at Wrenford should be ordered and iudged by the French king, whom they chose as arbitrator betwixt them. Whereupon, on the thirtenth of September, both the king and queene, with their sonnes, and di- uerse other of the nobles of this land, toke shipping, and sailed ouer to Bullongne, where the French king as then was at a parlement, with a great number of the nobles and pères of France. The earle of Le- cester also with diuerse of his complices went thi- ther, and there the matter was opened, argued, and debated before the French king, who in the end vpon due examination, and orderlie hearing of the whole proceesse of all their controuersies, gaue expresse sen- tence, that all and euerie of the said statutes and or- dinances deuised at Wrenford, should be from thence- forth utterlie void, and all bonds and promises made by king Henrie, or anie other for performance of them, should likewise be aduiled, fordone, and clearelie cancelled.

The barons highlie displeased herewith, refused to stand to the French kings award herein, because he had iudged altogether on the kings side. Whereupon after they were returned into the realme, either par- tie prepared for warre; but yet about the feast of S. Edward,

The French king giueth sentence against the barons.

ohn Spall- eth into rance.

The barons at rose a- gainst the king.

Their chiefe optains.

The barons hat toke part with the king.

Lisanger no- eth this to be 264.

The barons make banock.

Anno Reg. 8.

Math. Westm.

The lords
that revolted
to the king.

Chron. Dun.

Abington.

1264

The king go-
eth againe
to the French
king.

Fabian.

Nic. Trivet.
Castels got-
ten by prince
Edward.Worcester
taken.

Edward, the king and the barons chifones met at London, holding a new parliament at Westminster, but no good could be done. Then when the king of Almaine and prince Edward, with others of the kings counsell saw that by rapine, oppression, and extortion practised by the barons against the kings subjects, as well spirituall as temporall, the state of the realme and the kings honour was much decayed, and brought in manner unto utter ruine, they procured the king to withdraw secretly from Westminster unto Windsoze castell, of which his sonne prince Edward had gotten the possession by a traine. From Windsoze he went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Oxford, having a great power with him.

At his being at Oxford there came unto him the lord Henrie, son to the king of Almaine, John earle Warren, Roger Clifford, Roger Leiboine, Hamond le Strange, and John de Clare, which had revolted from the barons to the kings side. John de Clare also did the like: but he shortly after returned to the barons part againe. The kings sonne the lord Edward had procured them thus foredoit, promising to euerie of them in reward by his charter of grant fiftie pounds lands to aid the king his father and him against the barons.

After this the king went to Winchester, and from thence came backe unto Reading, and then he marched south with his armie unto Dover, where he could not be suffered to come into the castell, being kept out by the lord Richard Gray that was capteine there. Hereupon he returned to London, where the barons againe were entred, through favour of the commoners, against the will of the chiefe citizens, and here they fell chifones to treat of agreement, but their talke profited nothing. And so in the Christmasse weeke the king, with his sonne prince Edward and diuerse other of the counsell sailed ouer againe into France, and went to Amiens, where they found the French king, and a great number of his Nobles. Also for the barons, Peter de Spontford, and other were sent thither as commissioners, and as some write, at that present, to wit on the 24 daie of Januarie, the French king sitting in iudgement, pronounced his definitive sentence on the behalfe of king Henrie against the barons: but whether he gaue that sentence now, or the yeare before, the barons iudged him verie parciell, and therefore meant not to stand unto his arbitrement therein.

The king having ended his businesse with the French king, returned into England, and came to London the morrow after S. Valentines day. And about seven or eight daies after, the lord Edward his eldest sonne returned also, and hearing that the barons were gone to the marches of Wales (where toining with the Welshmen, they had begun to make warre against the kings friends, and namelie against his lieutenant Roger lord Mortimer, whome they had besieged in the castell of Wigmore) the lord Edward thereupon, with such power as he could get together, marched thitherwards to raise their siege: but the lord Mortimer perceluing himselfe in danger, fled priuillie out of the castell, and got to Hereford, thither the prince was come. The barons informed their strength in such wise that they won the castell. Prince Edward on the other side toke the castels of Hereford and Huntingdon that belonged unto the earle of Hereford young Henrie de Boun.

The castell of Brecknock was also deliuered into his hands, which he betooke to the keeping of the lord Roger de Mortimer, with all the territorie thereto belonging. Robert earle of Darbie that toke part with the barons, besieged the citie of Gloucester, and toke it by the old castell, sacked the citizens goods, and

constrained the Iewes to be baptised. The citie of Gloucester also was taken by the barons: but prince Edward following them and reparing the bridge ouer Scuerne, which the barons had broken downe after they were come ouer, he entred the castell of Gloucester with his people. The next day by procurement of Walter bishop of Worcester, a truce was taken betwixt prince Edward and the barons that had taken the towne, during the which truce the barons left the towne, and the burgesles submitted themselves unto prince Edward: and so he having the castell and towne in his hands, imprisoned manie of the burgesles, & fined the towne at the summe of a thousand pounds. Then he betooke towards his father lieng at Oxford, or at Woodstocke, gathering people to gather on each hand.

In the meane time the lords drew towards London, and the new assurance by writing indented was made betwixt the commonalties of the citie and the barons, without consent of any of the rulers of the citie. The commoners herewith appointed of themselves two capteins, which they named constables of the citie, that is to saie, Thomas Piwelston & Stephen Bakerell, by whose commandment and tolling of the great bell of Paules all the citie was warned to be readie in harnesse, to attend upon the said two capteins. About the beginning of Lent the constable of the towne sir Hugh Spenser, with the said two capteins, and a great multitude of the citizens and others went to Whilleworth; and there spoiled the manour place of the king of Almaine, and then set it on fire, and destroyed the water milles, and other commodities which he there had. This deed was the cause (as some haue iudged) of the warre that after ensued. For where before this time the said king of Almaine had bene, by reason of the alliance betwixt him and the earle of Gloucester, continuallie an intreater for peace, he was now euer after this time an utter enemie unto the barons, and unto their side, so farre as laie in his power.

The king hearing of this riotous act, and being informed that Peter de Spontford was at Southampton, assembling people to strengthen the barons part, he got together such men of warre as he could from all places, and so he had with him his brother Richard king of Almaine, his eldest sonne the lord Edward, William de Valence his halfe brother on the mothers side, & John Comyn of Ward in Scotland with a great number of Scots, John Balliol lord of Gallowate, Robert Bruce lord of Annandale, Roger Clifford, Philip Marmon, John Clare, John Leiboine, Henrie Percie, Philip Basset, and Roger Mortimer.

Thus the king having these noble men about him, with his armie sped him towards Northampton, and coming thither toke the towne by force, slew diuerse, and toke prisoners Peter Spontford, and Simon Spontford the earle of Leicesters son, William Ferries, Baldwin Wake, with Nicholas his brother, Berengarius de Waterulle, Hugh Cubin, Robert Butenlein, Adam of Petomarch, Robert Newton, Philip Wyble, Crimbald Dauncefoet, Roger Beltram, Thomas Mansell, and diuerse other to the number of 80 knights (or as Matthew Westminster hath 15 barons, and 60 knights) besides a great number of esquires and burgesles, the which were bestowed abroad in sundrie prisons. The towne (as some write) was taken by this means. Whilste diuerse of the capteins within were talking with the king on the one side of the towne towards the meadows, the lord Philip Basset approached the walles nere unto the monasterie of S. Andrew, and there with his people having spades, mattocks, and other instruments provided for the purpose, undermined a great

Math. Westm.
The citie of
Gloucester
covered, and
put to fire.The common-
ers of the
citie of Lon-
don agree
with the
barons.
R. Fabian.The memory
of the
citizens
spoiled.The chiefe
cause that
the king of
Almaine so
much
against
the
barons.The lords
that followed
the king.Northampton
taken by forceThe
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great paine of the wall, and reuerfed the same into ditches, making such a breach, that fortie horsemen might enter afront. Some put the blame in such monks of the abbeie as were strangers, as though they should prepare this entrie for the enimie: but howsoeuer it was, the king got the towne out of his enimies handes.

This also is to be remembred, that where by reason of variance, which had chanced that yere betwixt the scholers of Oxford and the towne men, a great number of the same scholers were withdrawen to Northampton and there studied. They had raised a banner to fight in defense of the towne against the king, and did more hurt to the assailants than anie other band; whereupon the king threatned to hang them all, and so had he done indeed, if by the persuasion of his counsell he had not altered his purpose, doubting to procure the hatred of their friends, if the execution should haue bene so rigorously prosecuted against them: for there were amongst them manie young gentlemen of good houses and noble parentage. Thus was the towne of Northampton taken on a saturday being Passion sundaye euen, and the morow after the date of St. Ambrose which is the first of Aprill. On the monday following, the king led his armie towards Leicester, where the burgeses receiued him into the towne at his comming thither. From thence he marched to Nottingham, burning and wasting the houses and manors of the barons and other of his enimies, and speciallie those that belonged to the earle of Leicester. Here he also gathered more people, and so increased his power: in so much that diuerse Noblemen, as Roger Clifford, Henrie Percie, Richard Gray, Philip Basset, Richard Sward, and Hubert earle of Kent, doubting the lacke of power in their companions, reuoluted into the kings side.

He sent his sonne prince Edward into Darbyshire and Staffordshire with a strong power, where he wasted the manours and possessions of Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, and namelie he ouerthrew and defaced the castell of Tutburie. Wherefoeuer the kings armie, or that which his sonne prince Edward led, chanced to come, there followed spoiling, burning and killing. The barons on the other side fate not still, for the lord John Gifford, with others that were appointed by the earle of Leicester to kepe Killingworth castell (which was furnished with all things necessary, maruellouslie, and with such strange kind of engines as had not bene lightlie heard of nor seene in these parts) toke by a policie the castell of Warwike, and William Mauduit earle of Warwike, with his wife and familie within it; and leading them to Killingworth, there committed them to prison. The cause was, for that they suspected him that he would take part with the king against them. The castell of Warwike they raced downe, least the kings people should take it for their refuge. In the Passion weeke the Jewes that inhabited in London being detected of treason, which they had deuised against the barons and citizens, were slaine almost all the whole number of them, and great riches found in their houses, which were taken and caried awaie by those that ranched the same houses.

After Easter the erle of Leicester, hauing London at his commandement, went to Rochester and besieged that citie, but the capteine thereof John earle of Warren did manfullie resist the enimies; till the king aduertised thereof, with the power of the marches of the north parts and other came and remoued the siege. This done, he left a conuenient garrison within the citie to defend it, and comming to Tunbridge, wan the castell, and taking the countesse of Gloucester that was within it, permitted hir to de-

part. This done, he repaired to the sea side towards France, to staie there till his brethren, Gesteire and Quie, the sonnes of the earle of March should arrive with some band of souldiers, for whom he had now sent and reuoked into the realme, being latelie before banished by the Nobles, as before yee haue heard. They shortly after landed, whereupon the king hauing his power increased, came to Lewes, and pight downe his field not farre from that towne.

In the end of Aprill the barons hearing where the king was, departed from London with a great multitude of the citizens, whom they placed in the vantage, and marched forth towards the king, and comming nere to the place where he was lodged, set downe their tents, and incamped themselves a little beside him. Either here or by the waie as they came forward, the barons deuised a letter, and sent it vnto the king, containing an excuse of their doings, and a declaration of their well meanings, both towards him, and the wealth of the realme; and here with accused those that were about him, and with euill counsell misinformed him, both against them, against the publike wealth of the land, and his owne honor. This letter was dated the tenth of Maie, and subscribed with the names of a great number of noble men, of the which the more part dw here insue, but yet not all; Sir Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester and high steward of England, sir Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, Robert Ferrers earle of Darbie, Hugh Spenser lord chiefe iustice, Henrie Montfort sonne and heire to the earle of Leicester, Richard Grey, Henrie Hastings, John Fitz John, Robert de Wapont, John Gifford, Robert Knap, William Hamton, Baldwin Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Nicholas de Segraue, Godfrey de Luce, John de Wessie, William de Mountchense, with other. The king answered this letter, in charging them with rebellion, and mouing of open war against him, to the great disquieting of the realme. Also he laid vnto their charge, the burning of the manours, houses and places of his nobles and counsellors; and herewith desired them by the same answer, which was dated at Lewes aforesaid on the twelfth of Maie.

Also the king of Romanes, and prince Edmound sent their defiance to the barons at the same time, writing vnder their seales, for that the barons in their letter to the king, had burthened them and other with misleading the king with untrue informations and sinister counsell. Thus as they wrote to and fro such nipping letters, all the treatie of peace was forgotten and laid aside, so that they prepared to battell. The king had indeed the greater number of armed men, but manie of them were vnfaithfull, and cared not greatlie though the losse fell to his side, and so whil实现 they went to it without order, & vnadvisedlie, they fought at aduenture, & continued but faintly. His capteines made three battels of their armie, the lord Edward led the foreward, and with him William de Valence earle of Penbrooke, and John de Warren erle of Surrey and Sussex. In the second, the Is. of Almaine, with his sonne Henrie were chieftaines. The third the king gouerned himselfe.

The barons diuided their host into foure battels, the first was vnder the gouernment of the lord Henrie de Montfort and others. The second was led by the lord Gilbert de Clare, the lord John Fitz John, and the lord William de Mountchense. The third, in which the Londoners were placed, the lord Nicholas de Segraue ruled. The fourth was led by Simon Montfort earle of Leicester himselfe, and one Thomas de Beuckston. Thus being ordered, on the fourteenth of Maie being Wednesday, they ioined in fight, and at the first encounter, the L. Hen-

The kings halfe brethren come out of France to his aid. The king incampeth at Lewes.

The barons send a letter to the king.

The answer to the barons.

He desisteth them.

Manh. West.

N. Triuer. The ordering of the battels.

The battels ioine.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

scholers fight against the king.

Chron. Dunst.

Prince Edward pursued the Londoners.

ric de Hastings, the lord Geoffrey de Lucie, & Humphrey de Bohun the younger were wounded, and the Londoners forthwith were beaten backe: for prince Edward so fiercely assailed them, that they were not able to abide the hurt. He hated them indeed above all other, namely for that of late they had misused his mother, reviling hir, and throwing durt and stones at hir, when she passed the bridge (as before ye have heard) which wrong and abuse by them committed was peradventure on their parts forgotten, but of prince Edward (as it seemeth) remembered, for

Pulvere qui ledit, sed latus marmore scribit.

Hereupon prince Edward now to be revenged of them, after they began to flie, most eagerly following them, chased & slue them by heaps. But whilst he separated himselfe by such earnest following of the Londoners to farre from the residue of the kings armie, he was the onelie cause of the losse of that field: for the earle of Leicester, perceiving that the prince with the chiefest force of the kings armie was thus gone after the Londoners (of whom he made no great account) he exhorted his people to shew their valiancie at that instant, and so comming upon his adversaries with great courage, in a moment put them to flight. There were taken the king of Almaine, the lords John de Burgh and Philip Basset with all other the chiefest that were about the king, but the king himselfe retired with those few about him that were left, into the priorie of Lewes, and other there were that withdrew into the castell. The barons pursuing them, entered the towne, and took of slue so manie as they found within the castell and priorie. At length, prince Edward returned from the chase of the Londoners, whom he had pursued for the space of foure miles, and finding the field lost, began a new battell: but the earle of Surrie, William de Valence, and Guy de Lusignan, with Hugh Bigod and others, having with them three hundred armed men, straightwaies fled unto the castell of Hemsted. Prince Edward then perceiving slaughter to be made on each hand, cast about the towne, and with his companie got into the priorie to his father.

In the meane time the barons gaue assault to the castell, but they within valiantlie defended themselves, with whose hardie doings prince Edward incouraged, gathered his people together againe, and meant effronies to give battell; but the subtil head of the earle of Leicester beguiled them all, for he caused certeine friers to take in hand to be intreators betwixt them, which comming to the king and to the prince his sonne, declared that the barons, to avoid that more christian blood should not be spilt, would be contented to have the matter put in compromise of indifferent persons; but if it were so, that the king and his sonne would needs stand to the uttermost trial of battell, they would not faile but strike off the heads of the king of Almaine and other prisoners, which they would set upon the ends of their speares in steed of standards.

The king and his people having the respect of pittie before their eyes, changed their purposed intent to fight, and falling to a parle (which continued for the most part of all the night next following) at length it was agreed upon, that the French king with three prelates and three other noble men of the temporalitie, should chuse forth and name two noble men of France, which comming into England should take a third person to them whom they thought good, and they three should have the bearing of all controuersies betwixt the king and the barons, and what order so ever they took therein, the same should stand, and be receiued for a perfect conclusion and stable decree. This agreement was confirmed, and prince Edward and Henrie sonne to the king of Almaine were ap-

pointed to remaine as hostages with the barons.

Other wise otherwise of this battell at Lewes, affirming, that not onelie the king of Romans, but also king Henrie himselfe, having his owne horse thrust through on both sides, was taken, and likewise his sonne prince Edward with other on their side, to the number of five and twentie barons and bannerets: and that moreover, there died on the kings side that day in the battell and chase, six thousand and five hundred men, as Polydor noteth: howbeit, Richard Southwell saith, there died on both parts onlie 3400. But March. Westminster writeth, that as the report went, there died five thousand on both sides, and amongst other, these he nameth as chiefe, William de Wilton one of the kings iustices, & the lord Fouke Fitz Warren a baron that took the kings part. On the barons side, the lord Rafe Weringander a baron also, and William Blunt the earles standardbearer. Of them that were taken on the kings side, beside such as before are recited, we find these named, Humphrey de Bohun earle of Hereford, William lord Bardsolfe, Robert lord of Catthale, Roger lord Somerrie, Henrie lord Percie, John de Balioll, Robert de Bruis, and John Comin, with other barons of Scotland, having lost all their souldiers whom they had brought with them to the kings aid.

Moreover, it should appeare by some writers, that the king being thus in captiuitie, was constrained to make a new grant, that the statutes of Oxford should stand in force, and if any were thought unreasonable, the same should be reformed by foure noble men of the realme of France, two of the spiritualtie and two of the temporalitie. And if those foure could not agree, then the earle of Arion and the duke of Burgoyne should be iudges in the matter. But if either those or the other were appointed to be arbitrators, like it is, that the former report touching the successe of the battell is true; for if both the king and his sonne had bene taken prisoners in the field, the barons would surely have constrained him to have consented to the obseruance of the statutes, without putting the same in compromise, to be altered at the discretion of any arbitrators, and namely strangers.

But howsoever it was, on the tuesday before the Ascension day, peace was proclaimed in London, betwene the king and the barons; and whereas the king either by constraint for safegard of himselfe or his friends, either upon assurance of the barons promise, committed himselfe unto the companie of the same barons, at their comming with him to London they went from this last agreement, and forthwith devised other ordinances as thus. They ordeined, that two earles and a bishop, which being elected out by the communalitie, should chuse to them nine other persons, and of these, three of them should still remaine about the king, and by their order and the other nine, all things should be governed both in the court and in the realme. They constrained the king and his sonne prince Edward (menacing to depose the one, and to keepe the other in perpetuall prison) to consent and agree to this last ordinance: and so the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, and the bishop of Winchester were ordeined there the chiefe rulers, and letters sent with all speed unto the cardinall Sabienus the popes legat, and to the king of France, to signifie to them, that the compromise agreed upon at Lewes was utterly renoked, and that a new peace in frendlie wise was concluded.

But although the bishops of London, Winchester, and Worcester instantly required the said legat, that he would helpe to further the same peace, yet he sore rebuked them, in that they would give their consent, so much to abate and bring under the kings royal power. And because he might not be suffered to enter

The kings part put to the worse. March. Westminster. Nic. Triuett.

March. Paris.

Seven hundred hath Abington. Prince Edward commeth backe to his father.

Friers suborned to treat a peace.

An agreement taken. March. West.

Polydor.

March. West. The kings side.

March. 1

N. Triuett

The Londoners spoken of

Fabian. N. Triuett. March. West.

Peace proclaimed.

March. West.

A new breed of the barons

The earle of Derby commeth to the king with thousand

enter the realme, he first cited them to appeare before him at Bullongne. And whereas they feared to contemne his authoritie, and appeared not, he both suspended the said three bishops, and excommunicated the said earles of Leicester and Gloucester, and their complices, with the cite of London, and the cinque ports: but the foresaid bishops, earles and barons, feigning to make their appeales to the popes consistorie, or if need were, unto a generall councell and so forth, though indeed trusting more to the temporall sword, than fearing the spiritual, they did not heare to save and heare divine service in churches and else where, as before they had done, till the coming of the cardinall of Rhobone.

The capteines and men of warre, whom the king had left at Lumbidge, immediately upon the agreement concluded betwixt the king and the barons, were commanded by the k. to depart, & repaire evertie man to his home; but they fearing the malice of their enemies, would not breake in sunder, but keeping together, went strait to Wythowe, and there remained, till the lord Edward the kings sonne was escaped out of captivitie. But this is to be remembered, that before their departure from Lumbidge, when by report of William de Sale, who escaping from the battell at Lewes, was come thither, they understood how the matter had passed on both sides, and that the Londoners being chased out of the field, were lodged at Croydon, about the evening tide they came thither, and assailing them in their lodgings, slew manie, and won a great spoile. The earle of Leicester and the barons having the rule of the king and realme in their hands, sought to oppresse all such as they knew to be against them, and not to like of their proceedings; namely, the northerne lords, and those of the marches of Wales, as the lord Spottimer and others: but warring herewith willfull, they used things with small discretion, which at length brought them to confusion. For the four sonnes of the earle of Leicester, Henrie, Guie, Simon, and another Henrie, which had served right worthilie indeed on the date of the battell, began to ware so proud, that in comparison of themselves, they despised all others.

The lords of the marches of Wales, as Roger de Spottimer, James de Audelle, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leborne, Waimon le Strange, Hugh Turberville, and other that had escaped from the battell at Lewes, began to make against them that had thus usurped the rule of the land, under colour of having the king in their hands. The earle of Leicester advertised hereof, joined in league with Leolin prince of Wales, and coming with the king into those parts, entered into the castell of Hereford, into the which he removed the lord Edward from Worcester, where he was first kept in ward, after he had yielded himselfe at Lewes. After this, the earle of Leicester recovered the castell of Saie, and waisting the lands and manours of the lord Spottimer, constrained Hugh Spottimer to yield himselfe, so that his castell called Richar, and other his possessions, were committed to the keeping of the lord John Fitz John. Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, with a great puissance of horsemen and footmen came to Chester, in favour of the earle of Leicester, against whome although William de Couche, and David brother to the prince of Wales, taking the contrarie part with the lord James Audelle and other, came to encounter, yet they durst not abide him, but fled, and lost an hundred of their men.

In the meane time, the earle of Leicester proceeding in his businesse, won the castell of Ludlow, and after marching towards Pontgomerie, whither the lords Roger de Spottimer, and James Audelle

were withstanding, he constrained them at length to a feigned agreement, so that they gave hostages, promising to come to the next parliament that was appointed to be holden, where they were banished the land for a twelve moneths, and all the castles on the marches, in marche from Wythow to Chester, were delivered to the earle. After this (as by Nicholas Trivet it appeareth) there was a great assemble of men of warre made out of all parts of the realme, to resist such strangers as the quene (remaining in the parts beyond the seas) had got together, meaning to send them into England to aid the king against the barons, and for that purpose had caused a great number of ships to be brought into the haven of Dam. But now that the king was in the barons hands, and that such a multitude of horsemen and footmen were assembled on Warham-downe (as a man would not have thought had bene possible to have found within the whole realme) to resist the landing of those strangers, the said strangers were sent home againe, without having done any pleasure to the quene, other than spent hir monie. The king held his Christmas at Woodstoke; and the earle of Leicester, who seemed then to rule the whole realme, kept his Christmas at Billingswoth.

After this, a parlement was holden at London in the octaves of saint Hilarie, and manie things were concluded, covenants accorded, and oths taken for performance by the k. and his sonne prince Edward, which shortly after came to little effect. Yet prince Edward, and Henrie the sonne and heire of the king of Almaine, which had bene kept as pledges about the tearme of nine moneths and odd daies, were in the Lent following set at libertie, upon assurance made, that the said prince Edward should remaine in the kings court, and not depart from thence without licence of the king and certeine of the barons. He was also constrained to give unto the earle of Leicester the countie of Salantine of Chester, before he might obtaine to have so much libertie. Betwene Easter and Whitsuntide, the earles of Leicester and Gloucester fell at variance, through the presumptuous demeanour of the earle of Leicesters sonnes, and also because the earle of Leicester would not deliver the king of Almaine and other prisoners unto the earle of Gloucester, requiring to have the custodie of them, because he had taken them in the battell at Lewes.

The earle of Gloucester, perceiving himselfe not well used, secretly entred into confederacie with the lord Spottimer, and other of the marches: whereupon the earle of Leicester having thereof some inkling, came to Hereford, in purpose to have taken the earle of Gloucester, and to have put him in safe keeping, as lately before he had served the earle of Darbie. But by the practise of the lord Spottimer, shortly after the lord Edward or prince Edward (whether ye list to call him) assailed abroad in the fields an horse or two, such as he should use at fusts and tozies, which were appointed to be holden, he mounted at length upon a light courser, which the said lord Spottimer had sent to him; and bidding the lord Robert Ross and other (that were appointed to attend on him, as his keepers) farewell, he galloped from thence, and could not be overtaken of them that pursued him, till at length he came to the lord Spottimer, who with a great troupe of men was come forth of his castell of Wigmore to receive him. This was on the thurdaie in Whitsuntide.

About the same time, the earle of Warren, with William de Valence earle of Penbroke, the kings halfe brother, and others, who (as ye have heard) fled from the battell at Lewes, were now returned into the realme, landing first in Southwales with a power

The lords Spottimer and Audelle banished.

An armie lodged on Warham-downe.

Math. West. 1265 Chr. Duntab.

Abington.

Prince Edward escaped away. Math. West.

Polydor.

Math. West. Lords taken on the kings side.

Math. West.

N. Trivet.

The Londoners spoiled at Croydon.

Fabian. N. Trivet. Math. West.

Peace was claimed.

Math. West.

A new den of the barons.

The earle of Darbie committed to Chester with 20 thousand men.

power of crossbowes and other men of warre, the which hearing that the lord Edward was thus escaped out of captivite, came to London, and there joined with him, and so likewise did the earle of Gloucester. Now after they had commyned together, and were made friends and confederates, they caused all the bridges to be broken, that the enemies should not come to oppresse them, till they had assembled all their forces, and passing forward towards Gloucester, won the citie, and still came people unto them from all sides, namelic these lords and capitains, which all the time since the battell of Lewes had laine in North. After this they came to Gloucester and entered there also. When the earle of Leicester was hereof advertised (who in all this meane time by order taken, was about the king, and ruled all things in the court) he sent in all hast unto his sonne Simon de Montfort to raise a power of men, the which accordingly assembled to him much people, and comming with the same unto Winchester, won the citie by surrender, spoiled it, and slew the more part of the Jewes that inhabited there. Then he laid siege to the castell, but hearing a feined rumor that prince Edward was comming thither with his power, he departed from thence with his companie, and went to Basingworth.

The earle of Leicesters sonne raiseth an armie. He won Winchester.

The armie of the earle of Leicesters sonne is discomfited.

N. Triuer.

The castell of Monmouth taken.

The battell of Evesham.

Polydor.

The welshmen fled.

The earle of Leicester slain.

On the last day of Julie, prince Edward with his host came to Basingworth aforesaid, and there fighting with the said Simon de Montfort and his armie, with little slaughter discomfited the same, and took prisoners the erle of Arford, the lords William de Montchense, Adam de Beuimarch, Baldwin de Wake, and Hugh Penill, with divers others: the lord Simon himselfe fled into the castell, and so escaped. In this meane while the earle of Leicester having raised his power, came to the castell of Monmouth, which the earle of Gloucester had lately taken and fortified: but they that were within it being open to yield, it was now rased downe to the ground. This done, the earle of Leicester entring into Glamorganshire, and joining his power with the prince of Wales, wasted and burned the lands of the said earle of Gloucester: but hearing what his adversaries went about in other places, he returned from thence, and came forward towards the said prince Edward, who likewise made towards him, and at Evesham they met on the first day of August, where was fought a verie fierce and cruell battell betwixt the parties.

Some write, that the earle of Leicester placed king Henrie in the front of his battell, whom he had there with him as captive, and had arrayed him in his owne cote-armour, that if fortune went against him, whilest the enemies should be earnest to take the king bearing the semblance of the chiefe capitaine, he might himselfe escape: but king Henrie, when they came to joine, fought not, but called to his people, and declared who he was, whereby he escaped the danger of death, for being knowne of them he was saved. The Welshmen which in great numbers the earle of Leicester had there on his side, at the first onset fled and ran awaie; which their demeanour, when the earle saw, he exhorted those that were about him to plaie the men, and so rushing forth into the preele of his enemies, he was inclosed about and slain, together with his sonne Henrie. Whereupon, his death being knowne, his people took them to flight as men utterly discomfited. There died in that battell about 4000 men (as Polydor saith). But Richard Southwell saith, there were killed of knights or rather men of armes 180, and of peomen or rather demilances 220, of Welshmen 5000, and of such footmen as were of the earle of Leicesters owne retinue 2000, so that there died in all to the number of ten thousand men, as the same Southwell affirmeth. Among whom

of noblemen, these are reckoned Hugh Spenser lord chiefe justice, the lord Rafe Bassett, the lord Peter de Spontfort, the lord John Beauchamp, sir William Forke, the lord Thomas de Chertie, the lord Walter de Creppings, Guie de Baille a Frenchman, the lord William de Sandvill, the lord Roger de John, the lord Robert de Regoz, and others.

This ruine fell to the barons by the discord which was sprung latelie before, betwixt the earles of Arford and Gloucester, through the insolencie and pride of the earle of Leicesters sonne, who (as I said before) despising other of the nobilitie, and forgetting in the meane time the nature of true and unbiased noblesse, whereof it is said and justlie remembered, that

Nobilitas morum plus oritur quam gentium.

spake many reprochfull words by the said earle of Gloucester, and wiled him in such evil sort, that he upon displeasure thereof, had not onelie procured the escape of prince Edward, but joined with him in aid, against the said earle of Leicester, and other of the barons, to the bitter confusion, both of them and of their cause. The body of the same earle was shamefullie abused & cut in peeces, his head and his private members were cut off, and fastened on either side of his nose, and presented unto the wife of the lord Roger Spontfort.

The people conceived an opinion, that this earle being thus slain, fighting in defense of the liberties of the realme, & performance of his oath, as they take it, died a martyr: which by the hated holinesse of his passed life and miracles ascribed to him after his death, was greatlie confirmed in the next age. But the feare of the kings displeasure staid the people from hastie honouring him as a saint at this time, where otherwise they were inclined greatlie thereto, reputing him for no lesse in their conscience, as in secret talke they would not sticke to utter. There were wounded & taken, besides the other that were slain at that battell of Evesham, Guie de Montfort, the earle of Leicesters sonne, the lords John Fitz John, Henrie de Hastings, Humfris de Bohun the younger, John de Bekie, Peter de Montfort the younger, and Nicholas de Segraue with others. The king being delivred out of his adversaries hands, and likewise the king of Romans, went unto Warwick, and there increasing his power, determined to pursue his enemies.

But first, about the Patience of our ladie was a parlement holden at Winchester, where the statutes of Arford were clerelie repealed. Also, all such as had favoured the barons, and were as then either in prison or abroad, should be disherited. It was also ordeined at this parlement, that the wealthiest citizens of London should be cast into prison, and that the citie should be deprived of hir liberties. Also, that the shulps and cheins, wherewith the streets were fenced, should be had awaie, because that the citizens had aided the earle of Leicester against the king and his realme. All this was done, for the chiefe citizens were committed to ward within the castle of Windsor, till they had paid no small summes of monie for their fines. The liberties of the citie were suspended, and the towe of London was made stronger by the shulps and cheins which were brought into it out of the citie. Moreover, because Simon de Montfort might not agree with the king, being come to this parlement upon assurance, he was restored to the castle of Basingworth.

After this, in the feast of the translation of S. Edward, a parlement was holden at Westminster, and the sentence of disheriting the kings adversaries was pronounced against them, whole lands the king forthwith gave unto his trustie subjects, where he thought good. Some of the disherited men redeemed

The priore of the earle of Leicesters sonne being the barons to confusion.

Polydor.

March We.

A parliament at Winchester.

A parliament at Westminster.

Erle Fer

Abian. Anno Reg. The citie London sh. mirth by the to the

The Londoners put to their fine. Cardinal. Hobone ti popes lega Fabian.

One of the made gard of the citie London.

March. We

Nic. Treuer. The legat holdeth a f. mod at St. Jampton.

Mat. Well. This susp. ion was r. nounced in counceill be den by the said cardin at Pauls. Fabian lat. March. We

The pride of
he earle of
Leicesters
ons him-
eth the ba-
ons to con-
asion.

Eric Ferrers

Fabian.
Anno Reg. 50.
The citie of
London sub-
mitteth him-
selfe to the k.

The London-
ners put to
their fine.
Cardinal D-
thobone the
popes legat.
Fabian.

olydor.

March. West.

One Dthobon
made gardian
of the citie of
London.

Math. West.

Parlement
at Westm-
ster.

Nic. Treuer.
The legat
holdeth a spe-
ciall at West-
thampton.

Mat. V. West.
This suspen-
sion was pro-
nounced in a
councell hol-
den by the
said cardinall
at Pauls as
Fabian saith.
Math. West.

Parlement
at Westm-
ster.

med their possessions; with a portion of monie, in
name of a fine. Other of them flocking together, got
them into the woods and desert places, where keeping
them out of sight as outlawes, they lived by spoiles
and robberies. The chiefest of them was Robert erle
of Ferrers, who neuerthelesse was restored to his
lands, but yet with condition, that if afterwards he
fell into the like crime, he should forfeit his earldome
for ever. The Londoners with much ado, at length,
obtained pardon of the king. The maior and alder-
men of the citie were glad to submit themselves,
though the commons, without consideration of the
great perill which they were in, would have stood
still at defiance with the king, and defended the citie
against him. It was no marvell though they were of
diuerse and contrarie opinions, for in those daies, the
citie was inhabited with manie and sundrie nations
which then were admitted for citizens. At length, by
on their submission, the king toke them to mercie,
upon their fine, which was seized at twentie thousand
marks.

About Alhallowtrentide, cardinall Dthobone came
from the pope into England as his legat, to helpe
towards some agreement to be had betwixt the king
and his barons. He was committed to prison (as
some write) by the Londoners, for that he spake a-
gainst their doings, when they shut their gates a-
gainst the king; but he was shortly released as
should appeare. On the first day of Nouember in the
fiftith yere of his reigne, king Henric came to
Westminster, and shortly after, he gaue auaile the
number of thre score houses, with the household stuffe
in the same contained, so that the owners were com-
pelled to redeeme them againe of those his seruants,
to whome he had giuen the said houses, together with
all such lands, goods and cattels, as the same citizens
had within any part of England. Then was one cal-
led sir Dthobon made custos or gardian of the citie,
who was also constable of the tower, he chose to be
baillies, and to be accountable to the kings vse,
John Adisan, and Walter Henric, citizens of the
same citie. The king also toke pledges of the best
mens sonnes of the citie, which pledges he caused to
be put in the tower, and there kept at the costs of
their parents. ¶ The king by aduise of his counsell
ordained, that within euery thire of the reime, there
should be a capteine or lieutenant appointed with ne-
cessarie allowance of the king for his charges, the
which, with the assistance of the shiriffe, should punish
and kepe downe the wicked outrage of theues and
robbers, which in time of the late ciuill warres were
sprong vp in great numbers, and growen to ex-
ceeding great boldnesse; but now, through feare of de-
serued punishment, they began to cease from their
accustomed rapine, and the kings power came a-
gaine in estimation, so that peace after a manner
toke new root and increase.

Upon S. Nicholas euen, the king departed from
Westminster, towards Portsmouth, where the
cardinall Dthobone held a synod, and according to
that he had in commandement, pronounced all the
kings aduersaries accursed, and named all the bi-
shops which had aided the barons against the king,
in time of the late warres, of whome afterward he
absolved the most part. But John bishop of Winche-
ster, Henric bishop of London, and Stephan bishop
of Chichester were sent to Rome, to purchase their
absolution of pope Clement the fourth, as well for o-
ther points of disobedience, as this for that, where
the quene had procured a curse of pope Urbane the
fourth, that was predecessor to this Clement, to ac-
curse all the barons and their supporters, which was
against the king his husband: the said bishops (to
whome the commission was sent to denounce that

curse) for feare of the barons deferred the execution.
Walter bishop of Worcester, chancing to fall sicke
at that time, died about the beginning of Februarye,
confessing first, that he had grievously erred, in
maintaining the side of the erle of Leicester against
the king, and therefore directed his letters to the
popes legat, requiring to be absolved, which his peti-
tion the legat granted. Moreover, in this counsell at
Portsmouth, there was published by the cardinall
a grant, made to the king by the pope, of the dismes
of the english church for one whole yere then next
insuing.

A little before the kings departure from London
now in this last time, he ordeined sir John Linde
knight, and maister John Walbyen cleark, to be
gardians of the citie and tower, by the names of se-
neshals or stewards: but such earnest suit was
made to the king, to obtaine a perfect pardon for
the Londoners, that at length after the aforesaid
seneshals had taken suerties for the payment of their
fine, the k. caused his charter of pardon to be made
vnder his broad seale, and sent it vnto them, wherein
all former trespasses committed by them in the last
warres was clerelie pardoned; certeine persons,
whose bodies and goods were giuen vnto his eldest
sonne Edward, excepted out of the same pardon. This
charter was dated at Portsmouth, the tenth day of
Januarye, in the fiftith yere of king Henrics reigne.
Then also were discharged the foresaid seneshals, and
the citizens of themselves chose for maior, William
J. itz Richard; and for shiriffs, Thomas de la Fourd,
and Gregorie de Rochelleg.

Whilist the king late at Portsmouth, the lord
Simon de Montfort put himselfe vpon the dome
and order of the legat Dthobone, and was therefore
permitted to be at large in the kings court: but at
the kings coming to London, he suddenly depar-
ted out of the court, and rode to Winchelsie, where
he associated himselfe with rousers, and after some
pices taken, departed from them, and went into
France, where he offered his seruice to the French
king, and was receiued. Thus saith Matthew West-
minster, and other. But Polydor saith, that by Dtho-
bons means, he was reconciled to the kings fauour;
and thereupon to auoid occasion of further displea-
sure, he commanded, that the castell of Killingworth
should be restored vnto the king, which the capteine
refused to deliuer, hauing fortified it with all man-
ner of provision, and things necessarie to defend a
siege.

The wardens of the cinque ports, which (during
the time of the barons warre) had done manie robe-
ries on the sea, as well against the Englishmen as
other, were at length reconciled to the king, who was
faine to agree with them vpon such conditions as
they thought good, because at that time (as the common
saying went) they had the dominion of the sea in their
otone hands. But in some writers we find it thus re-
corded, that when certeine prisoners which were kept
by the barons of the cinque ports in the castell of
Douer, heard how all things prospered on the kings
side, they got possession of a tower within the same
castell, and toke vpon them to defend it against their
keepers; whereof when aduertisement was giuen to
the king and to his sonne the lord Edward, they ha-
stied forth to come & succour their friends. The keepers
of the castell, perceiving themselves beset with their
enemies, sent to the king for peace, who granting
them pardon of life and limme, with horse, armour
and other such necessaries, the castell was yielded vnto
his hands. From thence, prince Edward depar-
ting, visited the sea coasts, punishing diuerse of the in-
habitants within the precinct of the cinque ports, and
putting them in feare, receiued diuerse to the king
his

N. Triuck.

The London-
ners pardoned.

I 2 6 6
Fabian.

Simon de
Montfort.

Math. West.
Polydor.

Fabian.
The war-
dens of the
cinque ports re-
conciled to
the king.
Math. West.

not known

Douer castell
deliuered to
the king.

D. G.

Winchelsea
won by force.

Matth. Westm.
The sie of
Winchelsea.

Abington.
Lincolne
taken.
N. Triuer.

Killingworth
castell fortified
against
the king.

The kings
pursuant had
his hand cut
off.

Adam Cur-
don.

Matth. Westm.

The battell of
Chesterfield.

Eueriden.

his fathers peace. The inhabitants of Winchelsea onlie made countenance to resist him, but prince Edward with valiant assaults entred the towne, in which entrie much guiltie blood was spilt, but yet the multitude by commandement of prince Edward was spared. And thus having wonne the towne, he commanded that from thenceforth they should abstaine from piracies, which they had before time greafully vsed. Thus were the seas made quiet, and those of the cinque ports brought to the kings peace, and throughlie reconciled.

In this meane while diuerse of the disherited gentlemen, sore repining at the sentence and order giuen against them, had taken the Ile of Wyholme in Lincolneshire, whither a great number of euill doers immediatlie resorted, and began to do mischefe in all the countries next adioining. They took and sacked the citie of Lincolne, spoiled the Jewes, and slew manie of them, entred their synagog, and burnt the booke of their law. At length prince Edward, or (as other saie) his brother earle Edmund, was sent against them, who compelled them by force to come to the kings peace, which to obserue, they receiued an oth shortly after at London, but neuertheless were as fowle reddie to breake and renounce the same, and began a new broile in sundrie parts of the realme.

Diuerse of them fortified the castell of Killingworth, providing themselves of all things necessarie for defense out of the countries adioining. The king aduertised hereof, sent vnto them a pursuant, commanding them to cease fro such rebellious attempts, but the messenger had one of his hands cut off, and so with a contemptuous answer was sent back againe.

Prince Edward in passing through the Forrest of Aulton, got sight of sir Adam Curdon one of the disherited men, with whome he coped and took him prisoner with his owne hand, yet sauing him, and pardoning the offense of rebellion, in respect of the ballancie which he tried by proofe to rest in him: but his soldiers and complices being there taken, he caused to be hanged vpon tres within the same Forrest. Robert earle Ferrers contrarie to his oth of late receiued, accompanied with the lord d'Euille and others, did much hurt by way of open war against the kings friends in the north parts. Against whom the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine was sent with a great power: the which comming to Chesterfield fell vpon his enemies in such wise on the sudden, that they had not time to arme themselves, and so were distressed and overcome.

Yet the lord John d'Euille brake out, and incourting with sir Gilbert Hanlard, ouerthrew him, and escaped out of danger. Great slaughter was made on eche hand, and in the meane while the Nobles and gentlemen fought to get out of perill by flight. The earle of Darbie got into a church, but he was deserted by a woman, and so was taken. There were manie other also taken: & amongst them the lord Waldeuine Wake, and sir John de la Haie with much paine escaped. This battell was foughten about the midd of Maie, or vpon Whitson eue, as the Chronicle of Dunstable saith. Those that escaped, as the lord John d'Euille and others, gaue not ouer yet, but assembling themselves together in companies, keeping within woods and other desert places, brake out oftentimes, and did much mischefe. On the ninth of August they took the Ile of Elic, and so strengthened it, that they held it a long time after, spoiling and robbing the countries round about them, as Northfolke, Suffolke, and Cambridgeshire.

The bishop of Elic had undertaken to keepe the Ile to the kings vse, but being now dispossessed thereof, he got him awaie, and fell to cursing them that were thus entred against his will, but they seemed to

pass little vpon his thundering excommunications. On the 16 of December, they came to the citie of Norwich, and spoiling it, took manie of the wealthie citizens, and ransomed them at great summes of monie. The lord Henrie Hastings and Simon de Batellshull, with diuerse others, got them into the castell of Killingworth, and daile went forth at their pleasures, spoiling and wasting the townes about them, or causing them to fine with them to be spared. And this they forced not to do, although the lord Edmund the kings sonne laie in Warwicke, to cut them short of such their licentious doings. The king therefore menting to haue the said castells of Killingworth by force, began his siege about the same vpon the euen of S. John Baptist. But the lord Henrie Hastings, the capteine of that castell, and other his complices defended it so stronglie, that though the king enforced his power to the vttermost to win it of them, yet could he not anie thing puenale, till at length vittels began to faile them within, and then vpon the euen of saint Thomas the apostle before Christmasse, the lord Henrie Hastings deliuered the said castell into the kings hands, vpon condition that he and all other should haue life and limme, houle and armour, with all things within the place to them belonging. And thus this siege had continued from the 26 of Iune vnto the 20 day of December.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that at the beginning of the siege, there were within the castell a thousand and seuen hundred armed men, and eight score women, beside lackies and cofferers. Here is also to be remembred, that whilest the siege laie before Killingworth, by the aduise of the kings councill, and of the legat Ethobone, there were twelue peres appointed and chosen forth, which should deuise and make ordinaunces touching the state of the realme, and the disherited persons, who according to their commission, ordained certeine prouisions, the which are contained within the statute intituled Dictum de Killingworth. The king after that the castell of Killingworth was deliuered to his hand, left therein his sonne Edmund, and went himselfe to Couentrie or (as other haue) to Oxford, and there held his Christmasse. Shortly after comming to Westminster he held a parlement there, studing to set a quietnesse in all matters and controuersies depending betwixt him and the barons. In this parlement sentence was giuen against earle Ferrers for the forfeiture of his earledome: then was Edmund the kings yonger sonne put in possession both of the earledome of Darbie and Leicester.

On the first of Februarie being sundae, the king came to S. Edmundsburie, and staid there till the two and twentieth of the same moneth, set forthward that day towards Cambridge, where he laie with his armie, the better to hyde them that kept the Ile of Elic against him. He laie there all the Lent season. And in the meane time the earle of Gloucester taking great displeasure, for that he might not haue his will, as well for the banishing of strangers, as for re-stitution to be made vnto the disherited men of their lands, he began a new sturre, and assembling a great power in the marches of Wales came nere vnto London, pretending at the first as though he had come to aide the king, at length he got licence of the maior and citizens to passe through the citie into Southwarke, where he lodged with his people, and thither came to him shortly sir John d'Euille, by Southerie side, bringing with him a great compaignie.

The maior caused the bridge and water side to be kept and watched both day and night with armed men, and euerie night was the water bridge drawne vp: but within a while the earle died the matter so, that

Notwich
sacked.

Chron. Dag.

The sieg of
Killingworth
castell begins
neth.
The lord
Hastings.

Anno Reg.

Killingworth
castell deliue-
red to the k.

The ci-
of London
propose
new off

Dictum de
Killingworth
Abington.
Matth. Westm.

I 267
A parliament
at westm-
ster.

Earle fer-
rers dispo-
sed.

The earle of
Gloucester
with an armie
commeth to
London

The kin
berth bar-
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kings

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berth bar-
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hire sold
men of
to assist

The k. r
neth for
London

that he was permitted to lodge within the cite with certeine of his men, by reason whereof, he drew more and more of his people into the cite, so that in the end he was master of the cite, and in Easter weeke took the keies of the bridge into his hands. The legat comming forth of the towre, repaired to the church of S. Paule, under a colour to preach the crossey, but in the end of that his exhortation, he turned his words to the earle of Gloucester, admonishing him to obeye the king as he was bound by his allegiance. And further, whereas the earle had given commandement that no vicuals should be suffered to be brought into the towre where the popes legat was lodged, he thought himselfe evill used in that behalf, sith he was a mediator for peace, and no partaker. But when the earle seemed to give small regard to his words, he got him secretly againe into the towre, with certeine noble men the kings friends, meaning to defend it unto the uttermost of their powers.

The legat admonished the earle of Gloucester to obeye the king.

The legat & other meane to defend the towre against the earle of Gloucester.

The citizens of London in bypote chose new officers.

Prisoners set at libertie.

The legat accursedly & traitorously of the kings peace.

The king late at Cambridge.

Wansley.

The king made both hard gift to monks to hire soldiers & men of war to assaile him.

The king removed towards Winton.

Winton. After his comming thither, his armie daile increased. The earle of Gloucester and his complices began to feare the matter, and sent to him for peace which could not be granted: whereupon they appointed to give him batell upon Woundeslow heath. The king comming thither in the morning, found no man there to resist him, and therefore, after he had staied there a certeine space, he marched forth and came to Stratford, where he was lodged in the abbey: his host incamped and laie at Ham and thereabouts.

The king commeth to Stratford. Fabian.

Matth. We. Am.

This chaunced about thre weekes after Easter. The soldiers which laie in London and in Southwarke, did much hurt about in the countrie of Southerie, & else-where. They also spoiled the towne of Westminster, and the parish-church there: but the monks and the goods belonging to the abbey they touched not, but made haucke in the kings palace, drinking by & destroying his wine, breaking the glasse windowes, and defacing the buildings most disorderlie, yea scarce forbearing to set the house on fire. Also there were of them that brake by & robbed certeine houses in London, of the which misgoverned persons there were foure taken, that were the cognisance of the earle of Darbie: whome the earle of Gloucester caused to be put in sackes, and so they were into the Thames.

Westminster spoiled.

Soldiers taken and thence taken into the Thames.

As the king thus laie at Stratford, there came unto him from the parts of beyond the sea, the earle of Bullongne, and S. Paule, with two hundred men of armes, and their suit of other souldiers. Also there arrived in the Thames a fleet of great vessels fraught with Gascoins, and laie afoze the towre, abiding the kings pleasure. The earle of Gloucester had caused bulwarks and barbicans to be made betwixt the towre and the cite, and also in sundrie places where need required ditches and trenches were cast, so that the cite was stronglie fortified. Howbeit now that the said earle and his complices perceived themselves in manner as besieged, they sought for peace. And by mediation of the king of Almaine, the lord Philip Basset and the legat of Rhobone, the same was granted, the ordinance of Billington in euerie condition observed. The Londoners were pardoned of their trespasses for receiuing the earle, though they were constrained to paie a thousand marks to the king of Romans, in recompense of the hurts done to him in burning of his house at Chisleworth.

The earles of Bullongne & S. Paule. A fleet of Gascoins come to the kings aid.

Abington. A peace concluded.

The Londoners pardoned.

Whylest the earle of Gloucester kept the cite of London against the king, one Henrie de Cuderesch, steward to the said earle, departing from London, came to the manour house of Gestepe saint Aeger at Offeld, which he burnt, and turning from thence came to Wyckhill. The lord Reigold Craie that held of the knights part, advertised hercof, followed him with his retinue of men of warre, and comming upon his enimie at vnwares, took the said Henrie, and slue thirtie of the cheffest of his companie, some he took, howbeit manie escaped. But now to our purpose. By this agreement concluded betwixt the king & the earle of Gloucester, he also accepted to his grace the lord John Cineley, the lord Nicholas de Segraue, the lord William Sparmon, the lord Richard de Craie, the lord John Fitz John, and the lord Gilbert de Lucie, with others: so that all parts of the realme were quieted, saving that those in the Isle of Ele would not submit themselves: yet at length by mediation of prince Edward they were reconciled to the king, and all the fortresses and defenses within that Isle by them made, were plucked downe and destroyed.

Chron. Dun. Cuderesch.

The lord Craie.

But it appeareth by other writets, that immediately after the agreement concluded betwixt the earle of Gloucester, prince Edward the kings sonne, by setting

Eueriden.

D. 14. ting

ting workemen in hand to make a caufie through the fens with hords and hurbels, entred upon them that kept the Ile of Cle, fo that manie of them got out, and fled to London unto the faid earle of Gloucefter, and other their complices. The residue fubmitted themfelues, as the lord Wake, Simon Spont, for the younger, the Dechers and other, upon conditi- on to be pardoned of life and member: and further, that prince Edward fhould be a mirane to his father to receiue them into fauour. But by other it may rather feeme, that fome of them kept and defended themfelues within that Ile, till after the agreement made betwixt the king and the earle of Gloucefter. By order of which agreement there were foure bi- fhops and eight lords chofen forth, which had bene firft nominated at Couentrie, to order and prefcribe betwixt the king and the difherited men a forme of peace and redemption of their lands. And fo in the feath of All faincs, proclamation was made of a full accord and agreement, and that euerie man fhould paie for his ransome for redẽning his offense a- gainft the king.

Anno Reg. 52.

A parliament at Warle- borough.

1268

The legat Rothobone returneth to Rome. Rothobone chofen pope.

Abington.

Prince Edward recei- ueth the croffe.

Fabian. A fraie in Lon- don betwene the gold- smiths and tailors.

Anno Reg. 53. Thames frozen.

1269

In the octauies of S. Martine, the king held a par- lament at Warleborough, where the liberties confen- ded in the booke called Magna charta were confirmed, and alfo diuerfe other good and wholesome ordinaunces concerning the ftate of the common-wealth were eftablished and enacted. ¶ In the moneth of Aprill there chanced great thunder, tempeftuous raine, and fouds, occafioned by the fame, berie foze & horrible, continuing for the fpace of fixtene daies together. The legat Rothobone, after he had in the fynods holden at Poorthampton and London, deuifed and made manie orders and rules for churchmen, and leuied a- mongft them great fummies of monie, finallie in the moneth of Iulie, he toke leaue of the king and re- turned to Rome, where after the deceaffe of Inno- cent the fixt, about the yeare of our Lord 1276 he was chofen pope, and named Adrian the fixt, living not paff 50 daies after. He went fo nere hand to fearch out things at his going awaie, that he had inrolled the true value of all the churches and benefices in England, and toke the note with him to Rome.

Prince Edward the kings fonne, and diuerfe o- ther great lords of England before this legats depar- ture out of the realme, receiued the croffe at his hands in Poorthampton on Midfummer day, mea- ning thortlie after according to promife there made, to go into the holie land to warre againft Gods e- nemies. In this yeare fell great variance betwene the corporations or fellowships of the goldsmiths and tailors within the citie of London, wherevnto e- uill words flowing from the tong gaue originall, for *Pondus valde graue verbum vas sine clauis*, fo that one euening there were affembled to the number of fue hundred in the ftreets in armour, and running together made a fowle fraie, fo that manie were wounded and fome flaine. But the thiriffes hearing thereof, came & parted them, with affiftance of other trades, and sent diuerfe of them being taken vnto prifon, of the which there were arreigned to the number of thirtie, and thirtene of them condemned and hanged.

In the fiftie & thirde yeare of king Henries reigne, there was fuch an exceeding great froft, beginning at faint Andrews tide, and continuing till it was nere candlemaffe, that the Thames from the bridge upwards was fo hard frozen, that men and beafts paffed ouer on feet from Lambeth to Weftminfter, and fo weftward in diuerfe places vp to Kingfton. Alfo merchandize was brought from Sandwich and other places vnto London by land, for the fhips by reason of the yce could not enter the Thames. ¶ And about the feath of S. Medaff, which falleth on the 6 of

February, fell fo great abundance of raine, that the Thames rofe fo high, as it had not done at any time before, to remembrance of men then living; fo that the cellars and vaults in London by the water fide were drowned, and much merchandize marred & loft.

About S. Georges day there was a parlement holden at London, for the appealing of a controuer- fie depending betwixt prince Edward the kings fon and the earle of Gloucefter: at the which parlement were prefent almoft all the prelates and peeres of the realme. At length they put the matter in compo- mife, into the hands of the king of Almaine, under- taking to be adized by him high and low fouding all controuerfies: and likewife for the iourne to be made into the holie land, but the king of Almaine did little in the matter to any great effect. ¶ In the beginning of Lent the king gaue to his fonne prince Edward the rule of the citie of London, with all the reuenues and profits thereto belonging. After which gift, the faid prince made fir Hugh Fitz Wothon con- ftable of the towre and cuftos of the citie of London. ¶ Upon the ninth day of Aprill, Edmund the kings fonne, furnamed Crouchbacke, married at Weft- minfter Auelina the daughter of the earle of Au- marle. Prince Edward commanded the citizens of London to prefent vnto him fix citizens, of the which number he might nominate two thiriffes, and fo ap- pointed William de Hadstocke and Anketill de Al- berne, which were fworne to be accountants as their predeceffours had bene.

In thofe daies a new cuftome or toll was vfed to be paid, which prince Edward let to farme vnto cer- teine ftrangers, for the fomme of twentie marks by yeare. Wherefore the citizens being grieved there- with, bought it of him for two hundred marks. Alfo this yeare there was graunted to the king towards his iourne by him purposed into the holie land, the twentieth penie of euerie mans moueable goods the- roughout the realme of the late fae, and of the spiritualtie was granted by the affent of pope Gregorie the tenth, three difmes to be gathered within the terme of three yeares. This yeare the kings fonne the lord Edward obtained a confirmation for the citie of London of the charter of the ancient liberties, fo that the citizens did then chofe vnto them a maior and two thiriffes, which thiriffes by vertue of the fame charter, had their office to farme, in maner as before time was accuftomed: fauing that where they paid afore but three hundred and fiftie pounds, they paid now foure hundred and fiftie pounds. After which confirmation granted and paffed vnder the kings broad feale, they chofe for their maior John Adrian, and for thiriffes Walter Potter and John Tailor, the which were prefented the 16 day of Iulie vnto the king at Weftminfter by his fonne prince Edward, and there admitted and fworne. Then was fir Hugh Fitz Wothon difcharged of the rule of the citie. The ci- tizens of their owne freewill gaue vnto the king an hundred marks, and to his fonne prince Edward fue hundred marks: There was no great diforder at- tempted this yeare to the difquieting of the realme, fauing that certeine of the difherited gentlemen that belonged to the earle of Darbie, withdrew vnto the foreft of the Weake in Darbifhire, and there making their abode, fpouled and wafted the countries next adioining.

In the moneth of Maie, prince Edward the kings fonne fet forwarde on his iourne towards the holie land, and taking the fea at Douer, paffed ouer into France, and came to Burdeaur, where he ftayed a while, and after went to Agues Mortes, and there took shipping, firft failing (as fome write) vnto Cha- nis, where the chiftian armie, which letwes the French king as then deceaffed had brought thither, was

Abington. A parliament holden at London.

Anno I.

Prin- ce Ed- ward at Abin

Prin- ce Ed- ward appon- teth the may- or and thiriffes of London.

Prin- ce Ed- ward appon- teth the may- or and thiriffes of London.

Prin- ce Ed- ward appon- teth the may- or and thiriffes of London.

The liberties of the citie confirmed.

The rent of the farme of the thiriffes of London increased.

The thiriffes of London confirmed.

Chron. Dec.

Anno Reg. 54.

1270

Will. Rufus. Prince Edward setteth forwarde to- wards the holie land.

Prin- ce Ed- ward

was ready to depart, and so prince Edward, with the new French king Lewis and other princes passed over into Sicill, where he sojourned for the winter time. In this yeare the king was vexed with a grievous sicknesse: and the Irishmen in rebellion slew a great sort of Englishmen, as well magistrats, as others in that countrie.

Math. West.
The king sick

Anno Reg. 55.
1271

When the spring of the yeare began to approach, prince Edward escones toke the sea, and finally arrived at Acres with a thousand chosen men of warre, though there be writers that affirme, how there arrived with him of sundrie countreies five thousand horsemen, and double the same number of footmen. But amongst those that went out of England with him, these we find as principall, John de Britaine, John de Belcie, Mtes de Granton, and Robert de Buse, besides other. Of his noble chivalrie there attuned, we shall find a briefe note in the description of the holy land, and therefore here we omit the same. Howbeit this is to be remembred, that whilst the lord Edward sojourned there in the citie of Acres, he was in great danger to have bene slaine by treason: for a traitorous Saracen of that generation which are called Arfacides, and latelie retained by the same lord Edward, and become verie familiar with him, found means one day as he sat in his chamber, to give him three wounds, which suerlie had cost him his life, but that one of the princes chamberleins staied the traitors hand, and somewhat brake the strokes, till other servants came to the rescue, and slew him there in the place.

Prince Edward arrived at Acres.
Aubynon.

Arfacide of some named
Arfacide.

Prince Edward to traitorous
he wounded.

¶ There be that write, how prince Edward himselfe, perceiving the traitor to strike at his bellie, warded the blowe with his arme: and as the Saracen offered to have striken againe, he thrust him backe to the ground with his foot, and catching him by the hand, wrested the knife from him, and thrusting him into the bellie, so killed him, though in struggling with him, he was hurt againe a little in the forehead: and his servants withall comming to helpe him, one of them that was his musician, got by a tressill and stroke out the byaines of the traitor, as he lay dead on the ground, and was blamed of his maister for striking him, after he saw him once dead before his face, as he might perceive him to be. Some write, that this traitor was sent from the great admerall of Japha, on message to the prince Edward, and had bene with him divers times before, & now making countenance to take forth letters, got forth his knife, and attempted so to have wrought his feat. Whatsoever the man was, the prince was in great danger, by reason of the envenomed knife wherewith he was wounded, so that it was long yer he could be perfectlie whole. These Saracens called Arfacides, are a wicked generation of men, infected with such a superstitious opinion, that they beleue heauenlie blisse is purchased of them, if they can by any means slea one of the enemies of their religion, & suffer themselves for that fact the most cruell death that may be devised. ¶ Prince Edward, after he was whole and recovered of his wounds, perceiving that no such aid came into those parts out of chylendome, as was looked for, toke a truce with the enemies of our faith, and returned towards England, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Port Japha.

The generation of the Arfacides, or Arfacide.

Anno Reg. 56.

1272
Nic. Trivet.
Math. West.
The decease of the king of Almaine.

His issue.

On the fourth nones of Aprill (as some saie) or in the moneth of februarie (as other write) in the sixt yeare of his Henries reigne at Berkhamsted, died Richard king of Almaine and earle of Cornewall, and was buried in the abbey of Walsles which he himselfe had founded: he was a worthy prince, and stood his brother king Henrie in great stead, in handling matters both in peace and warre. He left behind him issue begotten of his wife Sancta two

sonnes, Edmund and Henrie. This Edmund was he that brought the blood of Walsles out of Germanie: for as he was there upon a time with his father, it chanced that as he was beholding the reliques, and other pretious monuments of the ancient emperors, he espied a box of gold: by the inscription wherof he perceived (as the opinion of men then gave) that therein was contained a portion of the blood of our saviour.

Edmund erle
of Cornewall.

He therefore, being desirous to have some part thereof, so intreated him that had the keeping of it, that he obtained his desire, and brought it over with him into England, bestowing a third part thereof after his fathers deceasse in the abbey of Walsles, as it were to adorne and enrich the same, because that therein both his father and mother were buried; and the other two parts he did reserve in his owne custody, till at length moved upon such devotion as was then used, he founded an abbey a little from his manour of Berkhamsted: which abbey was named Albyng, in the which he placed monks of the order of Bonhommes, being the first that ever had bene seene of that order here in England. And herewith he also assigned the two other parts of that blood to the same abbey. Whereupon followed great resort of people to those two places, induced thereunto by a certaine blind devotion.

The blood of
Walsles.

Albyng abbey built.
Bonhommes.

Henrie the brother of this Edmund, and sonne to the foresaid king of Almaine, as he returned from Affrike, where he had bene with prince Edward, was slaine at Viterbo in Italie (whither he was come about business which he had to doe with the pope) by the hand of Guie de Pontfort, the sonne of Simon de Pontfort earle of Leicester, in revenge of the same Simons death. This murder was committed afore the high altar, as the same Henrie knelled there to heare divine service. The foresaid Guie upon that murder committed, fled unto his father in law, the earle of Anguillare, then gouverneur of Aulkein. There was at Viterbo the same time Philip king of France, returning homewards from the iourne which his father made into Affrike, where he died. Also Charles king of Sicill was there present, whome the said Guie then served. Both those kings were put in much blame, for that the murder and wilfull escape was done and suffered in their presence and no pursuit made after the murderer. Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie, when he had ruled the sea seven and thirtie yeares, departed this life: and after his deceasse, about two yeares or more, was one Robert Killwarbie appointed in his place by pope Gregorie, which Robert was the sixt and fortieth archbishop that had governed the see of Canturburie.

The L. Henrie sonne to the K. of Almaine murdered in Italie.

Robert Killwarbie archb. of Canturburie

About the moneth of June there fell great debate and discord betwixt the monks of Poerwich and the citizens there; which increased so farre, that at length the citizens with great violence assaulted the monastery, fired the gates, and forced the fire so with red and drie wood, that the church with the bookes, and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to that abbey were cleane burned, wasted, and destroyed, so that nothing was preserved except one little chapell. The king hearing of this riot, rode to Poerwich, and causing inquiry to be made thereof, thirtie young men of the citie were condemned, hanged and burnt, to the great griefe of the other citizens, for they thought that the prison of the place was the occasion of all that mischief, who had got together armed men, and toke upon him to keepe the belstrate and church by force of armes: but the prison was well enough borne out, and defended by the bishop of Poerwich, named Roger, who (as it is likelie) was the maister of the mischief, though hands were not laid upon him nor his adherents: perhaps for

A strife betwixt the monks and citizens of Poerwich.

Thirtie of the citizens of Poerwich hanged and burnt.

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Reg. 54
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fear, peradventure for sauour; & no maruell though the lesse faultie lost their liues as most guiltie, for

*varus venator ad vrsos
Accedit, tutos conseruat sylua leones,
Debilibus robusta nocent, & grandia paruis,
Ales fulminiger timidos infestat olores,
Accipiter laniat turdos mollesq; columbas,
Pesciculus coluber ranas miset, isq; lacertas,
Inretit muscas transfinitit aranea vespas.*

The king returning by saint Edmundsburie, after he had done his deuotions to S. Edmunds thine, began to waue somewhat crasse: but after hauing a little recovered his health, he called a counsell there, wherein he went about to haue taken order for the punishment of rebels: but his sicknesse againe re- newing, he brake vp the assemble, and with all speed passed to London. Prince Edward upon his returne out of the holie land came to Chalons in Burgogne, & at the request of the earle he did attempt with his companie to hold a iustes and tournie against the said earle & all other commers; And though through disdain and spite there was homclie plaie shewed, upon purpose to put the Englishmen to the foile & reproch; yet by high valiancie prince Edward and his companie bare themselves so worthilie, that in the end the aduersaries were well beaten, and constrained to leaue the hono: of that enterpise to the said prince Edward and his partakers. After this, he kept on his iornie till he came vnto Paris, where he was honourable receiued of the French king, and from thence he went to Burdeaur, and there remained till after his fathers death.

Anno Reg. 57. In this meane time king Henrie, being returned to London from saint Edmundsburie (as before ye haue heard) his sicknesse so increased upon him, that finally he departed at Westminster on the sixteenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Sauour 1272. after he had liued thre score and siue yeares, and reigned fiftie and six yeares, and seauen and twentie daies. A little before his death, when he perceived that he could no longer liue, he caused the earle of Gloucester to come before him, and to be netolie sworn to keepe the peace of the land, to the behoofe of his sonne prince Edward. His bodie was buried at Westminster. He had issue by his wife queene Elianor two sonnes, the foresaid Edward, prince of Wales, that succeeded him; and Edmund earle of Lancaster, by some autho: surnamed Crouchbacke, though (as other affirme vnturlic) that this Edmund was the elder brother: but bicause he was a deformed person, therefore his yonger brother Edward was preferred to the kingdome, which was deuised of purpose to conueie a right to king Henrie the fourth, which fetched the descent from the said Edmund, and by force vsurped and held the crowne, as after it may appere. Moreover, king Henrie had thre daughters by the said Elianor, as Margaret married to Alexander king of Scots, Beatrice whom the duke of Britaine had to wife, and Catharine which died before she was marriable.

He was of bodie well cast and strong, of a good stature in heighth, well fauoured of face, with the lid of one of his eyes comming downe, so as it almost couered the apple of the same eye. Of nature he was courteous, and of stomack rather noble than stout; a deuout prince and liberall towards the poore and needy. Yet he wanted not dispraise in some points, namelie for that in ordering of things and weightie affaires, he vsed small consideration. He was also

noted to be a great faker of monie by leanes, fares, and subsidies: but therevnto he was inforced by necessity, to beare the charges of warre and other publicke affaires, than of any couetous mind or purpose to serue his owne turne. What capitains of honour among the nobilitie liued in his time, it may appere by the course of the historie of his age.

Of sundrie learned men these we find mentioned in maister Bales centuries and others. Walter of Couentrie an historiographer: Radulphus Niger that wrote both histories and other treatises, Cernusius de Spelkelte, Abbot of London, Robert Curson a man excellentlie learned both in diuine and humane letters, so that comming to the court of Rome he there grew in such estimation, that he became a cardinall, of whom we find this recorded by Matthew Westminster and Matthew Paris. [At the taking of Damiate, a citie in Egypt, there was with Belagius, the cardinall of Alba, the popes legat, maister Robert Curson an Englishman a most famous clerke, bozne of a noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.] These are reported to flourish in the daies both of king John and king Henrie his sonne.

In the said kings time also there liued other learned men, as these; Hugh Birkehead, Richard of Elm, Peter Penham, John Gile of de Sancto Egidio an excellent physician, Caducan a Welshman bozne and bishop of Bangor, Alexander a singular learned man that wrote diuerse and manie treatises aswell in diuinitie as philosophie and humanitie, both in verse and prose; also Stephan Langton, that for his singular knowledge was made high chancellor of the vniuersitie of Paris, and at length was admitted archbishop of Canturburie, against the will of king John, in which quarell so great trouble infused, as before ye haue partlie heard; Rafe Coggeshall also liued in king Henries daies, that wrote the appendix vnto the chronicle of Rafe Pigge, he was abbat of Coggeshall abbey in Essex, whereof he toke his surname; William Lanthorne, Peter of S. Saulor, a canon of the house called S. Saulor, or of the trinitie by London; Alexander Hailes a frier of the order of the minors, who wrote manie treatises in diuinitie; Richard surnamed Medicus a most learned physician, and no lesse expert in philosophie and the mathematical. There be also remembred by maister Bale, Radulfe the earle of Chester, the third and last of that name, who hauing great knowledge and understanding in the lawes of this land, compiled a booke of the same lawes, as a witnesse of his great skill therein: Alexander Wendocke bishop of Chester, John Blund, Edmund Rich, Robert Rich, Henrie Bacon, that excellent lawier, who wrote the booke commonlie called Bacon after his name, intitled *De consuetudinibus Anglicanis*; Richard surnamed Theologus, Walter de Cuesham, Rafe Jres bozne, Laurence Somercote, brother as it is thought to Robert Somercote, at that time a cardinall of the Romane church; Nicholas Fernham a physician, Robert Bacon a notable diuine, Simon Langton, brother to the archbishop of Canturburie Stephan Langton; Richard Filaker, Simon Stokes, John of Kent or Bantianus, William Shitwood, Spichael Blaunpaine, John Godard, Vincent of Couentrie, Alberke Wer, Richard Rich, John Basing alias de Basingstoke, Roger Waltham, William Seningham, Robert Crofted that learned bishop of Lincoln, whose memorie amongst the learned will remaine while the world lasteth.

Thus farre Henrie the third.

Edward



Edward the first, surnamed Longshanks, the eldest sonne of Henrie the third.

1272
Anno Reg. 1.

Edward, the first of that name after the conquest, began his reigne over this kingdome of England, the 16 day of Nouember, in the yere of the world, 5239, of our Lord 1272, of the Sarons 814, after the conquest 206, the variation of the empire after the decesse of Frederike the second as yet induring (though shortly after in the yere next following, Rudolfe of Habsburge was elected emperor) in the third yere of Philip the third then reigning in France, and Alexander the third yet living in gouernement of the Scottish kingdome.

Math. West.
A new scale made.

Chro. Dun.

Mar. Westm.

1273

Guy de Spilfont excommunicated.

This Edward the first, when his father died, being about the age of 35 yeares, was as then in the holie land, or rather in his iourne homewards: but wherefoever he was at that present, the nobles of the land, after his father was departed this life, assembled at the new temple in London, and causing a new scale to be made, they ordeined faithfull ministers and officers, which should haue the treasure in keeping, and the administration of iustice for the maintenance of peace and tranquillitie within the land, and on the 22 day of Nouember he was proclaimed king. Who after he had remained a time in the holie land, and perceived himselfe destitute of such aid as he looked for at the hands both of the Christians and Tartarians, he left in the citie of Acon certeinne spendarie souldiers, and taking the sea sailed homewards, arriuing first in Sicill, where, of Charles king of that land he was honozable receiued and conueied, till he came vnto *Civita Vecchia* in Italie, where pope Gregorie as then late with his court, of whome (as of his old friend that had been with him in the holie land) he obtained that earle Aldebrandino Rosso, and Guy of Pontfort, that had murdered the lord Henrie, eldest sonne to Richard king of Almaine, might be sent for. Earle Aldebrandino purged himselfe, but Guy de Pontfort was excommunicated, as a violator of the church, a murderer and a traitor, so as he was disherited euen vnto the fourth generation, till he had reconciled himselfe to the church, as he was informed.

After this, it is wonderfull to remember with what great honor king Edward was receiued of the cities, as he passed through Tuscaine and Lumbardie. At his comming ouer the mounteins at Chalon in Burgundie, he was at a iusts and toynie, which then was there holden by the Frenchmen against the Englishmen, the honor whereof remained with the Englishmen. In this toynie the sight of the footmen was great: for the Englishmen being fore provoked, slew manie of the French footmen, but because they were but rascals, no great accompt was made of them, for they were bnrmed, gaping for the spoile of them that were ouerthrowen. & Edward passing

forth, came to the French court, where of his cosine germane king Philip he was iofullie receiued. Here king Edward, doing homage to the French king for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France, passed into Guien.

A tenth was granted of the cleargie to the king and to his brother Edmund earle of Leicester and Lancaster by the popes appointment for two yeares, a chapleine of the pope a Gascoigne borne named Reimond being sent into England for that purpose, who gaue part vnto them, and part thereof he kept to himselfe towards his charges, but the most part was reserved to the popes disposing. ¶ Whilest the king remained in Gascoigne, he had somewhat to do against certein rebels, as Gaston de Biernie, and other that were revolted from him. The castels belonging to the said Gaston he subdued, but his person he could not meet with. Finallie, after he had set things in order aswell in Guien as in other places in the parts of beyond the seas, he hastied homewards, and came to London on the second day of August, where he was receiued with all ioy that might be deuised. The streets were hangd with rich cloths of silke, arras, and tapestrie, the aldermen and burgesles of the citie thre out of their windowes handfulls of gold and silver, to signifye the great gladnesse which they had conceiued of his safe returne: the conduits ran plentifullie with white wine and red, that ech creature might drinke his fill. Upon the 19 day of August in this seconds yere of his reigne he was crowned at Westminister, together with his wife queene Eliano, by the hands of Robert Biltwarbie archbishop of Canturburie.

Anno Reg. 2.
Math. Westm.
A diline granted to the king & his brother.

1274

Nic. Treutt.
King Edward his returne home.

Math. West.

At this coronation were present Alexander king of Scots, and John earle of Britaine, with their wiues that were sisters to king Edward. The king of Scots did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, in like maner as other the kings of Scotland before him had done to other kings of England. At the solemnitie of this coronation there were let go at libertie (catch them that catch might) fise hundred great horses by the king of Scots, the earles of Cornetwall, Gloucester, Denbroke, Warren, & others, as they were alighted fro their backs. ¶ On St. Nicholas euen there chanced such an earthquake with lightning and thunder, and therewithall the appearing of the burning drake, and a blasing starre called a comet, that the people were brought into no small feare vpon consideration thereof. But now to the point of the historie.

Caxton.

King Edward at the first like a prudent prince chose the wisest and worthiest men to be of his counsell, & to purchase the loue of his subiects, whose minds were somewhat offended towards his father (by reason that he refused to keepe promise with them, touching the restitution of gentle and fauourable lawes) king Edward shewed himselfe so gentle towards all

de gras

1275
Anno Reg. 3.

The parliament.
The statutes
of Westminster.
The prince of
Wales Leolin.

degrees of men, that he seemed to exceed the reasonable bounds of courteous humanity, much more than became his royal estate. After this, he reformed divers laws and statutes, and devised some new ordinances, greatly for the wealth of the realm. He held his first parliament at Westminster, where the ordinances were made, called the statutes of Westminster the first.

The king cometh to Chester.

To this parliament was Leolin the prince of Wales summoned to come and do his homage, having been requested first to come to the kings coronation, but he refused; and now having summons to come to this parliament, he excused himself, affirming that he durst not come for feare of certaine noblemen that late in wait for his life, requiring to have pledges delivered for his safe coming and going, the kings sonne, and Gilbert earle of Gloucester, with Robert Barneil the lord chancellor. The king was greatly offended with such a presumptuous demand, but passed it over, till after the end of the parliament, then repairing to Chester he sent effrons messengers to the said Leolin, requiring of him to come & do his homage, but he still delayed time, so that in the end the king raised an armie, meaning to recover that by force, which otherwise he could not obtaine by quiet meanes. ¶ This yere the people paid a fifteenth to the king of all their temporall goods, which was said to be granted first to his father.

March, Westm.
Bretton bishop of Hereford departeth this life.

The same yere departed this life John Bretton bishop of Hereford, who being verie expert in the lawes of the land, compiled a booke of them called Le Bretton. The 11 of September, a generall earthquake chanced betwixt the first houre and the third of the same daie, the church of S. Michael on the hill without Claffenburie, was therewith throwne down to the ground. After this, it rained blood in the countrie of Wales, as a prodigious evill token to that nation, with whose blood thortlie after that region was in manie places moistened and stained. For as it chanced thortlie after, Leolin the sonne of Griffin came to have the government of Wales, who partlie to raise new seditions in England, and partlie to purchase him friendship and alliance in France, sent unto king Phillip, requiring of him that he might have in marriage the ladie Cleane, daughter to Simon Montfort earle of Leicester, the which together with his mother and brother Emerike, remained as banished persons in France. The French king granted his request, and sent him under the conduct of his said brother to be conveyed into Wales unto Leolin, who had promised to marrie him. But yer they approached to Wales, at the Ile of Sillie both the brother & sister were taken by foure ships of Bristow, the owners whereof that so toke them, sent them unto king Edward. When Leolin understood that his wife was taken from him by the waie as he was coming, he was not a little wroth, and incontinentlie began to make warre upon king Edwards subjects that bordered nere unto Wales, killing the people, spoiling their goods, and burning by their townes and houses on each side.

The earle of Montforts daughter appointed wife to the prince of Wales taken.

Leolin prince of Wales beginning to make wars.
March, Westm.

Herewith the king of England was so moved, that although the said Leolin made sute for peace, and offered no small sum of monie to have the daughter of the earle of Leicester his fianced wife delivered to him, yet would not the king by any meanes consent to that marriage, nor receive any monie of him, except he would restore unto the right owners such lands as he had invaded and got into his possession, and further repaire such castles as he had destroyed. Whereupon grew no small grudge betwixt the Welshmen and Englishmen, so that to represse the invasion of the enemies in the parts towards

Bristow, Mountgomerie and Chester, the king sent three hundred men in armes on horsebacke. In the quindene of Easter, the king departing from Westminster, hasted towards Wales with a mightie power, and caused the courts of the erchebisher and of his bench to remove unto Shrewesburie, that they might be nere unto him, making forward with all convenient speed to come to the aid and succour of his liege people.

10 Whereupon entering into Wales he toke the castle of Rutland, and sent into West Wales a valiant captain named Rhaine de Camureys, who with fire and sword wasted that countrie, so that the people offering themselves to the kings peace, delivered unto the said Rhaine the castle of Stridborne with the countrie adjoining. When Leolin the prince of Wales, perceiving that he was not able to resist the kings power, and knowing that if he did attempt the conflict against him the danger would rebound

20 to himself & his traine, did as thold verse counsellors, and therefore made suit for peace, in so much that finally it was agreed, that commissioners for both parts should talke concerning certaine articles, and whatsoever they concluded, aswell the king as the said Leolin should hold the same for firme and stable. The king appointed one of his commissioners, to wit, the lord Robert de Liptoft, to take an oth for him, & authorized the said Robert, Anthony Beke, and frier William de Southampton, prior prouinciall of the friers preachers, commissioners, nominated on his behalfe, to receive the like oth of the said Leolin. Which Leolin appointed commissioners for his part, Tudor ap Edeuener, and Grono ap Helin, the which commissioners with good deliberation concluded upon certaine points and articles, of which the principall were as followeth.

First, that the said Leolin should set at libertie all prisoners which he held in captivitie for the king of Englands cause, frelie and without all challenge.

40 Secondlie, that to have peace and the kings of Englands favour, he should giue unto the said king fiftie thousand pounds sterling, the daies of the payment whereof to rest in the kings will and pleasure.

Thirde, that the land of the foure cantreds with out all contradiction should remaine for ever to the king and his heires, with all lands conquered by the king and his people, the Ile of Anglesey excepted, which Ile was granted to the prince, so that he should 50 paie for the same yereleie the summe of one thousand marks, and five thousand marks for an income. Provided, that if the prince chanced to die without issue, then the said Ile to reuert againe into the kings hands.

4 Fourthe, that the prince shall come to Rothelan or Rothland (as it is commonlie called) there to do fealtie to the king, and before his coming thither, he should be absolved and have the interdiction of his lands released, and at his being at Rothelan, a date shall be appointed him by the king for his coming to London, there to do his homage. Whereupon was order taken for his safe conduct, aswell in his coming to Rothelan, as to London. There he that wrote that he was appointed to come unto London, at the feast of the natiuitie of our Lord.

5 Fiftie, it was couenanted, that all the homages of Wales should remaine to the king, except onelie of five barons which inhabited nere unto the castle of Snowdon: for otherwise the said Leolin could not conveniently call himselfe prince, except he had some barons under him.

6 Sixtie, that he should receive the title and name of prince so long as he liued, and after his decesse the homages of those five barons should reuert to the king

March, Westm.
The erchebisher and the kings bench removed to Shrewesburie.

The castle of Rutland taken.
Anno Reg. 3.

1277.

The castle of Stridborne.
Leolin sueth for peace.

N. Triuer.
Commissioners appointed.

Leolins given.

David re-
deed by his
Edward.

David p-
sed in mar

The article
concernin
Owen.

7
N. Triet.
David & Leo-
lina brother
provided for.

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Reg. 6.
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to be
received.

Leolin by-
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David rewar-
ded by king
Edward.

David prefer-
red in marriage

The article
concerning
Dwen.

king and to his brethren.

Seventhly the king granted unto the said Leolin, the lands that belonged to his brother David, for the term of the said Leolin's life, and in recompense thereof was contented to sattle the said David with other lands in some other place, the which offer the be- cause of the said Leolin, the said David should reuert to the king and his heirs. And the said Leolin, for the assurance of which articles and covenants the prince delivered for hostages, ten persons of the best in Wales, which he could get, without imprisonment, disseising, or tennement of deliverance, and of ex- uerie cantred twentie persons, of the best and most sufficient, to be chosen by such as the king shall send thither, perelle, shall from yere to yere be swared upon the euangelists, in presence of the justices of the said Leolin, that whosoever the prince shall breake any of these articles, and upon a condition both not reforme himselfe, they shall forsake him, and in all things, being unto him open enemies, shall boare him deable hostility.

Besides this, the prince shall (as farre as in him may lie) pacifie his brethren, of the which he had put two in prison, Owen and Roder (the) the which named Dwen, escaping his hands, fled into England, and remained many yeres with king Edward, who receiving him into his service, made him knight in this warre, and gaue unto him a castell at Denbigh in Wales, with lands to the perelle value of a thousand marks, in recompense of those possessions which he ought to haue had in Anglesey, the which (as before is said) the king granted unto Leolin for terme of his life, and after his decesse to reuert unto the king and to his heirs. Moreover, he preferred David to the marriage of a tollie widow, that was daughter to the earle of Darbie.

As concerning Dwen, through the kings fauour he was deliuered out of prison, by force of the arti- cles concluded at this present by the commissioners, under this forme and maner: that upon his being set at libertie, certeine persons appointed by the king should make offer to him, to chosse whether he would first compound with his brother, and thereupon come to the king, and beseech him to allow the composition, or else to put himselfe under the safe keeping of the king, till according to the lawes and customes of Wales, in the place where he did transgresse, iudge- ment should be giuen of the matter: and if he were acquit, then might he demand his heritage if he thought it so expedient: and which of these two waies he should chosse, the same should be made firme and stable in the kings preference.

All these articles, with other additions, were accor- ded by the said commissioners at Aberconweie, on the tuesday before the feast of S. Martine, in the yere 1277, and letters of confirmation made thereof by the king, dated at Rutland on the tenth daie of No- uember, in the fift yere of his reigne. Also the said Leolin, by the name of Leolin ap Griffin prince of Wales, with letters under his seale, confirmed the abovesaid articles on his behalfe, for the releasing of his right to the foure cantreds and other things that should remaine to the king, which letters bare date at Aberconweie, on the foresaid tuesday in the said yere 1277. Also the king released to the said Leolin, the said summe of fiftie thousand pounds, and the said summe of a thousand marks perelle to be paid for the Ile of Anglesey, as by his letters dated at Rut- land on the said 10 daie of Nouember in the said fift yere of his reigne more at large it appereth. Fewer- thelesse by his letters dated at Rutland, on the said e- leuenth of the said month of Nouember, it is euident that he receiued of the said Leolin the summe of two thousand marks sterling, by the hands of Thomas

Beke keeper of his wardrobe.

Moreover, the king in the west part of Wales built at the same time a castle at Lampordenaur, to kepe under the rebellious attempts of the Welshmen. King Edward gaue in marriage by waies of restitu- tion to the fore-remembered Leolin prince of Wales the earle of Leicester's daughter, which was taken (as ye haue heard) at the Ile of Sullie. He also bare all the charges of the feast at the daie of the marriage, and honored the same with the presence of himselfe and the queene. A subsidy of the twentieth part of euerie mans goods was granted to the king, for wards his charges sustained in the Welsh warres. Moreover, in the first yere of his reigne, Edward held a parlement at Gloucester, in the which were cer- teine acts and statutes made for the wealth and good gouernment of the realme, which unto this daie are called the statutes of Gloucester. Alexander king of Septe came into England, to common with is, Edward, of matters touching his kingdome of Scotland. Shortly after king Edward went ouer into France, and there receiued certeine tollages that were restored to him, but not the moitie of those that were promised to his father, when he released his sitle unto the butchie of Normandie.

Robert Kilwarbie archbishop of Canterbury, was by pope Nicholas advanced to the dignitie of a cardinal, and made bishop of Portus, so that he went to Rome, and gaue ouer the archbishopricke of Canterbury, to the which through the popes grant- frier John Beckham was admitted archbishop. This yere there was inquirie made in London for such as had clipped, washed, & counterfitted the kings coine, whereupon the felwes of the citie and diuers gold- smiths that kept the exchange of silver were imple- and after to the number of two hundred foure score and seuentene persons were condemned, and in di- uers places put to execution. There were but 3 En- glishmen among them, all the residue were felwes, but diuerse christians that were participants with them in their offences were put to their fines, and not without iust cause.

About the same time the king removed all such shiriffes as were either priests or strangers, and in their places appointed knights to be shiriffes, that were of the same cuntry where their offices laie. Moreover, about this season king Edward builded the castell of Flint, and fortified the castell of Rut- land and others, placing garrisons of Englishmen in the same to defend the cuntry, and to kepe the Welshmen under obedience. But Leolin so smallie regarded all covenants made, and bene- fits receiued, that shortly after, upon the death of his late married wife, being summoned to come to a parlement holden by king Edward, he disdaind to obeie, and upon a berie spite began to make new warre to the Englishmen, in wasting and destrui- eng the cuntry: notwithstanding king Edward had so manie waies done him good, and had giuen him iust cause of thankfulness, which is the common reward of benefites, and which little recompense tho- so neglecteth to make, being but a little lip-labour.

Non est laudari dignum, nec dignum amari.

But being put in feare with the kings comming towards him with his power, he laid armes aside, and began entones to require peace, which the king now the second time did not denie to grant; because he would not lose time to warre with the mounteins, woods and marishes, the places of refuge for Welsh- men in those daies, when they wanted power to a- bide battell and kepe the felos. About the same time the king gaue unto David the brother of Leolin the lordship of Frodestham in Cheshire, and made him knight. Moreover, in this yere the king held a parle- ment,

The castell of
Lamporden-
aur built.

Anno. Reg. 6.
1278
Leolins wife
restored to his
husband.

Statutes of
Gloucester.

The archbish-
of York being
made cardinal
resigneth his
archbishopricke

John Beck-
ham archbish-
of York.
Clippers of
moine.

Anno Reg. 7.
Nic. Triet.

Chron. Dunst.

The castels of
Flint & Rut-
land built.

1279

Leolin begins
new war

the feuth for
peace.

The Statute
of Forke-
mone.

A Synod at
Reading.

The kings
come amerc-
ed.

Anno Reg. 8.
1280

N. Truer,
Polydor,
Abington.
A shift to get
monie.

Ordinances
for monie.

ment, in which the statute of Forke was estab-
lished.

Frier John Peckham, whome the pope had alee-
die consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being
the 47 in number that had governed the said see,
came this yeare over into England to supplie the
rome. ¶ Also Walter Gifford archbishop of Forke
departed this life, in whose place succeeded Willm
Wickham, the 37 archbishop there. The archbishop of
Canturburie held a synod at Reading about the late
ter end of Julie, wher he renewed the constitutions
of the generall counsell, as thus: That no ecclesiast-
call person shoulde have above one benefice to the
which belonged cure of soules; and againe, that all those
that were promoted to any ecclesiasticall living,
shoulde receive the order of pze within one yere
after his being promoted therunto.

In this yeare the king took order for the amen-
ding of his monie and coine, which in that season was
foully clipped, washed, and counterfeited by those
naughtie men the Jewes, and other, as before you
have partly heard. The king therefore in the octaves
of the Trinitie sent forth commandment to all the
shirffes within the land, that such monie as was
counterfeited, clipped or washed, shoulde not be cur-
rant from thenceforth: and furthermore he sent of
his stone treasure, good monie and not clipped, unto
certaine cities and townes in the realme, that ex-
change might be made with the same till new monie
were stamped. About the third daie of August, the
first exchange was made of the new monie of pence
and farthings; but yet the old monie went all this
yeare together with the new, and then was the old
coine generallie forbidden, and commandment gi-
ven by publike proclamation, that from thenceforth
it shoulde no moze be allowed for currant. Herewith
also halfpence, which had bene stamped in the meane
time, began to come abroad the same day in which the
old monie was thus prohibited.

The lord Roger Spottimer kept a great feast at
Billingworth, with iusts and triumphs of an hun-
dred knights and as manie ladies, to the which resor-
ted lords, knights, & gentlemen from diuerse coun-
tries and lands, to shew proofe of their valiance in
the practise of warlike feats and exercises. In the
meane season king Edward standing in need of mo-
nie, deuised a new shift to serue his turne, as this:
namely that wheras he was chiefe lord of many lord-
ships, manours, possessions and tenements, he well
vnderstood, that partly by length and proces of time,
and partly by casualties during the troubles of the
ciuill warres, manie mens euidences, as their char-
ters, deeds, copies and other writings were lost, wa-
shed, and made awaie, he therefore vnder colour to put
the statute of (*Quo warrant*) in execution, which was
ordeined this yeare in the parlement holden at Glo-
cester in August last past (as some write) did now
command by publike proclamation, that all such as
held any lands or tenements of him, shoulde come
and shew by what right and title they held the same,
that by such meanes their possessions might returne
vnto him, by echeat as chiefe lord of the same, and so
to be sold or redeemed againe at his hands.

This was thought to be so sore a proclamation, as
that a moze greuous had not lightlie bene heard of.
Open in euerie place made complaint and shewed
themselves greivouslie offended, so that the king by
meanes thereof came in great hatred of his people:
but the meane sort of men, though they stood in de-
fence of their right, yet it auailed them but little, be-
cause they had no euidence to shew, so that they were
constrained to be quiet with losse, rather than to
strive against the streame. Spanie were thus called
to answer, till at length the lord John Warren earle

of Surrie, a man greatly beloved of the people, per-
ceiving the king to have cast his net for a pze, and
that there was not one that woulde make against him;
determined to stand against those so bitter and cruell
proceedings. And the residue being called asone the in-
stices about this matter, he appeared, and being asked
by what right he held his lands, suddenly drawing
forth an old rustie sword; By this instrument (said
he) doe I hold my lands; and by the same I intend
to defende them. Our antecessors comming into this
realme with William the Conquerour, conquered
theire lands with the sword; and with the same will I
defend me from all those that shall be about to take
them from me: he did not make a conquest of this
realme above; our progenitors were with him as
participantes and helpes.

The king vnderstanding into what hatred his
people by this meanes he was fallen, and the sore de-
mons to avoid ciuill dissention and war that might
therby issue, he lett off his began practise: so that
the thing which generallie shoulde haue touched and
bene hurtfull to all men, was now suddenly staied
by the manhood and couragious stoutnesse onlie of
one man, the foresaid earle, who in his rare act of de-
fending common equitie against the mightie antho-
ritie who spared not to offer extreme inurie, shewed
himselfe a verie true and naturall branch of nobilitie,

capis qua fraudula super,

Vilia continent, qua solum tendere ut ignis

Nisitur, et summas penetrat, velut ardea ruber.

The archbishop of Canturburie held another sy-
nod at Lambeth, in the which he receiued and confir-
med the orders and constitutions decreed and establi-
shed by the legats Tho and Adhobone, in counsels
by them kept here within this realme, adding thereto
other of his owne: & in the same counsell he went a-
bout to aduocate certain liberties belonging to the
croune, as the taking knowlege of the right of pa-
tronages and the kings prohibitions in *placitis deca-
talis*, and such like, which seemed merite to touch the
spiritualtie. But the king by some in that counsell
withstood the archbishop openlie, and with menaces
staied him from concluding any thing that might
preiudice his roiall liberties and prerogatiues. King
Edward held a parlement at London, in the which
he demanded a sixteenth of the cleargie, which latelie
before he had got of the temporalitie. The archbishop
of Forke was content at the first to grant this six-
teenth to be paid of the cleargie within his diocesse in
two yeares; but the archbishop of Canturburie held
off, and required respite till the next parlement to be
holden after Easter, and then he granted vnto the
king the sixteenth of all his cleargie for three yeares,
that in some point he might be different from the
archbishop of Forke.

In the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the
feast of the round table was kept at Warktoke with
great and sumptuous triumph. Whilist these things
were in doing, Dauid brother to Leolin prince of
Wales, forgetting the great benefitts which he had
receiued at the hands of king Edward, became his
aduersarie, and caused his said brother the prince of
Wales with a great number of other noble men of
that countrie to rebell: and to encourage them the
soner to attempt the warre, he began the first ex-
plot himselfe, taking the said lord Roger Clifford (a
right worthy and famous knight) in his castell of
Harwardine, vpon Palmesdaye, the said lord being
in no doubt of any such matter. Diuerse knights and
other that were in the same castell at that time, and
made resistance, were slaine.

After this the foresaid Dauid returned to his bro-
ther the prince, and therewith assembling an armie,
they went both together and besieged the castell of
Warktoke.

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Kutland. King Edward at the same time being in the parts about Salisburie, where he kept his Easter at the Nics, sent out commissioners to leaue an armie, and commanded such men of warre as he had then in a readinesse, to hast forth to the rescue of the castell of Kutland. And in the meane time, the castell of Lamperdenaur was taken by Rice ap Ihalgone and Griffith ap Iheridoc. Also diuerse other castells were taken by other of the Welsh nobilitie. Moreover, about this time by the labour and suit of John the archbishop of Canturburie, Emericke de Montfort, which had bene retained in prison (sith that he was first taken together with his sister at the Isle of Skille by the Wiffolwomen) was now set at libertie and permitted to returne into France. The said archbishop of Canturburie was sent into Wales to persuade Leolin and his brother with the other rebels unto peace and quietnesse, but returning into England, without bringing anie thing to passe, he denounced them accursed.

The castell of Lamperdenaur taken.

Emericke de Montfort set at libertie.

Leolin and other the welsh rebels accursed.

1282 The king entred into Wales.

The king hastened forth to come to the rescue of his people, whereupon Leolin and his brother David retired with their people to Snowdon hilles, and fortified the castell there with a strong garrison of men. The king entring into Wales, when he heard that his enemies were withdrawn into the mounteins, passed forth till he came nere unto them, where he pitched downe his field, and the next day causing his horsemen to issue forth of the campe, filled all the plaines which compassed the foot of those hilles (aswell on the east side as toward the south) with the same horsemen, and herewith placed his footmen more aloft on the side of the hilles in covert: this done he prouoked his enemies to come forth to fight, but when he saw this would not be, then that he might stop them from all places of refuge, he caused his ships to take the Isle of Anglesey, because the Welshmen used to flee thither oftentimes for their safeguard, in the which enterprise the mariners of the cinque ports bare themselves right manfullie.

The mariners of the cinque ports.

Meneth.

After this, joining certeine vessels together, he caused a bridge to be made in the riuer of Meneth, into the which an other small riuer falleth that riseth at the roots of those hilles of Snowdon, to keepe the enemies from lodging on the further side of that riuer. This bridge containing some for threescore armed men to passe afront, was made ouer the riuer of Meneth, by the which men saile into the Isle, which by the course of the sea ebbe and floweth euerie twelue houres. But so it came to passe, that before the bridge was well boarded ouer, whilst the king yet remained at Aberconwaite, diuerse of the English nobilitie, to the number of seauen banerets with thre hundred armed men rashly passed ouer, and as they surueied the foot of the mounteine, the tide began to come in so swifflie, that where the Englishmen were advanced a good prettie waie from the water side, they could not now get backe againe to the bridge which as yet was not fullie made vp.

The Englishmen distressed by welshmen.

The lord Cliford.

Claron. Dunst.

The Welshmen perceiving this, came downe beside the mounteine, and assailed the Englishmen verie fiercelie, and with their great multitude so oppressed them, that for feare the Englishmen were driven to take the water, and so by reason they were loaden with armour, manie of them were drowned: and amongst other, that famous knight sir Lucas de Thanie, Robert Cliford, sir William Lindsey, and two gentlemen of god accompt that were brethren to Robert Burnell as then bishop of Bath. There perished in all (as some saie) thirtene knights, seuentene yong gentlemen, and to the number of two hundred footmen. Yet sir William Latimer, as god had would, escaped, and diuerse other. This mischance happened on S. Leonards day.

The castell of Rutland besieged.

In this meane time in an other part of the countrie the earle of Glocester with an armie, made soe warre to the Welshmen, and nere unto the towne called Lantlaware, fought a soe battell with them, in the which manie of the Welshmen being slaine, the earle lost also five knights upon his partie, as William Malence the yonger, being one of that number, who was the kings cousine. The earle of Glocester then departing from thence, Leolin the prince of Wales entered into the countrie of Cardigan and Stradwre, destroying the lands of Rice ap Iheridoc, which now held with the king against the said prince. At length, prince Leolin going towards the land of Buellth with a small companie, left his maine armie behind him aloft upon the top of the mounteine, nere to the water called Waite, and he had set a number of his people to keepe the bridge of Deuwin: and so the Welshmen kept on the one side, and the Englishmen on the other, of whom were capitains the lord John Gifford and the lord Edmund Mortimer, the which perceiving the Welshmen that were readie to defend the bridge, and a great host of them upon the top of the mounteine, they consulted together what they were best to do.

The earle of Glocester made both warre on the welshmen

Anno Reg. 11.

Leolin invaded the kings friends.

The lord Gifford and Mortimer.

Helias Walewaine.

At length by the couragious exhortation of one Helias Walewaine they drew on the one hand alongst the riuer, where was a ford passable in deed, though not without danger: but yet the Englishmen by the conduct of the same Helias, got ouer by the same ford, so that it bare the name long after of Helias way. And so the Welshmen that kept the bridge (perceiving the Englishmen to be got ouer unto that side) fled, whereupon the residue of the English armie passed ouer at the bridge, whereof rose a great noise, which Leolin lurking not farre off might well heare, but yet at the first he could not be brought to thinke that by any possible means the Englishmen were got ouer to that side of the water. But yet perceiving it to be true, he drew backe toward the height of the mounteine againe, neuertheless being discovered by one Stephan de Franketon, named by some writers Sward, he was so narrowly pursued of the same Stephan, that he was overtaken and slaine.

Prince Leolin slaine by Stephan de Franketon.

Stephan not knowing whome he had slaine, returned to the host, the which was now mounting vp the hill to ioine with the Welsh armie that stood still looking for the returne of their prince Leolin (though in vaine) yet they manfullie abode by their tackle, discharging plentie of arrowes and darts at the Englishmen as they came vp towards them. The English archers which were mingled amongst the horsemen, paid them home againe with their shot, so that finally the English horsemen, winning the top of the hill, slue manie of them standing stoutlie at defence, and put the residue to flight. Stephan Sward that had slaine Leolin, after the victorie was achieved, rode to the dead bodie which he had slaine in the beginning of the battell, and upon Deu taken of him perceived who he was, of which god hap the Englishmen were verie iofull. His head was herewith cutt off, which the lord Edmund Mortimer took with him unto Rutland (where the king as then was lodged) unto whome he presented it: and the king sent it unto London, appointing that there should be a yvie crowne set upon it, in token that he was a prince, and so being adorned, a horseman carried it upon the end of his staffe through Cheapside, holding it as he rode on height, that all men might see it, till he came to the tower, where it was plight up aloft upon one of the highest turrets, remaining there a long time after. Thus was the prophesie fulfilled, which was said.

Leolins head presented to the king.

The prophesie fulfilled.

N. Triet.

things in due and reasonable order) was having alreadie put armour upon his backe, would not now incline to any peace, but to reuenge his cause, assembled a great multitude of Welshmen, with whose helpe he burnt & destroyed manie towines in Wales, so that the king being then beyond the seas, sent to the earle of Cornewall, whom in his absence he had appointed his lieutenant ouer England, requiring him to send an armie into Wales, to resist the malice and riotous attempts of the Welshmen. The earle shortly thereupon prepared an armie, and went with the same into Wales, or (as other write) the bishop of Ely, the lord prior of S. Johns, the earle of Gloucester, and diuerse barons of the land went thither, and chasing the said king, dispersed his armie, and ouerthrew and rased his castles, but by undermining and reuerling the wals at the castell of Dunsan, with the fall therof, the baron Stafford, and the lord William de Pontchenie, with manie other knights and squiers, were oppressed and bused to death. ¶ This yeare, the king at Blankfote in Galcoigne, took upon him the crosse, purposing it to make a iourneie against Gods enemies.

Chron. Dunst.

In the winter of this yeare great floods chanced, by reason of the exceeding abundance of raine that fell: and the sea alongst the northeast coasts from Humber to Portsmouth, brake into the land, ouerflowing the same by the space of three or foure leagues in breadth (as the author of the Chronicle of Dunstable affirmeth) ouerthrowing buildings, and drowning by men and cattell that could not auoid the danger by the sudden comming in thereof, namelie, about Portsmouth, Dunwich, and Gipestwich. Likewise in the Pers land of Lincolnshire it did passing great hurt, bringing all the countrie into water. This chanced in the berie night of the beginning of this yeare, to wit, in the feast of the circumcision of our Lord, and in December it brake out againe in Northfolke and Suffolke, where it did much harme, namelie about

Anno Reg. 15.
1288
Chron. Dunst.
Nic. Treuct.

Wonder
by thunder!

Ri. Southwell.

Polydor.
Ran. Higd.
N. Triet.

This yeare, and likewise the yeare last past, was such plenty of graine, that wheat was sold in some places of this land for twentie pence a quarter, and in some places for fiftene pence, and pease for twelue pence a quarter. The summer this yeare exceeded in heat, so that men thorough the intemperate excessive thereof died in diuers places. ¶ It chanced in Galcoigne, that as the king & queene sate in their chamber upon a bed talking together, the thunder-bolt comming in at the window behind them, passed through betwixt them as they sate, and slue two of their gentlemen that stood before them, to the great terror of all that were present. ¶ This yeare diuerse of those that robbd the faire at Boston, were executed.

Howeuer, whereas king ap Meridoc continued still in his mischieuous doings, at length, the lord deputie of Wales, Robert Tiptot, using both spiedie diligence and timelie counsell, gathered all such power as he could make, & passed forth against his aduersaries. Whereof when king was aduertised, and understanding that the Englishmen were farre fewer in number than his Welshmen, he thought to ouerthrow them at his pleasure, and therefore encouraging his people with manie comfortable words, to shew their manhood upon the Englishmens approach, he hastied to meet them. The Welshmen being for the more part but yong souldiers, and not trained to keepe any order of battell, ran fiercelie upon their enemies, assailing them on the front before, on the sides a flanke, and on the backe behind, inforcing themselves to the uttermost of their power to brake their arraie.

But the Englishmen valiantlie resisted, so that there was a sore battell for a while, and the more cou-

ragionlie the Welshmen assailed, the more stoutlie the Englishmen defended, in keeping themselves close together, and beating backe their aduersaries: and at length perceiving them to faint and wearie, they rushed forth into the middle of the Welshmen, & brake them in funder, so that when they saw themselves thus repelled by the Englishmen, contrarie vnto all their expectation, they knew not what to do, for they durst neither fight nor flee, and so by that meanes were beaten downe on euerie side. The lord himselfe was taken, but the most part of all his armie was slaine, to the number of foure thousand men. Thus were the Welshmen worthilie chastised for their rebellion. Sir Rias ap Meridoc was had to Pothe, where at length, after the king was returned out of Galcoigne, he was hanged, drawn and quartered.

This yeare on S. Margarets euen, that is, the daie of Julie, fell a wonderfull tempest of haile, that the like had not bene seene nor heard of by any man then liuing. And after, there ensued such continuall raine, so dissembling the ground, that coine warden verie deare, so that whereas wheat was sold before at three pence a bushell, the market for rose by little and little, that it was sold for two shillings a bushell, and so the dearth increased still almost by the space of 40 yeares, till the death of Edward the second, in so much that sometime a bushell of wheat London measure was sold at ten shillings.

The king, after he had remained and continued three yeares, two moneths, and fiftene daies in Galcoigne, and in other parts there beyond the sea, he returned into England on the fourth day of August, and upon the euen of the Assumption of our ladye he came to London, where he was most ioyfullie received, & so came to Westminster: where shortly after were presented vnto him manie grieuous complaints and informations against diuerse of his officers, as Sir Thomas Weiland, Adam Strepton, and others, the which were had in examination, and thereupon found gillie of manie trespasses and transgressions, in so much that it was giuen him to understand, that there were among them that had giuen consent to the committing of murders and robberies, and whettinglye had receiued the offenders.

Whereupon, the king caused streight inquirie to be made by an inquest of 12 substantiall personages, who found by verdict, that Thomas Weiland lord chiefe iustice of the kings bench, had caused another to be done by his seruants, and after succoured and maintained them: whereupon he was by the kings officers arrested, but escaping their hands, he took sanctuary in the church of the friers minors at saint Edmundesburie, and was admitted into their habit, but within fourtie daies after, order was giuen by the king that no kind of vittels should be suffered to be conueied to that house, so that all the friers came forth, except three or foure, and at length he was constrained to take vpon him a laie mans apparell, and comming forth was deliuered to the hands of Robert Galet knight, who had before the custodie of him, and now hauing him againe brought him to the towne of London. At length, he was put to his choise of three waies, which sooner of them he would take, that is, whether to be tried by his peeres, or to remaine in perpetuall prison, or to abjure the realme: he chose the last, and so bare-footed and bare-headed, bearing a crosse in his hand, he was conueied from the towne to Douer, where taking the sea, he was transported to the further side of the sea; his goods, moveable and immouable, being confiscated to the kings coffers.

William Bampton, Roger Leicester, John Lanneth, associates of the said Thomas, and iudges of the kings

The Welsh
discouraged.
King ap Meridoc
taken.

Anno Reg. 15.
1289
Chron. Dunst.
Nic. Treuct.

A great
dearth
of graine.

The
king
at
London

Ed.
P/a

An.
I
H.M.
N. 1

Chron. Dunst.

Thomas
Weiland
lord chiefe
iustice of the
kings bench.

The
of
the
king

The
banish
of

Robert
Galet

William
Bampton
Roger Leicester
John Lanneth

kings bench: also, Robert Lichburle chapleine, and maister of the rolles, being accused of wrongfull iudgements and other trespasses were committed to prison within the tower, and at length with much ado, escaped with paieng their fines, so that he which paid least, gaue a thousand marks. Moreover, Salomon of Rochester, Thomas de Sudington, Richard de Bolland, and Walter de Hopton, iustices itinerants, were likewise punished, and for the semblable offenses put to their fines. Sir Kafe de Wingham a iustice also, to whom in the kings absence the ordering of the realme cheselic appertained, being accused of diuerse transgressions, and committed to the tower, redeemed his offense for an infinit summe of monie. Adam de Stratton, lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, being conuicted of manie hainous crimes, a man plentifully provided both of temporall possessions, and ecclesiasticall reuenues, lost all his temporall liuings, and foure and thirtie thousand marks in readie coine, beside other moueables, in cattell, Jewels and furniture of houtholds, which were all confiscated, and forfeited wholie: and it was thought he was gentlie dealt with, that he escaped with life, and such spirituall liuings as to him remained. Henrie Bjaie elscheator, and the iudges ouer the Jewes, were reported to haue committed manie greuous offenses, but for monie they bought their peace. To conclude, there was not found any amongst all the iustices and officers clere and void of briuist dealing except John de Wetingham, and Elias de Bekingham, who onelic among the rest had behaued themselves byrightlie. When therfore such greuous complaints were exhibited to the king, he appointed the earle of Lincoln, the bishop of Elic, and others, to heare euerie mans complaint, and vpon due examination & trall, to see them answered accordinglie as right and equitie should require. In which administration of iustice against euill iusticiaries, the king perfozmed the charge imposed and laid vpon all such as are in gouernement and magistracie; naimelic,

Adam de Stratton, l. chiefe baron.

Henrie Bjaie

John de Wetingham, and Elias de Bekingham.

Ed. Hoff. in P. 12.

Anno Reg. 18, 1290
H. Marle.
N. Truett.

The Statutes of Westminster the third established.

The Jewes banished out of England.

*Nunc igitur reges respiciere querite restum.
Quorum iudicij terra regenda data est.*

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, the king married two of his daughters, that is to saie, Joane de Acres unto Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, and the ladie Margaret vnto the lord John Sayne to the duke of Brabant. The king ordeined, that all the wool, which should be sold vnto strangers, should be brought vnto Sandwich, where the Staple thereof was kept long time after. In the same yeare was a parliament holden at Westminster, wherein the statutes of Westminster the third were ordeined. It was also decreed, that all the Jewes should auoid out of the land, in consideration whereof, a fifthenth was granted to the king, and so hereupon were the Jewes banished out of all the kings dominions, and neuer since could they obtaine any priuilege to returne hither againe. All their goods not moueable were confiscated, with their tailies and obligations; but all other their goods that were immouable, together with their estate of gold and siluer, the king licensed them to haue and conuey with them. A foz of the richest of them, being shipped with their treasure in a mighty tall ship which they had hired, when the same was vnder saile, and got downe the Thames towards the mouth of the riuer beyond Dintwiche, the maister mariner bethought him, of a while, and caused his men to cast anchor, and so rode at the same, till the ship by ebbing of the streame remained on the drie lands. The maister herewith enticed the Jewes to walke out with him on land for recreation. And at length, when he vnderstood the tide to be coming in, he got him backe to the ship, whither he was drawne vp by a cord. The Jewes made not so much

hast as he did, because they were not ware of the danger. But when they perceived how the matter stood, they cried to him for helpe: howbeit he told them, that they ought to crie rather vnto God, by whose conduct their fathers passed through the red sea, and therfore, if they would call to him for helpe, he was able inough to helpe them out of those raging floods, which now came in vpon them: they cried indeed, but no succour appeared, and so they were swallowed vp in water. The maister returned with the ship, and told the king how he had used the matter, and had both thanks and reward, as some haue written. But other affirme (and more true) as should seeme, that diuerse of those mariners, which dealt so wickedlie against the Jewes, were hanged for their wicked practise, and so receiued a iust reward of their fraudulent and mischeuous dealing. But now to the purpose.

In the foresaid parlement, the king demanded an aid of monie of the spiritualtie, for that (as he pretended) he meant to make a iourne into the holie land, to succour the christians there: wherupon they granted to him the eleuenth part of all their moueables. He receiued the monie aforehand, but letted by other businesse at home, he went not forth vpon that iourne. In the nineteenth yeare of king Edwards quene Elianor king Edwards wife died vpon saint Andrews euen at Herdebie, or Herdelie (as some haue) nere to Lincolne, the king being as then on his waie towards the borders of Scotland: but hauing now lost the iewel which he most esteemed, he returned towards London to accompanie the corps vnto Westminster, where it was buried in S. Edwards chapell, at the feet of king Henrie the thirde. She was a goodlie and modest princesse, full of pitie, and one that shewed much fauour to the English nation, ready to releue euerie mans greefe that suffred wrong, and to make them friends that were at discord, so farre as in hir laie. In euerie towne and place, where the corps rested by the waie, the king caused a crosse of cunning workmanship to be erected in remembrance of hir, and in the same was a picture of hir ingrauen. Two of the like crosses were set vp at London, one at Charing, and the other in Westcheape. Moreover, he gaue in almes euerie Wednesday wheresoeuer he went, pence a peece, to all such poore folkes as came to demand the same.

About the same time, because the king should be the more willing to go into the holie land, as he had promised to do, hauing monie to furnish him forth, the pope granted vnto him the tenth of the church of England, Scotland and Ireland, according to the true value of all the reuenues belonging vnto the same for six yeares. He wrote to the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, that the same tenth should be laid vp in monasteries and abbeies, till the king was entred into the sea, called Mare Maggiore, forwarde on his iourne eastwards, and then to be paid to his use. But the king afterwards caused the collectors to make payment to him of the same tenth gathered for thre yeares, and laid vp in monasteries, although he let not one foot forward in that iourne, as letted through other businesse.

Also, by reason of the controuersie which depended as then betwixt diuerse persons, as competitors of the crowne of Scotland, he went into the north parts and kept his easter at Bewcastle, and thortlie after, called a parlement at Northampton; where, by the aduise of the prelates and other of his counsell, learned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by search of records, and chronicles of ancient time, he caused all the prelates and barons of Scotland to be called afore him, and there in the parish church of Northam, he declared vnto them his right to the superiourtie of

C. 117. the

Jewes drowned.

Chro. Dun.

The eleuenth part of ecclesiasticall reuenues granted to the k.

Anno Reg. 19. The deceasse of Q. Elianor

Thom. Walsin.

The praise of the quene deceased.

Charing: cross: & other erected.

1291

The tenth of spiritual reuenues granted to the k.

Controuersie about the crowne of Scotland.

Welsh misten, rap 23: taken.

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the kingdome of Scotland, and requiring of them, that they would recognise the same, protesting that he would defend the right of his crowne, to the shedding of his owne blood, that a true certificat and information might come to light of his title and rightfull claime, unto the direct and suppreme dominion of uer the realme of Scotland.

He had caused be relie all the histories, chronicles, and monuments that were to be found within England, Scotland and Wales, to be sought up and perused, that it might be known what right he had in this behalf. Whereupon it was found by the chronicles of Marianus the Scot, William of Malmesburie, Roger Houeden, Henrie Huntington, Rafe de Diceto, and others, that in the yeare of our Lord 910, **E. Edward** surnamed Senio, or the elder, subdued to him the kings of Scots and Welshmen, so that in the yeare 921, the same people chose the said **Edward** to be their king and patron. And likewise in the yeare 926, **Athelstan** king of England vanquished **Constantine** king of Scotland, and permitted him yet to reigne under him. Moreover, **Edred** the brother of **Athelstan**, and king of England, overcame the Scots and Northumbers, the which submitted themselves to him and swore him fealtie. Also **Edgar** king of England vanquished **Kingeth** the son of **Alpine** king of Scotland, who swore fealtie to him. Likewise **Canute** king of England and Denmarke, in the 106 yeare of his reigne overcame **Malcolme** king of Scots, & so became king of foure kingdoms, England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norwaie.

Furthermore, that blessed king **S. Edward**, gaue the kingdome of Scotland unto **Malcolme** the sonne of the king of Cumberland, to hold the same of him. Again, **William** Bassard the Norman conqueror, in the first yeare of his reigne vanquished **Malcolme** king of Scotland, and receiued of him an oth of fealtie. Also, **Will. Rufus** did the like unto **Malcolme** king of Scots, and two of his sonnes that successorie reigned ouer that realme. Also, **Alexander** succeeded his brother **Edgar** in the kingdome of Scotland, by consent of **S. Henrie** the first. Also **David** king of Scotland did homage to **S. Stephen**, & **William** B. of Scots did homage to **Henrie**, the son of **S. Henrie** the second, when in his fathers life time he was crowned; and againe, to **Henrie** the father in the 20 yeare of his reigne, as by an agreement made betwixt them two it both appeare. Also, **Roger Houeden** saith, that **William** king of Scotland came to his soueraigne lord king **Henrie** into Normandie, and likewise to king **Richard**, and moreover to king **John** at **Lincolne**, doing to them his homage. Also, in the chronicles of **S. Albons** it is found, that **Alexander** king of Scotland married at **Porke** **Margaret** the daughter of king **Henrie** the third, in the 35 yeare of his reigne, and did to him homage.

And further, when king **Edward** himselfe was crowned at **Westminster**, in the yeare of our Lord 1274, being the second of his reigne, the last deceased **K. of Scotland**, **Alexander** the third of that name did homage unto him at **Westminster** the moxio after the coronation. All which homages and fealties thus done by sundrie kings of Scotland, unto sundrie kings of England, were direct and most manifestly proued to be done for the realme of Scotland, and not onelie for the lands which they held of the kings of England within England, as the Scottish writers would seeme to colour the matter. But things bring then first in memorie, no such confirmation might be ascribed. And so hereupon king **Edwards** title being substantiated proued, he was recognised superior lord of Scotland, of all them that pretended title at that time to that kingdome, by writings thereof made and confirmed under their

seales, the which being written in French contained matter as here followeth.

The copie of the charter in French.



Tous ceulx, qui ceste presente lettre verrunt ou oirunt, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Jehan Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Jehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuennne, Jehan Comin seigneur de Badenaugh, Patrique de Dunbar counte de la Marche, Jehan de Vescy pur son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaum de Ros, salut en dieu. Come nous entendons d'auger droyt en reume d'Escoce, & celle droyt monstrier, chalēger, & auer denant celuy, que plus de poer, iurisdiction, & reeson, eust de trier nostre droyt, & l' noble prince sire Edward par la grace de dieu, roy d' Angleterre, nous a enforme per bonnes & suffisant reesons, que aluy apent, & auer doit la souerein seigneurie, du dit reume d' Escoce, & la cognissance de oir, trier & terminer nostre droyt. Nous de nostre propre voluntē sanz nulle maniere de force ou destresse, volons, oirons, & grantons de receiurē droyt deuant luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre. Et volons a lemeins, & promettons, que nous auerons, & tendrons, ferme, & estable son fait, & que celuy emportera le reume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. En testimoigne de ceste chose, nous auons mis nous seales a ceste escript. Fait & donné a Norham, le mardi prochain apres la Ascension, l'an de Grace, 1291.

In English thus.



Of all them that these present letters shall see or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Anandale, John Comin lord of Badenaugh, Patrike de Dunbar earle of March, John de Baliol lord of Gallowaie, John Hastings lord of Abergeuennie, John de Vescy in stead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, & Walter Ros, send greeting in our Lord. Whereas we intend to haue right in the kingdome of Scotland, and intend to declare, chalenge and proue the same before him that hath the best authoritie, iurisdiction and reason to examine our right; and that the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, by good and sufficient reasons hath informed vs, that the superior dominion of Scotland belongeth to him, and that he ought to haue the knowledge in the hearing, examining, and defining of our right, we of our free willes, without all violence and constraint, will, consent and grant, to receiue our right before him, as the superior lord of the land. We will also & promise, that we shall haue and hold his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall haue the kingdome, vnto whom before him best right shall assigne the same. In witness whereof we haue to these letters put our seales. Given at Norham, the tuesday next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

The recognising therefore made of the superiority and submission of grant to rector that, which before the king of England should by law be defined, the said

saïd king required to haue the castels, and the whole land deliuered into his possession, that by peaceable seizine thereof had, his right of superiourtie not recognised by their letters and writings, might be the more manifest and apparent to the whole world. They straightwaies agreed to the kings request, and writings thereof were made and confirmed with their seales, being written in French, as followeth.

The copie of the second charter
touching the possession of the
land, in French.

A Tous iceulx, que ceste presente lettre verrunt ou orront, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Jehan de Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Jehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuenny, Jehan Comin seigneur de Badenaw, Patrique Dunbar counte de la Marche, Jehan de Vescy, pour son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guillaume de Ros, saluz en dieu. Come nous aions otrie, & graunte, de nostre bonne volunté, & comune assent sans nulle destresse, a noble prince sire Edward, par la grace de dieu, roy de Angleterre quil come souerein seig. de la terre de Escocce puisse oir trier, & terminer nos chalenges, & nos demandes, que nos entendons monstrier, & auerrier pur nostre droyt en la reume de Escoces & droyt receiuer deuant luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre, promettons ia lemans que son fait auerons & tendrons ferme & estable, & qu'il emportera le reume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy.

Mes pour ce que lauandict roy de Ang. ne puiſt nulle manier conuſance faire ne a complier ſauns iugement, ne iugement doit estre ſauns execution, ne execution ne peut il faire duement, ſauns la possession, & seysine de meſme la terre, & de chasteaux. Nous volons, otrions, & grantons, quil come souereine seigneur, a par faire les choses auant dictes, ait la seysine de toute la meſme terre, & de chasteaux de Escocce, tant que droyt soit fait & perſourme, as demandans en tiel maniere, que auant ceo qu'il eit le seysine auant dict face bone ſeuerte, & ſuffiſante as demandans & as gardiens, & a la commune du reume d' Escocce, a faire la reuerſion de meſme le reume, & de chasteaux, oue toute la royauté, dignité, seignourie, franchises, conſtomes, droitures, leys, vsages, & possessions, & touz manieres des apurtenances, en meſme le eſtate, quilz estoient quant la seysine luy fust baillee, & luereé a celui que le droyt emportera par iugement de ſa royauté, ſauue au roy d' Angleterre le homaige de celui, qui ſerra rey. X ſint quella reuerſion ſoit fait dedans les deux moys apres le iour que le droyt ſera trié & affirmé. Et que les iſſues de meſme la terre en le moys temps reſceus ſoient ſauement mis en depos & bien gardés par la main le chamberleyn d' Escocce que ora eit, & de celui qui ſerra assigne a luy de par le roy d' Angleterre, & de ſous leur ſeaus ſauue reſtable ſuſtenance de la terre, & des chasteaux & des ministres du royaume. En teſtimoine de ceſtes choses auandict nous auons mis nos ſeales a ceſte eſcript. Fait & donne a Norham le mercredy prochain apres l'Ascension de J. an de Grace, 1291.

The ſaïre in Engliſh.

TO all them that theſe preſent writings ſhall ſee or heare, Florence counte of 1291.

land, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn de Balioll lord of Galloway, Iohn Hastings lord of Abergeuenny, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbarre the earle of March, Iohn de Vescy in ſtead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, William de Ros, ſend greeting in our lord. Bicaufe that of our good will and common aſſent, without all constraint, we doo conſent and grant vnto the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he as ſuperiour lord of Scotland, may heare, examine, define and determine our claimes, chalenges, and petitions, which we intend to ſhew and prooue for our right, to be receiued before him as ſuperiour lord of the land, promiſing moreouer, that we ſhall take his deed for firme and ſtable, and that he ſhall inioy the kingdome of Scotland, whoſe right ſhall by declaration beſt appear before him.

Whereas then the ſaid king of England cannot in this manner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meahings without iudgement, nor iudgement ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme be doone without poſſeſſion and ſeizine of the ſaid land and caſtels of the ſame; we will, conſent, and grant, that he as ſuperiour lord to performe the premisses may haue the ſeizine of all the land and caſtels of the ſame, till they that pretend title to the crowne be ſatiſfied in their ſuit, ſo that before he be put in poſſeſſion and ſeizine, he find ſufficient ſuertie to vs that pretend title, and to the wardens, and to all the communalitie of the kingdome of Scotland, that he ſhall reſtore the ſame kingdome with all the roialtie, dignitie, ſeigniorie, liberties, cuſtomes, rights, lawes, viages, poſſeſſions, and all and whatſoeuer the apurtenances, in the ſame ſtate wherein they were before the ſeizine to him deliuered, vnto him to whome by right it is due, according to the iudgement of his regalitie, ſauing to him the homaige of that perſon that ſhall be king; and this reſtitution to be made within two moneths after the daie in the which the right ſhall be diſcuſſed and eſtabliſhed, the iſſues of the ſame land in the meane time ſhall be receiued, laid vp, and put in ſafe keeping, in the hands of the chamberlaine of Scotland which now is, and of him, whome the king of England ſhall to him assigne, and this vnder their ſeales, reſeruing and allowing the reaſonable charges for the ſuſtentation of the land, the caſtels and officers of the kingdome. In witneſſe of all the which premisses, we haue vnto theſe letters ſet our ſeales. Given at Norham the wedneſday next after the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

Theſe two letters the king of England ſent vnder his priue ſeale vnto diuerſe monaſteries within his realme in the 10th pere of his reigne, that in perpetuall memorie of the thing thus paſſed, it might be regiſtered in their chronicles. Thus by the common aſſent of the cheſell of the lords in Scotland, king Edward reſtored the land into his cuſtodie, till by due and lawfull triall had, it might apere who was rightfull heire to the crowne there. The homaige or ſealthe of the nobles of Scotland was expreſſed in words as followeth.

Rich. South.

The

The forme and tenor of the homage doone by the Scots.



I cause all we are come unto the allegiance of the noble prince Edward king of England, we promise for us and our heires, upon all the danger that we may incurre, that we shall be faithfull, & loiallie hold of him against all manner of mortall men, and that we shall not vnderstand of any damage that may come to the king, nor to his heires, but we shall staie and impeach the same to our powers. And to this we bind our selues & our heires, and are swozne upon the euangelists to performe the same. Besides this, we haue done fealtie unto our soueraigne lord the said king in these words ech one by himselfe; I shall be true and faithfull, and faith and loialtie I shall beare to the king of England Edward and his heires, of life, member, and worldlie honour against all mortall creatures.

After Stephen
phantons
booke of Re-
cord.

wardens of
the realme of
Scotland ap-
pointed by
Edward.

The bishop of
Cathness elec-
ted chancelor
of Scotland.

He receiveth
his seale.

He is swozne.

The wardens
swozne.

The Scottish
nobilitie doth
fealtie to king
Edward.

The king hauing receiued as well the possessions of the realme, castles, manours, as other places belonging to the crowne of Scotland, he committed the gouernement and custodie of the realme vnto the bishops of S. Andrewis and Glasco, to the lords John Comin, and James Steward, who had put him in possession, so that vnder him they held the same, in manner as they had done before. But in diuerse castles he placed such capteines as he thought most meete to keepe them to his vse, till he had ended the controuersie, & placed him in the kingdome, to whom of right it belonged. He also willed the lords of Scotland to elect a sufficient personage to be chancelour of the realme, which they did, naming Alane bishop of Cathness, whom the king admitted, joining with him one of his chapleins named Walter Armundesham, so that on the 12 of June, vpon the greene ouer against the the castell of Roxham, nere to the riuer of Tweed, in the parish of Wpsetelington, before John Balliol, Robert Bruce, the bishops of S. Andrewis and Glasco, the lords Comin and Steward, wardens of Scotland; the bishop of Cathness receiued his seale, appointed him by the king of England as supreme lord of Scotland, and there both the said bishop & Walter Armundesham were swozne trulie to gouerne themselves in the office.

The morrow after were the wardens swozne and with them as associated Brian Fitz Alane, and there all the earles and lords of Scotland that were present swore fealtie vnto king Edward, as to their supreme soueraigne lord, and withall there was peace proclaimed, and publike edicts set forth in the name of the same king, intituled supreme lord of the realme of Scotland. The residue of the Scottish nobilitie, earles, barons, knights, and others, with the bishops and abbats, vpon his coming into Scotland, swore fealtie either to himselfe in person, or to such as he appointed his deputies to receiue the same, in sundrie towns and places, according to order giuen in that behalfe. Such as refused to do their fealties, were attached by their bodies till they should do their fealties as they were bound. Those that came till, but excused themselves vpon some reasonable cause, were heard, and had day giuen vntill the next parlement, but such as neither came, nor made any reasonable excuse, were appointed to be distrained to come.

The bishop of S. Andrewis, and John lord Comin of Badenoch, with Brian Fitz Alane, were assigned to receiue such fealties at S. Johns towne. The bi-

shop of Glasco, James lord steward of Scotland, and Nicholas Segraue were appointed to receiue them at Newcastle of Ire. The earle of Southerland, and the shiriffe of that countie, with his bailiffs, and the chetelaine of Inuerness were ordeined to receiue those fealties in that countie; the chetelaine first to receiue it of the said earle, and then he with his said associats to receiue the same of others. The lord William de Saintclare, and William de Bomille, were appointed to receiue fealtie of the bishop of Whiterne, and then the said bishop with them to receiue the fealties of all the inhabitants of Gallowaie. Amongst other that did their homage to the king himselfe, was Marie quene of Spain, and countesse of Stratherne, vpon the 24 daie of Julie, the king being thus in S. Johns towne, other wise called Perth. To conclude, he was put in full possession of the realme of Scotland, & receiued there homages and fealties (as before ye haue heard) as the direct and supreme lord of that land.

This done, and euerie thing ordered as seemed most expedient, king Edward returned into the south parts of his realme, to be at his mothers buriall, that in this meane time was departed this life. His hart was buried in the church of the Graffriers at London, & his bodie at Ambzeshurte in the house of the nunnies. After the funerals were ended, king Edward returned into the north parts againe; he staid a while at Roxke, and during his abode there, was by order of law condemned & executed. This yeare after Easter, as the flēt late before S. Mathewes in Brittain, there rose certeine discord betwixt the Norman mariners, and them of Balon, and so farre the quarell increased, that they fell to frite it by force, the Englishmen assisting them of Balon, and the French kings subjects taking part with the Normans, and now they fraught not their ships so much with merchandize as with armour & weapon. At length the matter burst out from sparkes into open flame, the sequels wherof hereafter shall appeare, as we find it reported by writers.

But now touching the Scottish affaires. At length the king comming into Scotland, gaue summons to all those that claimed the crowne, to appeare before him at the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist next ensuing, that they might declare more at large by what right they claimed the kingdome. Vpon, when the daie of their appearance was come, and that king Edward was ready to heare the matter, he chose out the number of 40 persons, the one halfe Englishmen, and the other Scottishmen, which should discourse with aduised deliberation and great diligence the allegations of the competitors, deferring the final sentence vnto the feast of S. Michael next ensuing, the which feast being come, after due examination, full trial, and assured knowledge had of the right, the kingdome by all their assents was adjudged vnto John Balliol, who descended of the eldest daughter of David king of Scotland. Robert Bruce, betwixt whom and the same Balliol at length (the other being excluded) the question and trial anlie rested, was descended of the second daughter of king David, though other wise by one degree he was nearer to him in blood. Thus writeth Nicholas Trivet.

But others affirme, that after long disputation in the matter, by order of king Edward, there were appointed 80 ancient and graue personages, amongst the which were 30 Englishmen, vnto whom (being swozne and admonished to haue God before their eyes) authoritie was giuen to name him that should be king. These 80 persons, after they had well considered vnto whome the right appertained, declared with one voice, that John Balliol was rightful king.

King

The kings
mother was
creased.

Anno Reg. E
1292
Nic. Trin.

John Balliol
obtaineth the
kingdome of
Scotland.

Nic. Trin.

Polydot.

king Edward allowed their sentence, and by his authority confirmed unto the same John, the possession of the kingdome of Scotland, with condition that if he did not gouerne that realme with iustice, then upon complaint, the king of England might put vnto his hand of reformation, as he was bound to do by his right of superiourtie, that in him was inuested. Whereupon king Edward awarded forth his writ of delinerie of seizine at the suit of the said J. Balioll, to William and Robert, bishops of S. Andrewes and Glasco, to John lord Comin, James lord Steward of Scotland, and to the lord Brian Fitz Alane, wardens of Scotland, commanding them to deliuer vnto the said John Balioll the seizine and possession of that realme, sauing the releases and debts due to him of the issues and profits of the same realme, vnto the day of the date of the writ, which was the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the twentieth yere of his reigne. Also there was another writ made, and directed to such as had the keeping of the castels in their hands, 20 in forme as followeth.

The copie of the writ for the deli-
uerie of the castels.



Edwardus Dei gratia rex Anglia, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitania, & superior dominus regni Scotia, dilecto & fideli suo Petro Burdet, constabulario castri de Berwike salutem. Cum Iohannes de Baliolo nuper in parlamento nostro apud Berwicum super Tuedam, venisset coram nobis, & petuisset predictum regnum Scotia sibi per nos adiudicari, & seisinam ipsius regni ut propinquiori heredi Margareta filie regis Norwegie dominie Scotia iure successionis liberari, ac nos auditis & intellectis petitionibus, & rationibus diligentur examinatis, inuenerimus prefatum Iohannem de Baliolo esse propinquiorem heredem predictae Margaretae, quo ad predictum regnum Scotia obtinendum: propter quod idem regnum Scotia, & seisinam eiusdem, saluo iure nostro, & heredum nostrorum, cum voluerimus inde loqui, predicto Iohanni reddidimus: tibi mandamus quod seisinam predicti castri de Berwico cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, una cum alijs omnibus rebus tibi per chirographum traditis, secundum quod in predicti castri tibi commissa custodia res huiusmodi recepisti, sine dilacione prefato Iohanni de Baliolo, vel attornatis suis has litteras deferentibus, delibere facias. Teste meipso apud Berwicum super Tuedam, 19 die Nouembris, Anno regni nostri 20.

In English thus.



Edward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, and superiour lord of the realme of Scotland, to his welbeloued and faithfull seruant Peter Burdet constable of the castell of Berwike, sendeth greeting. Where Iohn de Balioll late in parlement holden at Berwike vpon Tweed, came before vs, and demanded the said realme of Scotland to be adjudged to him by vs, and seizine of the same realme to be to him deliuered as next heire to Margaret daughter to the king of Norwaie, ladie of Scotland by right of succession. We hauing heard and vnderstood the same petitions; and reasons being

diligentlie weighed and examined, we had the said Iohn Balioll to be next heire vnto the said Margaret, as to obtaine the said kingdome of Scotland, whervpon we haue deliuered to him the said kingdome of Scotland, and the seizine therof, sauing the right of vs & our heires, when it shall please vs to speake therof. We therefore command you, that you deliuer vp vnto the said Iohn Balioll, or to his attornies, that shall bring with them these our present letters, the seizine of the said castell of Berwike, with all the appurtenances, together with all other things to you by indenture deliuered accordinglie as you did receiue the same, with the custodie of the said castle to you committed: and this without delaie. Witnesse our selfe at Berwike vpon Tweed the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the twentieth yere of our reigne.

In the same forme of words were writs awarded forth, to all and euerie other the keepers of castels and manors belonging to the crowne of Scotland, and being at that time in R. Edwards hands, the names of places and the persons that had them in custodie onelie changed. On the same day also in the castell of Berwike was the scale broken, which had bene appointed to the gouernors, during the time that the realme was vacant of a king. It was broken into 30 foure parts, and put into a purse to be referred in the treasure of the king of England, in further and more full token of his superiourtie and direct supreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland.

These things were done in presence of the said John Balioll then king of Scotland, John archbishop of Dublin, John bishop of Winchester, Anthonie bishop of Duresme, William bishop of Elic, John bishop of Carleil, William bishop of S. Andrewes, Robert bishop of Glasco, Marke bishop of Man, and Henrie bishop of Aberdene, with diuerse other bishops, besides abbats and priors of both the realmes; Henrie earle of Lincolne, Humfrie earle of Hereford, Roger earle of Norfolk, John earle of Buchquane, Douenald earle of Mar, Gilbert earle of Angus, Patrike earle of March, and Malissus earle of Stratherne; with the foure and fientie auditors of England, and the foure score auditors of Scotland: chapleins also, Henrie de Actmarke beane of Porke, John Lacie chancellour of Chichester, William de Grenefeld canon of Porke, and John Crecutle notarie, and manie other. John Balioll being thus created k. of Scotland, on the twentieth day of Nouember, in the castell of Forham, did fealtie to king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland, in maner as followeth.

The forme of the fealtie of Iohn Balioll
king of Scots to the king of England
in protestation.



His heare you my lord Edward king of England, souereigne lord of the realme of Scotland, that I John de Balioll king of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, that I shall be faithfull and loiall, and owe faith and loialtie to you, I shall beare of life and member, and of earthlie honour, against all people, and lawfullie I shall acknowledge and do the seruices which I owe to do to you, for the realme of Scotland aforesaid. So God me helpe and his holie euangelists.

Hercof

The king
other de-
ailed.

ino Reg. 11,
1 292
c. Triuc.

n Balioll
meth the
dome of
Hland.

riuc.

or.

The scale
broken.

Anno Reg. 21.
John Balioll
crowned king
of Scotland.

Which also he made letters patents, witnessing that he had thus done fealtie unto king Edward, which letters he sealed and deliuered in presence of William bishop of saint Andrews, Robert bishop of Glasco, John earle of Bouchquane, William earle of Ross, Patrike earle of March, Walter earle of Wenteth, James lord steward of Scotland, Alexander de Ergay, Alexander de Balioll lord of Caures, Patrike de Graham, and William de Saintclere. This done, king Edward appointed Anthontie bishop of Duresme, and the lord John saint John to passe with Balioll into Scotland, and there to put him into the copozall possession of the same realme of Scotland, which they did, and so he was crowned at Scone vpon saint Andrews day, being placed in the marble chaire within the abbeye church there. The solemnitie of which coronation being ended, he returned into England, and comming to Newcastle vpon Tyne, where R. Edward in that yeare kept his Christmasse, he there did homage vpon saint Stephens daie vnto the said king Edward, in forme of words as followeth.

The forme of the king of Scots homage to king Edward, in action.

M lord, lord Edward king of England, superior lord of Scotland, I John de Balioll king of Scotland, do acknowledge and recognize me to be your liegeman of the whole realme of Scotland, with all the appurtenances, and whatsoever belongeth thereto, the which kingdome I hold and ought of right and claime to hold by inheritance of you and your heires kings of England, and I shall beare faith and loialtie to you and to your heires kings of England, of life, of member, and earthlie honour, against all men, which may liue and die.

1292

Richard
Bagley.
A prisoner
rescued.

The offend-
ers lost their
hand.
A great snow
and tempest of
wind in Gaie
The archbi-
shop of Can-
terburie de-
ceased.

The kings
daughter mar-
ried to the
earle of Bar.

war betwixt
England and
France.

Two Eng-
lish ships ta-
ken.

This homage in forme aforesaid bsd king Edward receiue, his owne and others right saued. Then did the king of England without delaie ressoe vnto the said John Balioll the kingdome of Scotland, with all the appurtenances. This yeare, as one Richard Bagley an officer of the shiriffes of London led a prisoner towards the galle, thre persons rescued the said prisoner, and toke him from the officer, the which were pursued and taken, and by iudgement of law then vied, were brought into Westchape, and there had their hands striken off by the wylles. On the 14 daie of Maie fell a wonderfull snow, and therewith blew such an exceeding wind, that great harme was done thereby in sundrie places of England. In the same yeare died frer John Beckham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was Robert of Winchelsie elected archbishop the 48 in number that had ruled that se. About the middle of September following, the earle of Bar a Frenchman, married the ladie Elianor, the kings daughter in the towne of Wyroto. This yeare wheat was sold at London for two shillings a bushell.

This yeare also the war was begun betwene the kings of England and France. For whereas king Edward had furnished forth six ships of warre, and sent them vnto Burdeaur for defense of the coasts thereabouts, two of them, as they sailed alongst the coast of Normandie, and fearing no hurt by enemies, were taken by the Norman fleet, and diuerse of the mariners hanged. The lord Robert Tiptoft that was admerall of the English fleet aduertised thereof, got together a great number of ships, and directed

his course with them streight towards Normandie, and finding no ships of the Normans abroad in the seas, vpon a desire to be reuenged, entered the mouth of the riuer of Saine, and set vpon the Norman ships that laie there at anchor, slue manie of the mariners, & toke six ships auaite with him, and so returning to the sea againe, cast anchor not far off from the land, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forth with their fleet to giue battell. And as he laie at anchor, it chanced that certeine Norman ships fraught with wine came that waies, as they returned out of Gascoigne. The lord Tiptoft setting on them, toke them with little adu, and sleating nere hand the thurd part of all the mariners, sent the ships into England.

The Frenchmen to reuenge this act, prepared a nauie, and furnishing the same with souldiers went forth to the sea, to incounter the Englishmen: but yer they met, messengers were sent to and fro, the Englishmen accusing the Frenchmen of truce-breaking, and the Frenchmen againe requiring restitution of their goods taken from them by violence. And now so much as this businesse had bene moued rashlie betwixt the Englishmen and the Normans, without any commission of their princes, their minds therefore were not so kindled in displeasure, but that there had ben good hope of agreement betwixt them, if Charles earle of Walois the French kings brother (being a man of a hot nature & desirous of reuenge) had not procured his brother to seeke reuengement by force of armes. Wherevpon the French fleet made toward the Englishmen, who minding not to detract the battell, sharplie incountred their enemies in a certeine place betwixt England and Normandie, where they had laid a great emptie ship at anchor, to giue token where they meant to ioine. There were with the Englishmen both Irishmen and Hollanders, and with the Normans there were Frenchmen and Flemings, and certeine vessels of Genouaies.

The fight at the first was doubtfull, and great slaughter made, as in the meeting of two such mighty nauies must needs insue. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the Englishmen, and the French ships put to the chase and scattered abroad. The number of ships lost is not recorded by such writers as make report of this conflict, but they write that the losse was great. King Philip being aduertised of this discomfiture of his fleet was sore displeased, and as though he would proceed against king Edward by order of law, he summoned him as his liegeman to appeare at Paris, to answer what might be objected against him; but withall because he knew that king Edward would not come to make his appearance, he prepared an armie.

In the meane time king Edward sent his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster to be his attornie, and to make answer for him before all such iudges as might haue hearing of the matter: but the iudges meaning nothing lesse than to trie out the truth of the cause, admitted no reasons that the earle could alledge in his brothers behalfe, and so pronounced king Edward a rebell, and decreed by arrest, that he had forfeited all his right vnto the duchie of Guien. These things thus done, he sent priue messengers vnto Burdeaur, to procure the citizens to revolt from the Englishmen, and appointed constable of France the lord Arnold de Beale to follow with an armie, who comming thither easilie brought them of Burdeaur vnder the French dominion, being already inclined to revolt through praifse of those that were lately before sent vnto them from the French king for that purpose. After this, the said constable brought the people nere adjoining vnder subiection, partly moued by the example of the chase and head citie of all the countrie, and partly induced thereto by

Charles earle
of Walois
cureth
betwixt Eng-
land and
France.

The Eng-
lish men
by sea.

R. Edward
summoned to
appear at
Paris.

Edward earle
of Lancaster
sent to the
French king.

R. Edward
condemned in
the French
kings court.

Arnold de
Beale sent
into Gas-
cogne with
an armie.

The bishop
London
with an
swor vnto
French

N. Triu

Henrie
of Lanc

The lord ab
merall of Eng
land setteth
vpo the ship
man ship.

N. Triuet.

Henrie earle
of Lincolne.

Charles earle
of Wales you
reth warre
twixt Eng-
nd and
France.

ye English
n victory
lea.

Edward
moned to
care of
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ward earle
an after
to the
rich king.

Edward
emmed in
French
court.

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bybes and large gifts. The Englishmen that were in the countrie, after they perceiued that the people did thus reuolt to the French king, withdrew incontinentlie vnto the towne situate nere to the sea side, but speciallie they fled to a towne called the Rioll, which they fortified with all speed. Thus saith Polydor.

Nicholas Triuet, writing hereof, declareth the beginning of this warre to be on this manner. The English merchants being diuerslie vexed vpon the seas, made complaint to the king for losse of their merchandise. The king sent Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne vnto the French king, instantlie requiring, that by his assent there might some waie be provided with speed by them and their counsell, for some competent remedie touching such harmes and losses by sea as his people had susteind. In the meane time whilst the earle taried for answer, a nauie of the parts of Fozmanbie containing two hundred ships and aboue, being assembled together, that they might the more boldlie assaile their enemies, and the more valiantlie resist such as should encounter them, failed into Gascoigne, determining to destitute all those of their aduersaries that should come in their waie. But as these Fozmane ships returned backe with wines, glorieng as it were that they had got the rule of the sea onelie to themselves, they were assailed by thre score English ships, which toke them, & brought them into England the Friday before Whitlunday: all the men were either drowned or slaine, those onelie escaped which made shift to escape by boates. The newes hereof being brought into France, did not so much moue the king and the counsell to wonder at the matter, as to take thereof great indignation.

Ambassadors were appointed to go into England which on the behalfe of the French king, might demand of king Edward restitution of those ships and goods thus taken by his subiects, and conueied into his realme, without all delaie, if he minded to haue any fauour in the French court touching his affairs that belonged to his countrie of Gascoigne. The king of England hearing this message, toke therein deliberation to answer, and then sent the bishop of London, accompanied with other wise and discret persons into France, to declare for answer vnto the

French king and his counsell as followeth; that is, Whereas the king of England hath his regall court without subiection to any man, if there were there for any persons that found themselves hurt or indamaged by his people, they might come to his court, and vpon declaration of their receiued iniuries, they should haue speedie iustice, and to the end they might thus doe without all danger, whosoever minded to complaine, he would giue vnto them a safe conduct to come and go in safetie thorough his land: but if this waie pleased not the French king, then he was content there should be arbitrators chosen on both sides, who weighing the losses on both parts, might provide how to satisfie the complaints: and the king of England would for his part enter in to bonds by obligation to stand to and abide their order and iudgement herein, so that the French king would likelie be bound for his part, and if any such doubt fortuned to arise, which could not be decided by the said arbitrators, let the same be referred vnto the kings themselves to discusse and determine, and the king of England vpon a sufficient safe conduct had, would come ouer to the French king, if he would come downe vnto any haven towne nere to the sea coast, that by mutuall assent an end might be had in the businesse: but if neither this waie should please the French king nor the other, then let the matter be committed to the order of the pope, to whom it appertained to nourish concord among

christian princes, or because the sea was as then boist, let the whole colledge of cardinals or part of them take order therein, as should be thought necessarie, that strife and discord being taken awaie and removed, peace might againe flourish betwixt them and their people, as before time it had done, and bring with it the blessings therevpon depending; namelie, althings that may make an happie & fortunat state, according to the nature of peace, whereof it is said,

*Pax est cunctorum mater veneranda bonorum,
Fit sub pace forum, fit felix cultus agrorum,
Pax pietas mentis, pax est pincerna salutis.*

The French counsell weied nothing at all these offers, and would not so much as once bouchsafe to giue an answer to the English ambassadors earnestlie requiring the same. Finallie, the French king sent vnto the citie of Anion, which is knowne to belong vnto the dutchie of Guen, where he there caused the king of England to be cited to make his appearance at Paris, at a certeine daie, to answer to the iniuries and rebellions by him done in the countrie of Gascoigne, at the which daie when he appeared not, the French king sitting in the seat of iudgement in his owne proper person, gaue sentence there against the king of England, for making default, and withall commanded the high constable of France to seize into his hands all the dutchie of Guen, and either to take or to erpell all the king of Englands officers, souldiers, and deputies, which were by him placed within the said dutchie. The king a little before had sent thither a valiant knight, named the lord John saint John, which had furnished all the cities, towne, castels, and places, with men, munition, and vittels, for defense of the same.

In the meane time the king of England, desirous to be at quiet with the Frenchmen, appointed his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, as then sojourning in France, to go vnto the French kings counsell to procure some agreement, which both might be allowed of the French king, and not be dishonorable vnto him. But when the earle could not preuaile in his sute, he toke his iourne towards England, utterlie despairing to procure any peace. But ver he came to the sea side, he was sent for backe againe by the two quenes of France, Ione wife to king Philip, and Marie his mother in law, which promised to frame some accord betwene the two kings, and so therevpon after diuerse communications by them had in the matter with the said earle of Lancaster, at length it was accorded, that for the sauing of the French kings honour, which seemed to be touched by things done by the king of Englands ministers in Gascoigne, six castels should remaine at the said kings pleasure, as Sandes, Talemond, Turnim, Pomeroll, Penne, and mount Flaunton. Also there should be set a seruant or sergeant in the French kings name, in euerie citie and castell within all the whole dutchie of Guen, except Burdeaux, Balon, and the Rioll. And further, hostages should be deliuered at the French kings pleasure, of all ministers to be placed by the king of England in Gascoigne and other places through all the country. These things done, the French king should reuoke the summons published and pronounced in the court of Paris against the king of England. Also he should restore all the castels (his seruants being removed which he had placed in the same) together with the pledges incontinentlie, at the request of the same quenes, or of either of them. The king of England hauing a safe conduct should come to Amiens, that there meeting with the French king, peace and amitie might be confirmed betwixt them. Then were there writings made and ingrossed touching the foresaid articles of agreement, one part deliuered to the

The king of
England ci-
ted to appare

Sentence
giuen against
the king of
England.

Anno Reg. 22.

I 294

The peace of
the quenes.

Letters pa-
tents.

earle, sealed with the scales of the quenes, and other remained with the foresaid quenes sealed with the scale of the earle.

The king of England certified hereof, sent his letters patents, directed unto all his officers and ministers in Gascoigne, commanding them to obey in all things the French kings pleasure. These letters patents were first sent unto the earle of Lancaster, that he might cause them to be conveyed into Gascoigne when he should see time. The earle having received those letters, doubting whether the French king would observe the agreement which the quenes had made and concluded, or not; required of them that he might hear the French king speake the word, that he would stand unto that which they had concluded. Whereupon in the presence of the said earle and his wife Blanch quene of Navar, mother to the French quene, also of the duke of Burgoigne, Hugh were sonne to the earle of Hereford, and of a chaplain called sir John Lacie, the French king promised by the faith of a prince, that he would fulfill the promises of the said quenes, and the covenants by them accorded.

Sir Geoffrey
Langley.

Whereupon a knight of the earles of Lancaster, called sir Geoffrey de Langley, was speedily sent into Gascoigne with letters from the French king, directed to the constable, to call him backe againe from his appointed enterpryse. And the foresaid chaplain sir John Lacie was sent also thither with the letters patents of the king of England, directed unto his officers there, in forme as is above mentioned, whereupon the lord John saint John the king of Englands lieutenant in Gascoigne, understanding the conclusions of the agreement, sold all such provisions as he had made and brought into the cities, townes, and fortresses for the defense of the same, and departing out of Gascoigne, came towards Paris to returne that waie into England.

The French
kings mind
changed.

But behold what followed; suddenly by the envie of peace was the French kings mind quite changed. And where the king of England was come unto Canturburie, and kept his Court there, that immediately upon the receipt of the safe conduct he might transport over the seas, and so come to Amiens, according to the appointment made by the agreement; now not onelie the safe conduct was denied, but also the first letters renocatorie sent unto the constable to call him backe, by other letters sent after were also made void, and he by the latter letters appointed to keepe upon his journey, so that the constable entering into Gascoigne with a power, found no resistance, the captains and officers submitting themselves with the townes and fortresses at his pleasure according to the tenor of the letters patents latelie to them delivered. All the officers and captains of the fortresses were brought to Paris as captives and pledges.

This must
dealing.

Within a few daies after, the earle of Lancaster required the quenes, that they would call upon the king to grant his safe conduct for the king of England, to revoke the citation or summons, to restore the lands taken from him; and to deliver the pledges: but the French king by the mouths of certaine knights sent unto the earle, renounced all such covenants as before had bene concluded. The earle of Lancaster then perceiving that both he and his brother king Edward were mocked thus at the French kings hands, returned into England, and informed the king & his counsell from point to point of all the matter. Whereupon a parlement being called at Westminster, at the which the king of Scotland was present, it was decreed by the states, that those lands which were crassilie taken so from the king should be recovered againe by the sword. And the

The French
king renounceth
what he had
said.

king herewith sent unto the French king a frier preacher named Hugh of Winchester, and a frier minor called William de Gainsborough, both being wise and discret men, and doctors of divinitie, to declare unto him, that sith he would not observe such agreements as had bene concluded betwixt their ancestors; and further had broken such covenants as were now of late agreed upon betwixt them, by the travail of his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster: there was no cause whie he ought to account him being king of England, and duke of Guien, as his liegeman, neither did he intend or meane further to be bound unto him by reason of his homage.

About the same time did the king of England send the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Duresme into Germanie, about the concluding of a league with Adolph king of Romans, to whom was given a great summe of monie (as was said) upon covenants, that he should aid the king of England against the French king, with all his maine force, and that neither of them should conclude peace with the said French king without consent of the other. About the Ascension tide, king Edward stated the woggles of this land, as well belonging to spirituall men as temporall men, till the merchants had fitted with him for the same, so that there was a subsidy paid for all sarpliers of wolle that went out of the reline, and in semblable wise for felles and hides. He also sent an armie by sea into Gascoigne, under the conduct of his nephew John of Britaine that was earle of Richmond, appointing to him as counsellours, the lord John saint John, and the lord Robert Cypriot; men of great wisdom, and verie expert in warlike enterprises.

He also caused three severall fleets to be prepared, and appointed to them three sundrie admirals, for the better keeping of the seas. To them of Harmonth and other of those parts, he assigned the lord John Botetourt: to them of the cinque ports, William de Leisborne; and to them of the west countrie, and to the Irishmen, he appointed a valiant knight of Ireland as their cheftaine. This yeare in England was a great dearth and scarcitie of coine, so that a quarter of wheat in many places was sold for thirtie shillings: by reason whereof poore people died in many places for lacke of sustenance. About Michaelmas, the English fleet took the sea at Portsmouth, and after some contrarie winds, yet at last they arrived within the river of Garon, and so passing by the same river, won divers townes, as Burge, Blaines, Rions, and others.

The kings coffers by reason of furnishing forth of this armie, and other continuall charges which he had sustained, were now in maner emptie: for remedie whereof, William March one of the kings treasurers, purposed with other mens losses to supplie that want. He knew that in abbeyes and churches was much monie kept in store, the which if he commanded to be taken from thence, he thought that he should not commit any offense, but rather do a good deed, that the monie might come abroad to the use of the people, whereby the soldiers might be satisfied for their wages. Such captains therefore, as he appointed to worke the feat, placing their soldiers in everie quarter through the realme, made search at one time, in Julie, at three of the clocke in the afternoon, for all such monie as was hid and laid up in all hallowed places, and taking the same a waie, brought it unto the king, who dissembling the matter, as he that stood in need, excused the act done by his treasurer so well as he could, to avoid the envie of the people; and not content herewith, he called together shortly after, to wit, on saint Matthews day the apostle, at London, all the archbishops, bishops, deanes, & archdeacons,

The king of
England re-
nounceth the
French king

The king of
England re-
nounceth the
French king

Wolles then
Fabian.

The king
of England
re-nounceth
the French
king

The king
of England
re-nounceth
the French
king

N. Triuer.

The king
of England
re-nounceth
the French
king

The king
of England
re-nounceth
the French
king

N. Triuer.

The king
of England
re-nounceth
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re-nounceth
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king

Dugh of An
cheiter a fine
sent to the
French king.

The king of
England re-
nounceth the
French king.

Embassadors
sent into Ger-
manie.

Wolles slain,
Fabian.

A subsidy
raised of wool.

An armie sent
to Calceygn.

N. Triuer.

Three ships
appointed to
the sea.

A death.
Rich. South.

The English
armie passeth
to Calceygn.
Thomas Wynt,
Nic. Triuer,
Polydor.
Abington.

March. Well.
A shift for
monie.

Abington.

The treasur-
er accused.

The R. com-
mish. humbled.
Abington.

The spirit-
ualie called to
a counsell.

Their offer
not liked.

The halfe
part of spirit-
ualie livings
granted to the
king.
R. Fabian,
Polydor,
Abington.

The prelates
require to
have the sta-
tute of Mort-
main repealed.

The R. shift-
eth them off.

N. Triuer.

The wellsh-
men are bused.

Spawoc.
Carnarvan
burnt.

Malgon.

Sporgan dy-
eth the earle
of Gloucester
out of Glamog-
ganshire.

The earles of
Lancaster &
Lincolne ban-
quished by the
wellshmen.

not in their proper persons, but by two procurators of euerie diocesse. Here when they were once assembled, the king declared unto them the warres which he was dyuen to mainteine against the Frenchmen, & the charges which he was at for the same. He also shewed them, that the earles, barons & knights of the realme, did not onlie aid him with their goods, but put their persons forward to serue him in defense of the land, whereof they were members, even to the shedding of their blood, and oftentimes with losse of their lines. Therefore (saith he) you which may not put your persons in perill by seruice in the warres, it is good reason you should aid us with your goods.

The cleargie hauing no speciall head, by reason that the see of Canturburie was void, wist not well how to gouerne themselves. At length Willielm bishop of Lincolne, required in all their names to haue three daies respite to make answer to the matter, the which time expired, they offered to the king two dismes to be paid within one yeare. The which when the king heard, he toke great dislike therewith, and threatened by some of his men of war to put the cleargie out of his protection, except they would grant to him the halfe of their goods. The cleargie put in feare herewith, and some of them also desirous to win the kings fauour, granted his request, and so the king at that time got the halfe part of euerie spiritual man's living and benefice for one yeares trespit, to be paid in portions within three yeares next ensuing, beginning at twentie marks benefice, & so upward. And the former to induce them hereunto, he promised the bishops to grant some thing that might be beneficiall to the cleargie, if they would demand it.

The bishops taking counsell together, required of him that the statute of Mortmain might be repealed, which they saw to be most prejudiciall to their order. But the king answered them, that without the whole consent of a parlement he could not breake that ordinance, which by authoritie of parlement had bene once established, and therefore he wished that they would not require that thing which laie not in him to grant, and so by that means he shifted them off. The spiritualtie was not onelie charged with this subsidy, but they of the temporaltie were also burthened. For the citizens and burgeses of good townes gaue to the king the first part of their goods, and the residue of the people gaue the tenth part.

Moreover, about the same time, the Wellshmen effronies rebelled against the king, and in diuerse parts made diuerse rulers amongst them. Those of Powyswales which inhabited about Snowdon hills, hauing to their capteine one Spawoc, of the line of their former prince Leolin, burned the towne and castell of Carnarvan, slaing a great multitude of Englishmen, which doubting no such matter, were come thither to the faire. Those of the west part hauing chosen to their ruler one Malgon on the parts of Denbroke and Carmardin shires, did much mischief. And one Sporgan hauing them of Southwales at his commandement, expelled and dyone the earle of Gloucester out of his countrie of Glamorgan, which earle had before time disherited the ancestors of the same Sporgan. The king therefore to repress the Wellshmens attempts, called backe his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, and the earle of Lincoln, being ready to haue sailed ouer into Gascoigne, the which earles as they approached nere unto the castell of Denbigh upon saint Martins day, the Wellshmen with great force incountred them, and giuing them battell, dyone them backe and discomfited their people. Polydor iudgeth that this ouerthrow happened to the Englishmen, the rather for that the armie was hired with such monie as had bene wrongfullie taken out of the abbies and other holie

places, howbeit it is but his opinion onelie.

The king kept his Christmase at Aberconwey in Wales, and hearing that the new archbishop of Canturburie, doctor Robert Winchelsey, being returned from Rome (where, of pope Celestine he had receiued his pall) was comming towards him, he sent one of his chapelaines named John Berwik with a power of souldiers to conduct him safely unto his presence. And after the archbishop had done his fealties to the king, accordingly as of dutie and custome he was bound, he was licenced to returne with great honour shewed unto him at the kings hands. Upon the day of the circumcission of our Lord, was the citie of Balgon rendred unto the lord John saint John, the which the day before had bene taken by the mariners by force of assault. Many of the citizens which were knowne to be cheefe enemies unto the king of England, were apprehended and sent into England. The castell was then besieged, and after eight daies taken. The lord of Aspermont with diuerse others that held it, were committed to prison. There were also taken two gallies, which the French king had caused to be made, and appointed to be remaining there vpon defense of that citie. Shortly after the towne of saint John de Sozdes was deliuered unto the Englishmen, who toan manie other townes and fortresses, some by surrender of their owne accord, and some by force and violence. The English armie greatlie increased within a while, after the decett of the Frenchmen once appeared, for the Gascoignes returned unto the English obedience, in such wise that foure thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen came to aid the English capteins.

In the meane time, the king of England passing ouer the river of Conwey, with part of his armie to go further into Wales towards Snowdon, lost manie carts and other cariages which were taken by the Wellshmen, being laden with the provisions of vittels, so that he with his people indured great penurie, and was constrained to drinke water mist with honte, and eat such course bread and salt fleshy as he could get, till the other part of the armie came unto him. There was a small quantitie of wine amongst them, which they would haue reserued onelie for the king, & therefore refused to tast thereof. But least they should repine at his extraordinary and seuerall fare, and so by conceits of discontentment for not hauing the like, he considered in a sympathie, that,

Quamala cum multis patimur, leniora uidentur.

saing, that in time of necessitie all things ought to be common, and all men to be contented with like diet. For as touching him (being the cause and procurer of their want) he would not be preferred before any of them in his meats and drinks. The Wellshmen compassed him about in hope to distresse him, for that the water was so risen, that the residue of his armie could not get to him. But shortly after, when the water fell, they came ouer to his aid, and there with the aduersaries fled.

The earle of Warwike, hearing that a great number of Wellshmen was assembled together, and lodged in a ballie betwixt two woods, he chose out a number of horsemen, with certeine crossbowes and archers, and comming vpon the Wellshmen in the night, compassed them round about, the which pitching the ends of their speares in the ground, and turning the points against their enemies, stood at defense so to keepe off the horsemen. But the earle hauing placed his battell so, that ever betwixt two horsemen there stood a crossbow, a great part of the Wellshmen which stood at defense in manner aforesaid with their speares, were ouerthrowne and broken with the shot of the quarels, and then the earle charged the residue with a troope of horsemen, and bare them

Anno Reg. 23.
1295

Balgon yielded to the Englishmen.

The castell of Balgon won.

Two French gallies taken.

Saint John de Sozdes.

The Gascoignes and the Englishmen.

The king encampeth into Wales.

Abington.

The earle of Warwike.
N. Triuer.

The wellshmen ouerthrowne by the earle of warwike.

them downe with such slaughter, as they had not susteined the like losse of people (as was thought) at any one time before.

The woods
in Wales cut
downe.

Seamarkie
built.

Madoc taken
prisoner.
Abington.

Welshmen
imprisoned.

Polydor.

Charles de
Walois chafeth
the English
men.

The Earle of
Richmond.

Kion besieged

Pontefey won.

In the meane while, king Edward to restraine the rebellious attempts of those Welshmen, caused the woods of Wales to be cut downe, wherein before time the Welshmen were accustomed to hide themselves in time of danger. He also repaired the castles and holds in that countrie, and builded some new, as the citie and castell of Bewmarke with other, so that the Welshmen constrained through hunger and famine, were enforced within a while to come to the kings peace. Also at length about the feast of saint Laurence, the Welshman Madoc, that took him selfe for prince of Wales was taken prisoner, and being brought to London was committed to perpetual prison. By some writers it should appeare, that Madoc was not taken, but rather after manie adventures & sundrie conflicts, when the Welshmen were brought to an issue of great extremitie; the said Madoc came in and submitted himselfe to the kings peace, and was receiued, upon condition that he should pursue Morgan till he had taken him and brought him to the kings prison, which was done, and so all things in those parts were set in rest and peace, and manie hostages of the chiefe amongst the Welsh nobilitie were deliuered to the king, who sent them to diuerse castles in England where they were safely kept almost to the end of the warres that followed with Scotland.

About the same time Charles de Walois brother to the French king, being sent with an armie into Gascoine, and coming vpon the sudden, found the Englishmen wandering abroad in the countrie out of order, by reason whereof taking them at that advantage, he caused them to leaue their booties behind them, & sue part of them, and chased the residue, the which fled to their ships, or to such haueen townes as were in their possession. The capitaine of the Englishmen, as John de Britaine earle of Richmond, and the lord John saint John, after they had got together their souldiers which had bene thus chased, sent two bands vnto Pontefey to defend that towne against the enemies: also other two bands vnto saint Seuer; and they themselves went to Kion to fortifie that place. Charles de Walois aduertised hereof, thought he would not giue them long respite to make themselves strong by gathering any new power, and therefore appointed the conestable sir Rafe de Beale, (who had wone the citie of Burdeaur from the Englishmen latelie before) to go vnto Pontefey and besiege that towne, whilst he went vnto Kion, which he besieged and fiercely assaulted. But the Englishmen and Gascoins did not onelie defend the towne stoutlie, but also made an issue forth vpon their enemies, though (as it happened) the smaller number was not able to susteine the force of the greater multitude, and so were the Englishmen beaten backe in to the towne againe.

Whilst they tried their manhood thus at Kion, the conestable wone Pontefey or Pontfac vpon Doxdone, and came to ioin with the earles de Walois at Kion, and so enforced both their powers to win that towne. The Englishmen and Gascoins, though they were put in some feare, yet they shewed their approved ballancie in defending the towne, till at length when they saw they could defend it no longer, and were in no hope of succour from any part, they fled out about midnight, and made toward their ships: but diuerse of them were taken by the waie, for the Frenchmen hauing knowledge of their intent, forsaie the passages, and taking some of them that first sought to escape thus by flight, & sue them, but there was not many of those. For all the residue,

when they perceived that the Frenchmen had laid betwixt them and their ships, making vertue of necessity, stood still in defense of the towne, till the Frenchmen entred it by force of assault the Friday in Easter weeke.

Some write, that the same night, in which they so ment to flee to their ships, there chanced a great tumult and mutenie betwixt the footmen and horsemen, so that they fought together, or else might the whole number of them haue escaped. The horsemen that got forth left their horses behind them readie bysbeled and saddled, which the Frenchmen vpon entering the towne in the morning took, after they had slaine the most part of the footmen. The Frenchmen hauing got a bloudie victorie, saued onelie the capitaine and gentlemen, and sue the other, aswell Englishmen as Gascoins. There was taken of knights, sir Rafe Tannie, sir Amis de saint Amand, with his brother sir Rafe de Cozges marshall of the armie, sir Roger Lefbozme, sir John Breting, sir James Breting, sir Hen. Boding, sir John Pandeuille, sir John Fulbozme, sir Robert Godfield, sir Thomas Turbert, uile, & sir Walter, with thre & thirtie esquires, which were sent all vnto Paris. Sir Adam Breting was killed, a right valiant knight, by reason of one sir Walter Gifford a knight also, which had dwelled in France manie yeares before as an outlaw.

On the same day was the towne of saint Seuer deliuered vnto the Englishmen, the which Hugh (as Abington saith) Robert Wier, brother to the earle of Orenford took vpon him to keepe as capitaine there with two hundred men of armes. Charles de Walois aduertised thereof, departed from Kion with all speed, to besiege the foresaid towne of saint Seuer, per the Englishmen should haue time to fortifie it. But the foresaid Hugh Wier kept him out the space of thirtene or (as Abington saith) nine weekes, to the great losse of the Frenchmen, no small part of their people dieng in the meane time, both of pestilence and famine. At length, when vittels began to faile within, a truce was taken for fiftene daies, within the which it might be lawfull for them within the towne to send vnto Balon for succour, which if it came not within that tearme, the towne should be yielded vnto the Frenchmen; and so it was vpon these conditions, that the Englishmen and other that would depart, should haue libertie to take with them their armour and goods, and be safely conueied two daies iornie on their waie from the French armie. Also that those which were minded to remaine still in the towne, should not susteine any losse or damage in their booties or goods. The pledges also which aforetime were taken out of that towne by the French kings senehall, should returne in safetie to the towne, and haue their goods restored vnto them. This done, Charles de Walois appointed a garrison of souldiers to remaine there for the keeping of the towne, and then returned backe into France. The Englishmen, which escaped out of those places from the Frenchmens hands, repaired vnto Balon, to defend that towne with their capitaine the foresaid erle earle of Richmond and the lord John de S. John, the which of some are vntreuelie said to haue bene slaine at Kion. Shortly after that Charles de Walois was departed and gone out of the countrie, the towne of saint Seuer was recovered by the Englishmen.

It should appeare by report of some writers, that Hugh Wier (whome they wzonglie name to be earle of Orenford) was sent ouer as then from king Edward to the aid of his capitaine in Gascoine, and at his first coming, recovered the towne of saint Seuer, and afterwards so valiantlie defended it against the Frenchmen, that honorable mention is made of him, both by Nicholas Triuet, and also by some French

Nic. Triuet
Kion won.

Englishmen
taken.

Abington.

Sir Adam
Breting
killed.
Sir Walter
Gifford.

Saint Seuer
were taken.
Nic. Triuet.
Hugh Wier.
Charles de
Walois.

Saint Seuer
were besieged.

Saint Seuer
were yielded
by compulsion.

Charles de
Walois returneth
into France.

Polydor.

Polydor.

Polydor.
Cardinal
sent to the
kings of
England and
France to
treat a peace
March. We

The card
nals gath
monie.

Nic. Triuet.
Polydor.
March. Wel
Shir Thon
Turberant
promise to
French hi

The French
king sende
forth a fleet
against England.
Abington.

Abington.

French men
slaine.
A gallie
burnt.

N. Triuet.

lie Triuet.
won Douer.

Polydor.

inglishmen
ken.

ington.

tr Wban
reting his,
tr Walter
stopd.

aint He
re taken.
c. Triuet.
ugh Wier,
harles de
alois.

aint He
re besieged.

aint He
re peesled.
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a.

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Abington.

French men
laine.
3 gallie
burnt.

French wifters, for his high manhood therein shewed. But whether he were brother or sonne to the earle of Oxford, I can not say; howbeit about the 27 yeare of this king Edwards reigne, we find one Hugh Tier, that was a baron, whom I take to be this man, but earle I thinke he was not. For (as Euerfden saith) one Robert Tier that was earle of Oxford deceased in the yeare next ensuing, and after him succeeded an other earle that bare the same name (as by records it may appeare.) Polydor speaking of the siege of S. Seuer, rehearseth not who was capitaine as then of the towne, but in the yielding of it unto Charles de Valois, after he had laine more than thre moneths before it, he agreeth with other wifters.

In the same yeare Berard bishop of Alba and Simon archbishop of Bourges, two cardinals of the Romane see, were sent unto the kings of England and France, to moue them to conclude a peace. They first came into France, and after into England, but perceiving the minds of the kings nothing inclined to concord, they returned to Rome without any conclusion of their purpose, but not without monie gathered of religious men to beare out their expenses, for they had authoritie by the popes grant to receive in name of procuracies and expenses, six marks of euerie cathedrall and collegiat church thorough the realme, besides diuerse other rewards. And where any poore chapiter of nunnies or religious persons were not able of themselves, the parish churches next adioining were appointed to be contributory with them.

Nic. Triuet.
Polydor.
Math. Westm.
Sir Thomas
Turberuile
promise to the
French king.

At the same time sir Thomas Turberuile a knight, and one of those (as before ye haue heard) which were taken at Rion, to saue his life, and to deliuer himselfe out of captiuitie, though he was neuer proued false before, promised king Philip that if he would suffer him to returne into England, he would so worke with king Edward, that he might be made by him admerall of the seas; which thing brought to passe he would deliuer the English naue into the hands of the said king Philip. Hereupon was he set at libertie, and ouer he came into England. And for as much as he had knowne to be a man of singular and approued ballancie, king Edward receiued him verie courteously, who remembering his promised practise to the French king, fell in hand by procuring of friends to be made admerall of the seas. But king Edward (as God would haue it) denied that suite.

The French
king sendeth
forth a fleet
against Eng-
land,
Abington.

The French king in the meane time hauing prepared his naue, containing thre hundred saile, that with the gallies and other ships (for he had got diuerse both from Herfelles and Genoa) sent the same forth to the seas, that upon such occasion the king of England might also send forth his fleet. But the French naue comming nere to the coast of England, and lieng at anchor certaine daies, looking for sir Thomas Turberuile; when he came not at the day prefixed, the capitaines of the French fleet appointed one of their vessels to approach nere to the shore, and to set on land certaine persons that knew the countrie, to vnderstand and learne the cause of such staie. They being taken of the Englishmen and examined, could make no direct answer in their owne excuse, and so were put to death. Some write that they sent five gallies towards the shore to suruey the coast, of the which gallies one of them aduancing forth afoze his fellows, arrived at Wyde there to Romney haven, where the Englishmen espied him, to draw the Frenchmen on land, seized vpon him backe into the countrie, but returning suddenly vpon the enemies, they slue the whole number of them; being about two hundred and fiftie persons. They set fire vpon the gallie also and burned him.

The admerall of the French fleet kindled in an-

ger herewith, fasted freight vnto Douer, and there landing with his people, robbed the towne and priorie. The townefolkes being stricken with terror and feare of the sudden landing of their enemies, fled into the countrie, and raised people on euerie side, the which being assembled together in great numbers, towards euening came to Douer, and inuading such Frenchmen as were straited abroad to seeke prizes, slue them vnto in sundrie places. The French admerall which had bene busie all the day in pilfering the towne, hearing the noise of those Frenchmen that came running towards the sea side, freight waies got him to his ships with such pillage as he could take with him. The other Frenchmen, which were gone abroad into the countrie to fetch prizes, and could not come to their ships in time, were laine euerie mothers sonne. Some of them hid themselves in the coyne fields, and were after laine of the countrie people. There was little lesse than eight hundred of them thus laine by one meane and other at that time. There were not manie of the men of Douer laine, for they escaped by swift flight at the first entrie made by the Frenchmen: but of women and children there died a great number, for the enemies spared none. There was also an old monke laine named Thomas, a man of such vertue (as the opinion went) that after his deceasse, manie miracles through him were shewed.

Douer rob-
bed by the
French.

The French-
men chased to
their ships.

Frenchmen
laine about
Douer.

Sir Thomas Turberuile, being troubled in his mind that he could not bying his traitorous purpose to passe, began to assaie another waie, which was to procure John Balliol king of Scotland to iointe in league with the French king, but per any of his practises could be brought about, his treason was reuealed, who being thereof euidentlie conuicted, was put to execution. Nich. Triuet saith, that he had promised the French king to cause Wales to reuolt from king Edward, and that by procurement of the prouost of Paris, he consented to worke such treason. And (as some write) he did not onelie homage vnto the French king, but also left two of his sonnes to pledge for assurance to worke that which he had promised. His secretarie that wrote the letters vnto the French king, conteining his imagined treasons, with other aduertisements touching king Edwards purposes, fearing least the matter by some other means might come to light (as the old proverbe saith,

Sir Tho-
mas Tur-
beruile exe-
cuted.
N. Triuet.

Caxton.

Abington.

Ubi nix celat solis calor omne reuelat)

as well to his destruction as his maisters for concealing it, disclosed all to the king. Now he hauing knowledge that he was betrayed by his seruant, fled out of the court, but such diligence was bin in the pursuit of him, that he was taken within two daies after, and brought backe againe to London, where he was conuicted of the treason so by him imagined, and therefore finally put to death. This yeare the cleargie gaue to the king the tenth part of their goods, the citizens a first part, and the commons a twelfth part, or rather (as Euerfden saith) the burgesses of good townes gaue the seventh, and the commons abroad the eleventh penie.

The same yeare died Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which left issue behind him, begot of his wife the countesse Ione the kings daughter (beside three daughters) one young sonne named also Gilbert to succede him as his heire. The countesse his wife, after his husbands deceasse, married a knight of meane estate, borne in the bishopricke of Hereford, named sir Rafe Gonthiermer, that had serued the earle his first husband in his life time. The king at the first toke displeasure herewith, but at length through the hie ballancie of the knight, oft times shewed and apparantlie approved, the matter was so well taken, that he was instituted earle of Gloucester,

The death of
noblemen.

Sir Rafe
Gonthiermer
serued the
countesse of
Gloucester.

F. C. y.

Anno Reg. 24.
N. Triuet.
1296

and advanced to great hono^r. ¶ John Romane arch-
bishop of Po^rke also this yeare died, after whome
one Henrie de Belmarke deane of the colledge
there succeeded. ¶ Wherover the same yeare Wil-
liam de Valence earle of Penbroke departed this
life, and lieth buried at Westminster, and then Al-
mer his sonne succeeded him.

The king of
Scots conclu-
deth a league
with the
French king.
Polydor.

John king of Scotland affianced his sonne Ed-
ward Balliol with the daughter of Charles du Wa-
lois brother to the French king, and concluded with
the said French king a league against the king of
England. Nothing moved the Scottish king so much
hereto, as the affection which he bare towards his
native countrie, for he was a French man borne,
and lord of Harecourt in Normandie, which segno-
rie was after made an earldome by Philip du Wa-
lois king of France. The Scottishmen had chosen
12 peres, that is to saie, foure bishops, foure earles,
and foure barons, by whose aduise and counsell the
king should gouerne the realme, by whome he was
induced also to consent unto such accord with the
French men, contrarie to his promised faith giuen
to king Edward when he did homage to him.

Matth. West.

King Edward not fullie understanding the con-
clusion of this league, required aid of the Scottish
king for the maintenance of his warres against
France, and receiving a doubtfull answer, began
to suspect the matter: wherupon he required to haue
thre castels, as Barwike, Edinburgh, and Rokef-
burgh, deliuered unto him as gages till the end of
the warre, and if the Scottishmen continued faithfull
unto him, he would then restore the same castels
to them againe when the warres were ended. This
to do the Scottishmen utterly denied, alledging that
their countrie was free of it selfe, and acquit of all
seruitude or bondage, and that they were in no con-
dition bound unto the king of Scotland, and there-
fore they would receive the merchants of France,
of Flanders, or any other countrie without excepti-
on, as they thought good.

K. Edwards
request made
to the Scots
is denied.
Abington.

The dissolall
dealing of the
Scots.

There were in the haven of Berwike at the same
time, certeine English merchants, upon whome the
Scots made assault, and wounded some of them,
and some of them they slew, and chased the residue, the
which returning into England, made complaint, and
shewed in what euill manner they had bene dealt
with. King Edward hereupon perceiving the pur-
poses of the Scots, determined to make warre by
on them with all speed, & to conquer the whole coun-
trie, if they could not cleare themselves of such euill
dealing as of them was reported and thought to be
put in practise. About the conuersion of saint Paule
in Januarie, king Edward sent ouer into Gascoine
his brother the lord Edmund earle of Lancaster,
with the earle of Lincolne and other, to the number
of 26 banerets, and 700 men of armes, besides a
great multitude of other people. They arrived at
Blay, about the midst of Lent, and staid there till
towards Easter. In which meane season, a great loy-
of Gascoins and other people resorted unto them,
so that they were two thousand men of armes.

The castell of
Lespar deliue-
red unto him.
Nic. Triuet.

Upon Cene thursdaie, the castell de Lesparre was
deliuered unto the earle of Lancaster, and after that
diuers other castels. At his approaching nere unto
Burdeaur, upon the thursdaie in Easter weeke, as
he rested to refresh himselfe and his armie in a little
village called Bekele, an armie of French men issui-
ng out of Burdeaur, went to come on the English-
men at batuares: but having warning, they pre-
pared themselves to battell, so well as the shortnes
of time would permit, and so thereupon encountring
with their enemies, and fighting a sore battell, at
length constrained the French men to returne unto
the citie, and pursuing them as they fled, two En-

The French-
men forced to
retire.

glish knights being breshzen to sir Peter de Pallott
and an other that was a Gascoine, entred the citie
with two standard-bearers belonging to the earle of
Richmond, & to the lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the
Frenchmen took, closing them within the gates.
The other Englishmen being shut out, first fell to the
spoil of the suburbs, and then set fire vpon the same.
After this were certeine of the citizens that secre-
lie were at a point with the earle of Lancaster, to
haue deliuered the citie into his hands, but their
practise being espied, they were taken and executed
yet they could performe that which they had promi-
sed.

Polydor.

When the earle perceiving he should but lose his
labo^r to staie any longer there, upon certeine weigh-
tie occasions returned unto Baionne, where he
thorowly after fell sicke and died. He left behind him
thre sonnes, Thomas that succeeded him in the earl-
dome of Lancaster, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and
John whome he had begot of his wife Blandy, the
which before had bene married unto Henrie earle of
Champaigne, and king of Nauar, by whome she
had but one onelie daughter, that was married vn-
to the French king Philip de Beau. After this the
English armie besieged the citie of Aques, but tho-
rough want of vittels he was constrained to raise
thence and bzeake by the siege. The earle of Artois
being sent of the French king with an armie into
Gascoine, encountred with the Englishmen, and
chased them with the slaughter of a great number,
and after reconered diuers towones and fortresses
in the countrie.

The earle of
Lancaster
parteth this
life.

Aques besie-
ged.
The earle of
Artois sent
with an armie
to Gascoine.
N. Triuet.

Whose Englishmen that kept the towne of Burg,
being compassed about with a siege by Spounseur de
Sully, obtained truce for a certeine space, during the
which they sent unto Blaines for some relafe of vit-
tels, and where other refused to bying by a ship laden
with vittels, which was there prepared, the lord Si-
mon de Montague, a right valiant chescaine, and
a wise, took upon him the enterpryse, and through
the middle of the French gallies, which were placed
in the riuer to stop that no ship should passe towards
that towne, by helpe of a prosperous wind, he got in-
to the haven of Burg, and so relieved them within
of their want of vittels, by meanes whereof, Spoun-
seur de Sully brake by his siege, and returned into
France.

Burg besie-
ged.

The lord Si-
mon de Mon-
tague his en-
terpryse to re-
lieue the garri-
son of Burg.

The siege is
raised.

In the meane time, king Edward not sleeping his
business, procured Que earle of Flanders to ioine
with him in league against the Frenchmen. This
Que was the son of Margaret countesse of Flan-
ders, whom he had by his second husband William
lord of Dampire in Burstoine. Also king Edward
procured Henrie earle of Bar, to whome (as before
ye haue heard) he had giuen his daughter Cleamor
in marriage, to make warre upon the Frenchmen,
so that at one time the erle of Bar invaded the coun-
trie of Champaigne, and the earle of Flanders made
incursions vpon those countries of France which
ioine unto Flanders. King Philip hereof aduertiv-
sed, sent forth one Walter de Credle with a great
armie against the earle of Bar, so that besieging the
chefeest towne of Bar, he constrained the said earle
to leaue off his enterpryse in Champaigne, and to re-
turne home, for doubt to lose more there than he
should win abroad.

The king of
England con-
cludeth a
league with
the earle of
Flanders.
The conclu-
deth a league
also with the
earle of Bar.
The earle of
Bar invaded
Champaigne.

But now to touch more at large the circumstan-
ces of the occasion that moued the earle of Flan-
ders to make war against the French king. I find
(in Iacob Meir) that there was a marriage con-
cluded betwixt the lord Edward the eldest son of king
Edward, and the lady Philip daughter to the fore-
said Que earle of Flanders, which marriage was
concluded by Henrie bishop of Lincolne, and the
earle

A marriage
concluded.

The
mar-
riage

The earle of
Flanders
arrived.

olydon.

The earle of
Gloucester
arrived this
le.

lques be-
ed.
The earle of
Artois sent
with an armie
to Calenne,
Triquet.

Burg de-
ed.

The lord
John de
Bour-
new his en-
prise to re-
the garris-
in of Burg.

The siege
is
ed.

The king of
England con-
adeth a
ague with
the earle of
Flanders.
he conclu-
eth a league
so with the
le of Bar.
The earle of
Bar invaded
hampaigne.

marriage
included.

March, West.

The earle of
Flanders
arrived this
le.

earle Warren, being sent over as ambassadours by king Edward, unto the said earle Gui for the same purpose. In the yeare following, the said earle of Flanders, together with his wife, comming to visit the French king at Corbeill, were arrested, and sent to Paris, there to remaine as prisoners, because that the earle had affianced his daughter to the French kings aduersarie, without his licence: neither might they be deliuered, till by mediation of the pope (who must needs meddle in the matter by vertue of his peremptorie power, & all christendome must beile the bonnet to his holinesse, or rather abhominableness,

*Ille etenim toto seculo inbet orbe colendum,
Cui nisi paruerit, crede perire licet*)

and suertie had upon the promise of Amedie earle of Sauoy, they were set at libertie, with these conditions, that they should deliuer into the French kings hands their daughter, which was so affianced unto him. Edwards sonne, and further covenanted, not to conclude any league with the king of England, but in all points to obserue a certeine peace which was concluded with Ferdinando earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1225. And if earle Gui brake the same peace, then should he be excommunicated, and all his countrie of Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis, iudges appointed herein by authoritie of the pope.

The earles daughter being sent for, and brought unto Paris, the earle and his wife were released, and suffered to returne into Flanders, and shortly after, the earle made earnest suit to haue his daughter restored unto him againe, in somuch that he procured pope Boniface to be a meane for him to the French king, but all would not serue, no, though as some say the pope accuseth the French king for retaining hir, answer being made, that matters pertaining to worldlie gouernement, belonged not to the pope to discusse. Finallye, earle Gui, perceiving he could not preuaile in that suit, to haue his daughter againe, upon high displeasure concluded, to ioin in league with king Edward & his confederats. Hereupon, at an assemblee of counsell kept at Gerard-mount, there was a solempne league made and agreed betwixt Adolph the emperor of Almaine, Edward king of England, Gui earle of Flanders, John Duke of Wabant, Henrie earle of Bar, both sonnes in law to king Edward, and Albert duke of Aulrich, against Philip king of France, and John earle of Henault his partaker.

The merchants of Flanders procured the earle to conclude this league with king Edward, as some write, the rather in respect of the great commoditties which rose to their countrie, by reason of the inter- course of merchandize bled betwixt England and Flanders, and for that through aid of the Englishmen, they might the better withstand the malice both of the French and of all other their enemies. This league being proclaimed in England, there were sent ouer into Flanders, the treasurer of the exchequer, and diuerse other noble men, to fetch hostages from thence, and to giue to the earle fiftene thousand pounds of silver, toward the fortifying of his castles and holds. King Philip being hereof aduertised, by counsell of the prelates of his realme, sent two honorable personages, as the capitaine of Mountreil, and the capitaine of Belquerke, which should attack the earle of Flanders by his bodie, and summon him to payd himselfe prisoner at Paris, within the space of fiftene daies next ensuing.

This attachment made, and summons giuen, the earle of Flanders sent his full defiance vnto the French king by the abbats of Cepmblois, and Senefles, unto whome he gaue sufficient letters procra- toize, to authorize them thereto, dated at Pale in the

yeare of Grace 1296, after the accounts of the chro- nicles of Flanders, which begin their yere at Easter: and so this chanced in the five and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the Wednesday next after the feast of the Epiphanie. Hereupon was the earle ac- cursed, & Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis comming vnto Teruane for that purpose, about the fiftenth day of June, in the yeare 1297. But the lord Robert the earles sonne appealed from that interdiction to the pope, and so the Flemmings took themselves free & out of danger of the same. Earle Gui also obtained of king Edward, that it might be lawfull for them of Bruges, to buy wools, through England, Scotland and Ireland, as frelie as the Italians might by their priuilege and grant.

But to returne now to the doings of king Edward, who in this meane time, hauing perfect know- ledge of the league concluded betwixt the king of France and the king of Scotland, prepared an ar- mie, and first sent ambassadozs into Scotland, to giue summons to king John to appeare at New- castell within certeine daies, that he might there shew the cause why he had broken the league: and further, to declare vnto him that he was deceiued, if he thought he might serue two maisters, contrarie to the wordes of the gospell, and according to the old saying which selborne neuer faileth in consequence,

Defuit ambabus qui vult seruire duobus.

For how much fauour as he purchased at the hands of the French king, so much displeasure might he as- sure himselfe to procure at the hands of the king of England, whome to obeie, it should be most for his aduantage. The ambassadozs that were sent, did their message thoughtlie, but king John was so farre off from answering any thing that might sound to the maintenance of peace, that shortly after he sent let- ters of complaint vnto king Edward, for wrongs which he alledged he had sustained by his means and at his hands. Hereupon king Edward, by aduise of his counsell, determined to set forward with his armie into Scotland.

In the meane time, Robert Ros, capitaine of Marke castell, renolted to the Scottish king, moued thereto through the loue of a Scottish gentlewo- man, whome he meant to marrie, notwithstanding he had sworne fealtie vnto king Edward. Whereupon, on his brother William de Ros giuing knowledge to king Edward, required to haue some aid, whereby he might defend the castell against the Scottishmen. King Edward sent vnto him a thousand soldiers, (Polydor saith an hundred) the which as they lodged one night in a towne called Presten, were slain by the Scottishmen of the garrison of Rocheforrough, that were led and guided by the said Robert Ros: some of them although but few escaped awaie by flight. King Edward aduertised hereof, halsted forth, and came to the said castell, glad of this (as is repo- ted) that the Scottishmen had first begun the warre, meaning, as it should seeme by their proceedings, to follow the same, for upon Good Friday, diuerse Sco- tishmen entring the borders, burnt sundrie villages, and spoiled the abbete of Carham.

Furthermore, whilst king Edward kept his ca- stell at Marke, seauen earles of Scotland, as Bou- chan, Wenteth, Strathern, Lennor, Ros, Atholl, and Mar, with John Comyn the master of Wadenaw, hauing assembled an armie together of five hundred men of armes on horsebacke, and ten thousand foot- men in Annandale, upon monday in Easter weeke entred England, and putting all to fire and sword, approached to Carlisle, and laid siege there vnto on each side, passing the water of Eden by a fowd vnder W- chardson, and did so much preuaile, that they burned

The earle of
Flanders
accursed.

His sonne
appealed
from the in-
terdication,

Ambassadozs
sent to the
king of Scots.

Nic. Triuet.
The lord Ros
renolted to
the king of
Scots.

William de
Ros contin-
eth faithfull
to the king
of England.

Englishmen
distressed.

Rich. South.

N. Triuet.

Abington.
The Scots
made Eng-
land.

Nic. Triuet.

3 fig. the

the suburbs, and assaulted the gates, at which enter-
prise, a gentleman of Galloway as he ventured
somewhat nere to the gate, was drawne up by an
iron hooke, of those that stood aloft upon the gates to
defend the same, and there slaine, and thrust through
with speares. In the meane time, a spie, the which had
bene taken and committed to prison, set fire on the
house wherein he was inclosed, and so the flames car-
ching hold upon the other buildings, a great part of
the citie was thereby burned. Yet the men and the
women getting themselves to the wals, by ouer their
enimies backe, and so defended the citie from tak-
ing. Whereupon, the Scottish lordes perceiuing they
could not preuaile, left their siege on the thursdaie in
Easter weeke, and returned againe into Scotland.

The Scots
raile their
siege from
Carlill.

Berwicke
summoned.

Abington.

The English
flot.

Four Eng-
lish ships lost.

Abington.

Berwicke
wonne.
This sir Ri-
chard Corne-
wall was bro-
ther to the erle
of Cornwall.
Abington.

Caxton.

Abraham
Fleming.

On the same thursdaie, king Edward with his
armie passed the river of Tweed, and so entring in-
to Scotland, sent to the burgesles of Berwicke, offer-
ring them peace upon certeine conditions, and straid
a whole day for an answer: but when he could haue
none that liked him, nor that sounded in anie thing
to peace, he approached the towne, and lodged in the
monastrie of Caldestreime. His armie consisted as
some write of foure thousand men of armes on horse
backe, and thirtie thousand footmen, besides five hun-
dred men of armes on horsebacke, and a thousand
footmen of the bishopricke of Durham. At the same
time, there came foure and twentie English ships,
the mariners whereof, beholding where the English
armie was placed in battell raie, upon a plaine, the
king making there certeine knights, they thought
his meaning was to haue giuen forth with an assalt,
and so entring the haven, and approaching to the land,
began to fight with the towne men, where they lost
foure of their ships, and were constrained to with-
draw with the residue, with helpe of the falling wa-
ter. Some haue written, that they lost but three ships
which were consumed with fire, and that the mari-
ners and soldiers of one of those ships, after they
had defended themselves by great manhood from the
first houre of the daie, till eleven of the clocke, escap-
ed awaie, some by the bote of that ship, and some lea-
ping into the water, were saued by the botes of other
ships that made in to succour them.

The rumoz of the mariners attempt being by-
red through the armie, the king passing forward to-
wards the towne, got ouer a ditch, which the Scots
had cast to impeach his passage, and so comming to
the towne, wan it, not losing any man of renobme,
saining sir Richard Cornewall, the which was slaine
by a quarell which a Flemming shot out of a crosse-
bowe, being in the red hall, which the merchants of
Flanders held in that towne, and had fortified it in
manner of a tower: but when they would not yeld,
and could not easilie otherwise be wonne, the house
towards euening was set on fire, and so they being
thirtie in number, were burned to death within it.
Upon the same night, the king lodged in the castell,
which was yelded vnto him by them that kept it,
their liues and limmes saued, and receiuing an oth,
that they should not from thenceforth beare armour
against the king of England, they were permitted
to depart whither they thought good, their capteine
sir William Douglas excepted, whom the king still
kept with him, till the end of the warres. Some write
that there should be slaine of Scottishmen at this
winning of Berwicke, about the number of twentie
thousand men, Abington saith 8000, but Richard
Southwell saith 15000 at the least one with an other,
with small losse of Englishmen, not past eight and
twentie of all sorts. We may read more hereof in
the Scottish historie.

¶ But before I passe ouer this slaughter, so lamenta-
ble and wonderfull, I haue bethought my selfe of a

promised apologic for and in the behalfe of Richard
Grafton, mentioned before in the reigne of Henrie
the second, page 112. col. 1. where I shewed how un-
advisedlie and with vnseemelie modestie for a man of
learning, George Buchanan the Scot doth shew his
bolts at the said Grafton, as now by occasion of the
matter conuenientlie occurrent shall be shewed. The
said Grafton in his large volume of English chroni-
cles, falling upon the affaires betwene king Ed-
ward the first, and John Balioll king of Scotland,
among other things there remembred, maketh re-
port that in the said battell of Berwicke, the slaugh-
ter was so great, that a mill might well haue bene
giuen by the space of two daies, with the streames of
bloud which at that time ouerran the ground. At
which words George Buchanan giueth a snatch, em-
boldened so to do, because the said Grafton referreth
his recozd to Hector Boetius in his fourteenth booke
and second chapter.

¶ Now how the Scot taketh by the Englishman
for halting in his allegation, first for the chapter, con-
uincing him that Hector Boetius diuided not his
booke into chapters, and therefore, where is the second
chapter, with the whole fourteenth booke is a continued
discourse without distinction by chapters: Secondly
the said Grafton hath the cheeke, for setting a lie a-
float, Buchanan flatlie affirming that Hector Boetius
hath no such matter once mentioned in his annales.
Touching the first fault, wherewith the Scot char-
geth the Englishman, this is note-worthy, that it
should seeme to anie man of meane iudgement,
that Buchanan of a prepered malice and purposed
wilfulnesse hath sharpened his stile in this nipping
fozt against Grafton. For sith it was Graftons mea-
ning to recozd the truth, so farre forth as he was
warranted by the auerment of writers; why should
he be cast in the teeth with *Effraim maledicendi libido*, or
dishonestie termed *Indolus* & *impudenter mendax*?
Which opprobrious epithets, if they were deserued by
an untrue report of the authoz; then should Bucha-
nan haue sharpened his tong against Belenden his
countryman, the translator of Hector Boetius into
their mother tong, from whome Grafton hath deri-
ued his words; sense for sense vnmangled (as he
found the same written.)

¶ Now how knoweth not that Belenden distingui-
shed Hectors annales into chapters, upon whose au-
thoritie Grafton relieng, and citing his authoritie ac-
cording to the quotation of his diuision, why should
he rather than Belenden be barked at, who is the
principall in this controuersie? Again, it could not
be hidden from Buchanan, that Belenden had distri-
buted Boetius into chapters; considering that they
were *oxygoyoi*, both liuing in the reigne of James
the first of that name king of Scots; so that it might
haue pleased him to haue tried Grafton by the Sco-
tish Boetius, and so to haue bene resolved for the se-
cond chapter of the fourteenth booke, according to the
archdeacon of Murreis translation.

¶ Now for the matter it selfe, touching the effusion
of bloud, wherewith a mill might well haue bene gi-
uen for two daies space; Hector Boetius his owne
words are these; *Rius sanguinis toto oppido adeo fluxere,*
ut cum esset decurrens minor aqua quam ad molendina cir-
cumagenda fuerit, adiuvante aquam sanguine aliqua circum-
agi sponte caperint. Which place, Belenden hath inter-
preted after this manner; So lamentabl slaughter
was thow all the parts of the town, that anie mill
might haue gane two daies standlie be streamis of
bloud. Now examine Graftons words by Belenden,
and Belendens by Boetius (besides that, marke
what Grafton annexeth to the report of this slaugh-
ter, who saith that he will not inforce the credit ther-
of upon any man, but counteth it a Scottish lie rather
than

R. Grafton,
pag. 176.

G. Buchana-
ner, Scotie, 2
8. pag. 147. p.
pc. lineas

In paraph.
per p. 39.

R. Edward
for slaying
Berwicke.
I Scottish
sent to his
Edward.

The Sco-
king remo-
ceth his
mage and
altie vnto
king of
gland.

The Sco-
inuate the
English
borders.

Harbottell.

Rich. South.

The earle
Bagham.

The cruel
of the Sco

Hector Bo-
us, pag. 147.
imprell. Pe-
sije a l'ocle
Puy, 1776

R. Grafton,
pag. 176.

G. Buchanan
rer. Scotie, lib.
8. pag. 243. pro
e. pe. lancia.

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enden,
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slaugh
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In paraph. su-
per p. 139.

Edward
fortified
Berwick.
A Scottish frier
sent to king
Edward.

The Scottish
king renoun-
ced his ho-
mage and fe-
alty unto the
king of En-
gland.

The Scots
invade the
English
borders.

Harbottell.

Rich. South.

The earle of
Bogham.

The crueltie
of the Scots.

than a matter of truth) and then conclude according
to equitie, that Grafton is altogether excusable and
faultlesse, and Buchanans curious & furious challenge
reproueable. But admit Grafton had setcht his re-
port from Boetius, as he had it from Bellenden; say-
meth it a lie or an unlikelihoode, that the blood gush-
ing out of the bodies of 25000, or (as Hector Boetius
saith) 7000, would not increase to a streame suffici-
ent & able to driue a mill or two about, without any
water intermingled therewithall: The Latine copie
hath *ruui sanguinis*, rivers of blood, noting by the word
the abundance and also the streaming course of the
same, which was able with the violent current there-
of to beare awate the verie bodies of the slaine. To
conclude this matter, & to set our Englishman by the
truth, and let the Scot go with his lieng tong, which
I would he had had the modestie to haue tempered, &
to haue proffered a practise of that which himselfe pa-
raphrasically preacheth and teacheth others to ob-
serue, saing;

(*Linguae obferavi claustra franco. pertinax
Obmutui silentio,
Ac temere ne quid os mali profunderet,
Verbis bonis clausi exitum.*)

And now to the storie. In Edward remaind at Ber-
wikke 15 daies, & caused a ditch to be cast about the
towne of 80 foot in breadth, & of the like in depth. In
the meane time, about the beginning of Aprill, the
warden and reader of the frier minours of Rochel-
borough called Adam Blunt, came vnto him with
letters of complaint from king John for the wrongs
done and offered vnto him and his realme, as well
in claiming an vnjust superiouritie, and confreining
him to doe homage by vndue and wrongfull meanes,
as also by invading his townes, slaying and robbing
his subiects: for the which causes he testified by the
same letters, that he renounced all such homage and
fealty for him and his subiects, as he, or any of them
ought for any lands holden within England. The
king hearing the letters red, receiued the resignation
of the homage, and commanded his chancelor, that
the letter might be registred in perpetuall memorie
of the thing.

The earles of Scotland before remembred, being
assembled together with their powers at the castell
of Jedworth, entred into England the eighth of A-
prill, and with fire and sword did much hurt in the
countries as they passed. In Kildesdale they besie-
ged the castell of Harbottell by the space of two daies,
but when they could not pueasle, they remoued, and
passing forth by the east part of the riuer of Tyne, they
rough Cokesdale, Kildesdale, and Northumberland,
vnto Berham, they did much mischief by burning
and harrieng the countries. At Berham they spole
the abbete church, and got a great number of the
cleargie, as well monks, priests, as scholets, and o-
thers, whom they thrust into the scholehouse there,
and closing vp the doores, set fire on the schole, and bur-
ned all them to ashes that were within it. It is won-
derfull to read, what beastlie crueltie the Scots vsed
in that road which they made at that time in two se-
uerall parts. For the earle of Bogham, with thier of
Galloway, entred by Cumberland in like manner
as the other did in Kildesdale, burning and murde-
ring all that came in their waie. For whereas all
those that were of able age and lustie to get awaye,
fled, & escaped their hands; the aged & impotent crea-
tures, women in childbed, and yong children that
could not shie for themselves, were vnmmercifullie
slaine, and thrust vpon speares, and thaken vp in the
aire, where they yalded vp their innocent ghostes in
most pittifull wise.

Churches were burned, women were forced with-
out respect of order, condition or qualitie, as well the

maids, widowes and wiues, as nunnes that were
reputed in those daies consecrated to God, and when
they had bene so abused, manie of them were after
also murdered, and cruellie dispatched out of life. At
length, they came to the nurrie of Lamelaie, & bur-
ned all the buildings there, faining the church, and then
returned backe into Scotland with all their pillage
and boties by Lanercost, an house of monks, which
they likewise spoiled. So that the cruell & bloudie de-
solation thereof Lucan speaketh in his second booke
of ciuill warres, may aptlie be inferred here, as fit-
lie describing the mercilesse murder of all states
and sexes without parcialitie vnder the hand of the e-
nemie: for saith he,

*Nobilitas cum plebe perit, lateque vagatur
Ensis, & a nullo reuocatum est pectore ferrum,
Stat cruor in templis, multaque rubentia cade
Lubrica saxa madent, nulli sua profuit etas,
Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
Præcipuisse diem, non primo in lumine vite
Infantis miseri nacentia rumpere fata.*

The nurrie
of Lamelaie
burnt.

Luc. lib. 2.

Watke earle of Dunbar came to the king of
England, and submitted himselfe, with all that he had
into his hands; but the castell of Dunbar vpon saint
Parks day, being assieged of the Scots was ren-
ded vnto them, by treason of some that were within
it, of whome the countesse (wife to the same erle) was
the chiefe; for recouerie whereof king Edward sent
John earle of Warren, Surrey and Suffer, & Wil-
liam earle of Marthwicke with a great power, the
which laing siege to that castell, a great host of Sco-
tishmen came vpon them to the rescue of them with-
in, so that there was foughten a verie soze and terri-
ble battell. At length, the blazie abode with the En-
glishmen, and the Scottishmen were put to flight, the
Englishmen following them in chase eight mile of
that countrie, almost to the forrest of Selkirke: the
slightest was great, so that (as was esteemed) there
died of the Scottishmen that day, to the number of
ten thousand.

The castell of
Dunbar ren-
ded to the
Scots.

Beside 2000
barbed hozies
they had in
that armie
10000 foot-
men.
N. Triuer.
Marth. Westm.
Abington.
A soze battell
fought at
Dunbar.
The number
slaine.
Marth. Westm.
Abington.

The morrow after being saturday, which was the
eight and twentieth day of Aprill, at the kings com-
ming thither the castell was surrendered vnto him.
There were taken in the same castell three earles,
genteth, Castells, and Ros; six barons, John Comin
the yonger, William Sanchlere, Richard Siward
the elder, John Fitz Geoffrey, Alexander de Poz-
teigne, Edmund Comin of Hilbiri; with thirtie
knights, two clearks, John de Somerville, and Wil-
liam de Sanchlere, and three and thirtie esquires, the
which were sent vnto diuerse castles in England, to
be kept as prisoners. After the winning of Dunbar
the king went to the castell of Rochelborough, which
incontinentlie was yielded by the lord Stewart of
Scotland, the lues and members of all such as were
within it at the time of the surrender.

Rochelbo-
rough yielded.

Then went king Edward vnto Euenburgh; where
he planted his siege about the castell, and raised en-
gines, which cast stones against and ouer the walles,
soe beating and busing the buildings within. But
as it chanced, the king writing letters, to aduertise
his counceill at home of his proceedings, and concer-
ning other businesse, deliuered that packet vnto a
Welshman named Leuin, commanding him to go
with the same to London in all hast possible, for he
knew him to be a verie speedie messenger and a tru-
ste also (as he toke it.) But hauing the letter thus
deliuered him, together with monie to beare his
charges, he got him to a tauerne, where Woloulie co-
suming the monie (which he had so receiued) in plaie, &
making good chere, in the morning he caused one of
his companions to take a target, and beare it afore
him in approaching the castell, for that he meant (as he
colourable pretended) not to depart, until he had
wrought

Rich. South.

brought some displeasure to them within with his crossbow, which he took with him for that purpose, so that coming unto the castle gates, he called to the warders on the walles to call doone to him a cord, that they might plucke him vp to them therewith, for that he had somewhat to say to their capteine touching the secrets of the king of England.

They fulfilling his desire, when he came in, and was brought afore the capteine sitting then at breakfast, he said unto him: Behold sir, here ye may perceive the king of Englands secrets, and withall raught to him a box, wherein the packet of the kings letters were inclosed, and appoint me (saith he) to some corner of the wall, and trie whether I can handle a crossbow or not, to defend it against your aduersaries. Here then others would haue opened the box, and haue read the letters, the capteine would in no wise consent thereto, but going into a turret, called to the Englishmen below, and willed them to signifie to the king, that one of his seruants being fled to him, sought to betraie his secrets, whereunto he would by no means agree, and therefore meant to restore both the tractors and the letters. Hereupon, the lord John Spenser, coming to heare what the matter might meane, the capteine caused Lewin to be let doone to him, together with the letters safe, and not touched by him at all.

When the king vnderstood this, he much commended the honest respect of the capteine, and whereas he had caused engines to be raised to annoy them within (as ye haue heard) he commanded the same to cease, and withall, vpon their capteins suit, he granted them libertie to send vnto their king John Balliol, to giue him to vnderstand in what sort they stood. As touching the Welshman, he was diuine and hanged on a paire of high galowes, prepared for him of purpose, as he had well deserved. A notable example of a traitorous villaine, so to offer the secrets of his souereigne to be known to his enemies: and no lesse excellent a president of an honest and faithfull harted foe, that would not himselfe nor let anie other haue a sight of the contents therein written; a rare point of god meaning and vpright dealing in a souldier, and speciallie in an enemie; but

multo optimus ille

Militia cui postremum est priming, inter

Inter bella fidem.

Striueling
castell left void

Now while the messengers were on their waie to Forfar, where the Scottish king then late, king Edward with a part of his armie went vnto Striueling, where he found the castell gates set open, and the keyes hanging on a naile, so that he entred there without any resistance, for they that had this castle in gard, were fled out of it for feare before his coming. The messengers that were sent from them within Edenburgh castell, coming to their king, declared to him in what case they stood that were besieged, king John, for that he was not able to succor them by any manner of means at that present, sent them word, to take the best waie they could for their owne safetie, with which answer the messengers returning, the castell was immediately deliuered vnto the lord John Spenser, that was left in charge with the siege, at the kings departure towards Striueling, with the like conditions as the castell of Rochester had yielded a little before.

Edenburgh
castell deliue-
red to the king
of England.

Thus was that strong castell of Edenburgh surrendered by force of siege, to the king of Englands use, on the 15 date, after he had first laid his siege about it. A place of such strength by the height of the ground whereon it stood, that it was thought impregnable, and had not bene wone by force at any time, since the first building thereof, before that present, so farre as anie remembrance either by writing or o-

therwise could be had thereof.

Here at Edenburgh, or rather at Rochester (as Abington saith) a great number of Welshmen came vnto the king, who sent home the like number of English souldiers, of those that seemed most wearie. Moreover, at Striueling, there came to the king the earle of Ulster, with a great number of Irishmen. Then passing ouer the riuer of Forth, the king came vnto Saint Johns towne about Midsummer, and there tarried certeine daies. While these things were a doing, John king of Scotland, perceiving that he was not of power to resist king Edward, sent ambassadoys vnto him to sue for peace; king Edward was content to heare them, and thereupon appointed, that king John should resort vnto the castell of Brechin, there to commen with such of his counsell as he would send thither within fixtene daies next ensuing, to treat of an agreement. King Edward sent thither Anthonie bishop of Durham, with full commission to conclude all things in his name. And within the appointed time came king John, and diuers of his nobles vnto him, the which after many sundrie treaties holden betwixt them and the said bishop, at length they submitted themselves and the realme of Scotland, simple and pure, into the hands of the king of England, for the which submission to be firme kept and obserued, king John deliuered his son in hostage, and made letters thereof, written in French as followeth,

Saint Johns
towne.
The king of
Scots first
for peace.

The bishop
of Durham.

The king of
Scots sub-
mitted him-
selfe to the
king of England.

The instrument of the said submission.



*E*han per la grace de Dieu, roy de Escote, a tous ceulx que cestes presentes lettres verront ou orront, salut, &c.

John by the grace of GOD king of Scotland, to all those that these present letters shall see or heare, sendeth greeting. Bicause that we through euill counsell and our owne simplicitie, haue greivoullie offended our souereigne lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, in many things; that is to saie, in that, whereas we beeing and abiding vnder his faith and homage, haue bound our selues vnto the king of France which then was his enemie and yet is, procuring a mariage with the daughter of his brother Charles du Valois, and that we might greue our said lord, and aid the king of France with all our power by warre and other means, we haue at length by aduise of our peruerse counsell defied our said lord the K. of England, and haue put our selues out of his allegiance and homage, & sent our people into England, to burne houses, to take spoiles, to commit murther, with many other damages, and also in fortifying the kingdome of Scotland, which is of his fee, putting and establishing armed men in towres, castles, and other places, to defend the land against him, to deforce him of his fee, for the which transgressions our said souereigne lord the king, entering into the realme of Scotland with his power, hath conquered and taken the same, notwithstanding al that we could do against him, as by right he may do, as a lord of his fee, bicause that we did render vnto him our homage, and made the foresaid rebellion. We therefore as yet being in our full power and free will, doo render vnto him the land.

land of Scotland, and all the people therof with the homages. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these letters patents to be made. Yeuen at Brechin the tenth day of Iulie, in the fourth yeare of our reigne, sealed with the common seale of the kingdome of Scotland.

After this, king Edward went forward to see the mountaine countries of Scotland, the bishop of Durham euer keeping a daies iournie afore him. At length, when he had passed through Surrey land, and was come to Elghin, perceiuing all things to be in quiet, he returned towards Berwikke, and coming to the abbeie of Scone, he took from thence the marble stone, whereupon the kings of Scotland were accustomed to sit as in a chaire, at the time of their coronation, which king Edward caused now to be transferred to Westminster and there placed, to serue for a chaire for the priest to sit in at the altar.

King Edward bringeth the marble stone out of Scotland.

the bishop of Durham,

the king of Scotland submit themselves to the king.

The king coming to Berwtike, called thither vnto a parlement all the nobles of Scotland, and there receiued of them their homages, the which in perpetuall witness of the thing, made letters patents thereof, written in French, and sealed with their seales, as the tenor here followeth.

The instrument of the homages of the lords of Scotland to K. Edward.

A Tous ceux que cestes lettres verront ou orront, &c. To all those that these present letters shall see or heare, we John Comin of Badenaw, &c. Because that we at the faith and will of the most noble prince, and our dearest lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, doo vow and promise for vs and our heires, vpon paine of bodie and goods, and of all that we may haue, that we shall serue him well and trulie against all men, which may liue and die, at all times when we shall be required or warned by our said lord the king of England or his heires, and that we shall not know of any hurt to be doone to them, but the same we shall let and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof: and those things to hold and keepe, we bind vs, our heires, and all our goods, and further, receiue an oth thereof vpon the holie euangelists: and after all, we and euerie of vs haue done homage vnto our souereigne lord the king of England in words as followeth; I become your liegeman of life, members, and earthlie honour, against all men which may liue and die. And the same our souereigne lord the king receiued this homage vnder this forme of words; We receiue it for the land of the which you be now seized, the right of vs, or other faued, and except the lands which John Balioll sometime king of Scotland granted vnto vs, after that we did deliuer vnto him the kingdome of Scotland, if happilie he hath giuen to you any such lands.

The forme of their homage.

The words of K. Edward accepting it.

Moreover, all we, and euerie of vs by himselfe haue done fealtie to our said souereigne lord the king in these words; I as a faithfull & liege man, shall keepe faith and loialtie vnto Edward king of England, and to his heires, of life, member and earthlie honor, against all men which may liue and die, and shall neuer for any person beare armour, nor shall be of counsell nor in

aid with any person against him, or his heires in any case that may chance, but shall faithfully acknowledge, and doo the seruice that belongeth to the tenements the which I claime to hold of him, as God me helpe and all his saints. In witnesse whereof, these letters patents are made and signed with our seales. Yeuen at Warke the foure and twentieth of March, in the 24 yeare of the reigne of our said lord the king of England.

Then was John Warren earle of Surrey and Sussex made by king Edward warden of Scotland, Hugh Cressingham treasurer, and William de Melbie high iustice, whome the king commanded, that he should call all those before him which held any lands of the crowne, and to receiue of them in his name their homages and fealties. John Balioll the late king of Scotland was sent to London, and had a conuenient companie of seruants appointed to attend him, having licence to go any whither abroad, so that he kept himselfe within the circuit of twentie miles nere to London. John Comin of Badenaw, and John Comin of Lowan, and diuerse nobles of Scotland were brought into England on the south side of Trent, being warned vpon paine of death not to returne into Scotland, till the king had made an end of his wars with France. After this, at his request, king Edward held a parlement at saint Edmundsburie, which began the morrow after the feast of All saints, in which the citizens & burgesses of god towne granted vnto him an eighth part of their goods, and of the residue of the people a twelfth part.

John Balioll sent to London.

A parlement at saint Edmundsburie.

A subsidie granted.

The cleargie by reason of a constitution ordeined and constituted the same yeare by pope Boniface, prohibiting vpon paine of excommunication, that no salages nor other exactions should be leuied or exacted of the cleargie in any manner of wise by secular princes, or to be paid to them of things that pertained to the church, bitterly refused to grant any manner of aid to the king, towards the maintenance of his wars. Whereupon the king, to the intent they should haue time to studie for a better answer, deferred the matter to an other parlement to be holden on the morrow after the feast of saint Hilarie.

The pretence of excommunication, that no salages nor other exactions should be leuied or exacted of the cleargie.

This yeare after the feast of the Epiphantie, Elizabeth the kings daughter was married vnto king John earle of Holland. Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Essex was sent to conueie them into Holland, there to take possession of the earldome, as then descended vnto the said John, by the death of his father latelie before slaine by his owne subjects, because he would haue disherited this John, and made a bastard sonne which he had to be his heire. The day appointed for the parlement to be holden at London being come, and the cleargie continuing in their deniall to grant any subsidie, the king excluded them out of his protection, for the redeeming whereof, manie by themselves, and manie by mediators, did afterwards giue vnto the king a fifth part of all their goods. The archbishop of Canturburie being found stricke in the matter, the king seized all his lands, and commanded all such debts as were found of his in the rolles of the exchequer, to be leuied with all speed of his goods and cattell. Some write, that when the archbishop of Canturburie in name of all the residue, had declared to them whom the king had appointed commissioners to receiue the answer, that where as they of the cleargie had two souereigne lords and gouernours, the one in spirituall matters and the other in tempozall, yet they ought rather to obey their spirituall gouernour than their tempozall. Neuertheless, to satisfie the kings pleasure, they would

Anno Reg. 25. 1297. The earle of Holland married Elizabeth the kings daughter. N. Triuict.

Abington. The archbishop his shop his goods.

of their owne charges send to the pope, that by his licence and permission, they might grant the king some aid, or else receiue some answer from him, what to do therein: for (saith the archbishop) we beleue that the king feareth the sentence of excommunication, and would be as glad to auoid it as we.

When the commissioners heard this answer, they required that they would appoint some of their owne companie to beare this message vnto the king, for they durst not report it to him: which being done as the commissioners had required, the king in his furie proceeded against them, in such rigorous manner as ye haue heard, in somuch that the lord chiefe iustice sitting vpon the bench, spake openlie these words; You sit that be attorneys of my lords the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and all other the cleargie, declare vnto your masters, and tell them, that from henceforth there shall no iustice be done vnto them in the kings court for any manner of thing, although neuer so heinous wrong be done vnto them: but iustice shall be had against them, to euerie one that will complaine and require to haue it.

The declaration of the lord chiefe iustice.

The cleargie handling of the matter by the archb. of York his suffragans.

Henrie de Newarke the elect bishop of York, with the bishops of Durham, Ely and Salisbury; with certeine other, fearing the kings indignation thus kindled against them, ordeined to laie downe in the churches, a fift part as ye haue heard, of all their goods, towards the defense of the realme, and maintenance of the kings warres in such time of great necessitie, and so the king receiuing it, they were restored to the kings protection againe. The friends of the bishop of Lincoln found means, that the shiriffe of the shire lenied and toke the fift part of all his goods, and restored to him againe his lands and possessions. Also, all the monasteries within his diocese, and within the whole prouince of Canturburie, were seized into the kings hands, and wardens appointed, which onelie ministered necessarie finding vnto the monks and other religious persons, and conuerted the ouerplus vnto the kings vse. Whereupon the abbats and priors were glad to followe the court, and sued to redeeme, not their sins, but their goods, with giuing a fourth part thereof. The cleargie suffered manie iniuries in that season, for religious men were spoiled and robbed in the kings high waie, and could not haue any restitution nor remedie against them that thus euill intreated them, till they had redeemed the kings protection. Persons and vicars, and other of the cleargie, when they rode forth any whither, were glad to apparell themselves in laie mens garments, so to passe through the countrie in safetie.

The miserie of churchmen.

The archb. of Canturburie his goods confiscate.

The obdurate manner of the archbishop of Canturburie.

The archbishop of Canturburie lost all the goods that he had, for he would neither agree to giue any thing, nor to laie any thing downe in the church, that the king might receiue it. Whereupon he was brought to such extreme miserie, that all his seruants went from him, & commandement was giuen forth, that no man should receiue him, neither within monasterie nor without, and so not hauing any one place of all his bishopricke where to laie his head, he remained in the house of a poore person, onelie with one priest and one cleark: yet he stiffelie stood in the matter, affirming certeinlie, that all those which granted any thing, either to the king, or to any other temporall person without the popes leaue, ran without doubt into the danger of the sentence pronounced in the canon.

A parliament at Salisbury

About the feast of S. Pathe in Februarie, the king called a parlement of his nobles (not admitting thereto any of the cleargie) at Salisbury, and there required certeine of his nobles to passe other into Gascoigne, but euerie of them seemed to excuse himselfe, whereat the king being moued, threatened that they should either go, or he would giue their lands to

other that would go, with which words manie of them were grauously offended, in so much that the earles of Hereford and Warshall, Humfrie Bohun, and Roger Bigod, declared that they would be ready to go with the king if he went himselfe, or else not. And when the earle Warshall was estones required to go, he answered, I will willingly go with the king, and march before him in the fore ward, as by right of inheritance I am bound. Yea (saith the king) and you shall go with other though I go not. I am not so bound (saith the earle) neither do I purpose to take the iourne in hand with you.

The king then in a great chafe burst out & swore, By God sir earle, either thou shalt go or hang. And I swear (saith the earle) the same oth, that I will neither go nor hang: and so he departed from the king without leaue taking. Immediatlie hereupon those two earles assembled manie noble men, and other of their friends together to the number of thirtie banerets and aboue, so that in all they were found to be fiftene hundred men of armes appointed and ready for battell, and herewith they withdrew into their countries, and kept such sir there, that they would not permit the kings officers to take neither tools, leather, nor any thing against the owners will, but forbade them on paine of losing their heads to come within their comes, and withall prepared themselves to resist if need were.

In this meane time the warre was prosecuted in Gascoigne. The thursdate before the Purification of our ladie, Henrie earle of Lincoln, and the lord John saint John departing from Balon towards Bellegard, a place besieged as then by the earle of Arthois, to succour them within the same with vitells (whereof they had in need) as they approached to a wood distant from the fortreffe thre miles, they diuided themselves into two seuerall battells, the lord John saint John leading the first, and the earle of Lincoln the second. The lord saint John therefore hauing passed the wood with his battell, and entring into the plaine fields, was encountered by the earle of Arthois, who carried there for him with a great power, where immediatlie at the first joining of the battells, the earle of Lincoln retired backe: so that the lord John saint John and his companie ouerset with preesse of enemies were vanquished: and the said lord saint John with sir William de Spoxtime, sir William Burmengham and other to the number of eight knights, and diuerse esquires were taken, the which were sent to Paris as prisoners.

Other wrote somewhat otherwile of this battell, as that vpon the first encounter the Englishmen dyone backe one regiment of the earle of Arthois his men of armes, whom he diuided into foure parts: but when they once ioined with the second regiment, to the which they were beaten backe, forward they came againe, and so charging the Englishmen, with helpe of their third squadron, which was now come to them also, they easilie put the Englishmen oppressed with multitude vnto flight, & followed them in chafe. After this came the Englishmen which were in the rearward, and encountering with the fourth squadron or regiment of the Frenchmen, straightwaies brake the same. Herewith was the night come vpon them, so that one could not knowe another, a fens from an enemy, and so both the Englishmen and Frenchmen were dispersed till the mone rose, and the Frenchmen withdrew to their fortresses, and amongst them certein Englishmen were mingled, which being discovered were taken prisoners, as the lord John saint John, and others.

The slaughter was not great, for there were no footmen on either part, to spoile or kill the men of armes that were stationed beside their hostes: for the English

The battell betweene the two earles.

They had with them 600 men of armes, and 1000 footmen as Abingdon saith.

Battell betweene the earle of Lincoln and the earle of Arthois, who had but 1500 men of armes, as Abingdon saith.

Abinger Euerid should the hit counte France

Meir The king in France

Lille by the.

The earl without the Flemish battell.

N. Trine

rebell practices

An. Reg. 25.

English footmen remained in the wood, or were with-
drawne backe, as before ye have heard, without at-
tempting any exploit worthy of praise. Anded some
laie the blame in the Gascoine footmen for the losse
of this battell, because that they withdrew backe, and
left the English horsemen in danger of the enemies
which had compassed them about on euery side. Thre
hundred of the men of armes came through to the
towne of Bellegard, but because it was night, so that
they could not be discerned whether they were friends
or foes, they within the towne would not suffer them
to enter: whereupon they departed, and went to S.
Seuere foure leagues off. Yet further in the night,
other of the Englishmen were receiued into Belle-
gard, which came thither after the other, and so in the
morning they of the garison with their assistance is-
sued forth, and coming to the place where the bat-
tell had bene, gathered the spoile of the field, and con-
ueied into their towne such prouision of vittells as
they found there.

The earle of Lincolne with a great manie of o-
ther waorded a great part of the night and knew not
whither to go. At length about thre of the clocke in
the morning he came to Perforate, where he had
lodged with his armie the night before, & there found
a great number of his people right glad of his con-
uening and happie escape out of danger. From thence
he returned vnto Baion with the earle of Richmond
sir John de Witaine and all his companie that were
left. And such was the hap of this iourne. In Lent
following, those that were disperfed here and there a-
broad, resorted to the earle of Lincolne, so iourning at
Baion, and in the summer season made a iourne to-
wards Tholouse, spoiling and wasting the countries
of Tholouse and other thereabouts, and remoued
also the siege which those of Tholouse had laid vnto a
fortresse called S. Riferne, in chasing them from the
same siege: and towards Michaelmasse they retur-
ned to Baion, and there laie all the winter till after
Christmasse, and then by reason of the truce conclu-
ded, as after appeareth, betwixt the two kings of En-
gland & France, they returned home into England.

In the same yeare the king raised the custome of
wooll to an higher rate than had bene paid at any
time before: for he took note fortie shillings of a
sacke or sarpler, where before there was paid but half
a marke. Whereouer he commanded, that against his
iourne which he meant to make ouer into France,
there should be two thousand quarters of wheat, and
as much of oates taken by the shiriffe in euery coun-
tie within the realme to be conueied to the sea side,
except where they had no store of corne, and there
should beuenes and bakons be taken to a certeine
number. In the meane time the earle of Flanders
was foreuered by war which the French king made
against him, being entred into Flanders with an ar-
mie of thre scoze thousand men, as some authours
haue recorded.

About the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Bap-
tist, he laid siege to Lille, and shortly after came the
earle of Arthois, being returned out of Gascoine
with his power vnto that siege, and was sent forth to
keepe the Flemings and others occupied, which laie
at Furneis, and in other places thereabouts in low
Flanders, with whome he fought and got the victorie.
King Edward therefore, to succour his friends pre-
pared to go ouer into Flanders, and thereupon sum-
moned all those that owght him any seruice, & such
also as held lands to the value of twentie pounds and
aboue, to be readie with horse and harnesse at Lon-
don about Lammas to passe ouer with him in that
iourne.

In the meane time about the moneth of Aprile,
there began a rebellion in Scotland by the setting on

of William Maleis: for the king of Englands su-
ffice William Dymbie, accordinglie as he had in
commission, confined and put to outlawrie a great
sort of such Scottishmen, as refused to do fealtie and
homage vnto the king of England, the which Sco-
tishmen being thus condemned as outlawes, elected
the foresaid William Maleis for their capteine,
with whome William Douglas being once associa-
ted, the number of them increased hugelie. The earle
of Surrey and the treasurer being in England, those
outlawes purposed to haue taken the iustice at
Scone: but he being warned though almost too late,
escaped himselfe with much adoe, leaving the most
part of his people as a spoile to the enemies. For
William Maleis and his companie killed as ma-
nie Englishmen as fell into his hands, and taking
certeine religious men, he bound their hands behind
them, and constrained them to leape into the river,
taking pleasure to behold how they plunged.

The king sent the bishop of Durham into Scot-
land, to vnderstand the certainte of this rebellion,
who returning from thence, informed him of the
truth. The king not minding to breake his iourne
which he had purposed to make into Flanders, ap-
pointed that the earle of Surrey should haue the lea-
ding of all such men of warre as might be leued be-
yond Trent, to repress the Scottish rebels, and also
wrote vnto John Comin earle of Boughan, that re-
membryng their faith and promise, they should re-
turne into Scotland, and do their best to quiet the
countrie: they according to his commandement,
went into Scotland, but shewed themselves slow
enough to procure those things that pertained to peace
and quietnesse.

In the meane time, whilst these things were a do-
ing, the bishop of Carleill, and other which laie there
vpon the gard of that citie and castell, hauing some
mistrust of the loialtie in Robert Bruce the younger,
that was earle of Carrike by his mother, they sent
him word to come vnto them at a certeine date, be-
cause they had to talke with him of matters touch-
ing the kings affairs. He durst not disobey but came
to Carleill together with the bishop of Gallowaie, &
there receiued a corpozall oth vpon the holie and sa-
cred mysteries, and vpon the sword of Thomas Bec-
ket, to be true to the king of England, and to aid him
and his against their enemies in all that he might:
and further to withstand that the said king receiued
no hurt nor damage so far as in him might lie.

This done, he returned againe into Scotland,
and for a colour entred into the lands of William
Douglas, and burnt part of them, bringing the wife
and children of the same William backe with him in-
to Annandale: but shortly after, he conspired with
the Scottish rebels, and ioined himselfe with them,
not making his father priue to the matter, who in the
meane while remained in the south parts of England.
He would haue persuaded such knights, gentlemen
and other as held their lands of his father in Annan-
dale, to haue gone with him, but they would not
breake their faith giuen to the king of England, and
so left him. The earle of Surrey assembling to-
gether his power in Wokeshire, sent his nephew the lord
Henrie Percie with the souldiers of the countrie of
Carleill before into Scotland, who passing forth to
the towne of Aire, went about to induce them of
Gallowaie into peace, and hearing that an armie of
Scottishmen was gathered together at a place about
four miles from thence called Irwin, he made this
therward, and coming nere to the Scottish host,
might behold where the same was lodged beyond a
certeine lake. In that armie were capteins, the bi-
shop of Glasco, Andrew de Harreie steward of
Scotland, and William Maleis which (as it should
seeme)

the means of
one William
Maleis.

Englishmen
killed in
Scotland.

The unfaith-
full dealing of
the Scots.

Abington.

Robert
Bruce.

Thomas
Becket.

Robert Bruce
renolte to
the rebels.

N. Triet.
Thre hun-
dred men of
armes, and
fifte thou-
sand footmen
saith Abing-
ton.

Henrie Percie
went before.

Irwin.

March West.

Abington.

The earle of
Lincolne es-
caped.

He cometh
home.

He innadeth
the countrie
about Tho-
louse.

The custome
of wooll raised.

Abington.
Euertiden.
Prouision for
the kings
iourne into
France.

La Meir.
The French
king innadeth
Flanders.

Lille besie-
ged.

The earle of
Arthois van-
quisheth the
Flemings in
battell.

N. Triet.

A rebellion in
Scotland by

Dom. 1297.

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armes, and
10000 footmen
as Abington
saith.

Battell be-
twixt the earle
of Lincolne
and the earle
of Arthois,
who had with
him 1500 men
of armes, as
Abington saith.

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Discord in
the Sco-
tish armie.
Sir Richard
Lundie.

The Scots
sue for peace.

(same) were not all of one mind.

There was in the same armie a knight named sir Richard Lundie, which neuer yet had don homage to the king of England, but now fleeing from his companie, he came to the English armie, and submitted himselfe with his retinue vnto the king of England, sauing that he went not to serue amongst them any longer that could not agree together. The residue of the Scottishmen sued for peace, vpon condition to haue liues, members, goods, cattels and lands saued, with a pardon of all offenses past. The lord Percie vpon pledges & writings herof deliuered, was contented to grant their requests, so that the king his maister would be therewith pleased, who being hereof certified, because he would not gladlie be staied of his iourne into Flanders, granted vnto all things that were thus required.

The bishop of
Glasco and
William Dou-
glas.

Then after that the earle of Surrie was come to the English campe, because William Maleis ceased not in the meane time to assemble more people, the Englishmen doubting some treason, resolved to glue battell, but whilst they were in mind thus to do, the bishop of Glasco and William Douglas to auoid the note of disloyaltie and treason, came and submitted themselves: and so the bishop was committed to ward within the castell of Rokeshough, and William Douglas in the castell of Werwikke. It is to be noted, that euen in the verie time that the traitie was in hand betwixt the lord Percie and the Scottish captains, the Scots of Galloway and other set vpon that part of the English campe, where the trasse and baggage laye, which they spoiled and ransacked; slaying aboue five hundred persons, what of men, women and children, but the alarum being raised, the Englishmen came to the rescue, and chasing the Scots, slue aboue a thousand of them; and recovered the most part of their owne goods, with more which they toke from their enemies.

Abington.

The archbish-
op of Canturburie
received
into fauour.

In this meane time king Edward at the feast of Lammas held a councill at London, where he receiued the archbishop of Canturburie againe into his fauor, restoring vnto him all his goods and lands. He appointed him and the lord Reinold Grey to haue his eldest sonne prince Edward in keeping, till his returne out of Flanders. But Nicholas Triuer wisteth, that the said prince Edward being appointed to remaine at home, as lieutenant to his father, there were appointed vnto him as counsellors, Richard bishop of London, William earle of Warwikke, and the forenamed lord Reinold Grey, with the lord John Gifford, and the lord Alane Blokenet, men of high wisdom, grauitie and discretion, without making mention of the archbishop of Canturburie in that place. The two earles Marshall and Hereford being commanded to attend the king into Flanders, refused, excusing themselves by messenger.

Sir Rafe
Sponthermer
released.

After this, the king caused sir Rafe Sponthermer (whom his daughter the countesse of Gloucester, in his widowhood had taken to husband without knowledge of his father) to be deliuered out of the castell of Bristow, wherein he had bene kept prisoner a certaine time vpon displeasure for the marriage: but now he was not onlie set at libertie, but also restored to his wife, and to all the lands pertaining to the earldome of Gloucester, appointing him to find 50 men at armes to serue in that iourne into Flanders. He also deliuered the earles of Cassels and Spenteth, John Cornu, and diuers other Scottishmen, appointing them also to go with him into Flanders. Finally hauing assembled his armie, ouer the which he made the lord Thomas Berkeley constable, and Gesteuy Jenuille marshall, he went to Winchelsey, and whilst he laye there before he toke the sea, there was presented vnto him from the earles a writ-
ting, which contained the causes of the grēfe of all the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, lords, barons, and of all the communalitie, as well for summoning them to serue by an vndue meane, as also for the unreasonable taxes, subsidies, impositions & payements which they daily sustained, and namelie the impost augmented vpon the custome of wooll seemed to them verie grēuous. For whereas for euerie sacke of whole wooll there was fortye shillings paid, and for euerie sacke of broken wooll one marke: it was well knowne, that the wooll of England was almost in value esteemed to be twofold halfe the riches of the realme, and so the custome thereof paid, would ascend to a fifth part of all the substance of the land.

The kings answer thereto was, that he could not alter any thing, without the aduise of his council, of the which part were already passed ouer into Flanders, and part were at London; and therefore he required the said earles, that if they would not attend him in that iourne into Flanders, they would yet in his absence do nothing that might be prejudiciall to the realme: for he trusted by Gods fauour to returne againe in safetie, and set all things in good order. At length, about the 21 date of August, the king toke the sea, and landed in Flanders nere to Sluice, about the 27 day of the same month. He was no sooner on land, but that through old enuie and malice depending betwene the mariners of the cinque ports, and them of Permouth and other quarters, a quarell was picked, so that they fell together, and fought on the water in such earnest sort, notwithstanding the kings commandement sent to the contrary, that there were 25 ships burnt and destroyed of theirs of Permouth, and other their partakers: also three of their greatest ships, part of the kings treasure being in one of them, were tolled forth into the high sea, and quite conueied afloate.

The king
answer.

The king
seth out
Flanders
Abington.

Debate
fighting
twixt the
mariners of
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La. Me.

The king from Sluice first went to Bruges, and after to Gaunt, finding the countrie in euill state, by reason that the good towne were not all of one mind: for diuers of them misliked with the doings of the earle, in that he had alied himselfe with the French kings aduersaries. About the beginning of September was Lille yelded vnto the French king, and after that they of Doway, Curtray, and Bruges, did likewise submit themselves to the same king. Then was Charles earle of Malois sent to Bruges to fortifie that towne, and to take the English name that laye at anchor in the haven of Dam: but the Englishmen hauing warning thereof, got forth with their vessels into the sea, and so the earle of Malois being disappointed of that preie, set in hand to fortifie Bruges and Dam. But the earle of Aulrich, & Robert de Beuers son to earle Guy, being sent with a power of Englishmen, Flemings, and other soldiers vnto Dam, fought with the Frenchmen, slue foure hundred of them, besides diuers that were taken, and recovered the towne. They might also haue recovered Bruges, as was thought, if the Englishmen and Flemings had not fallen at strife, & fought together about diuiding of the preie.

La. Me.

Charles
Malois
to Br.

Finally, after this, the French king came to Bruges, and then the king of England and the earle of Flanders had long looked and all in vaine for the emperor Adulfe, who had promised to come to their aid with a great armie; for the charges and wages wherof he had receiued great summes of monie both of the king of England, and also of the earle of Flanders: they concluded in the end (when they perceived he would not come) to make some agreement with the French king: and so first was a truce taken, from the middell of October, vnto the calends of December, and after by mediation of Charles (sumamed Claudius) king of Sicill, the same truce was prolonged.

The
king
seth
out
Flanders
Abington.

Scottishmen
released.

The lord
Berkeley.
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An. Reg. 25, 26.

Dom. 1297.

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The king of
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ged as hereafter ye shall heare.

In this meane while, to wit, about the end of Au-
gust, the earle of Surrey, when he saw that the Sco-
tishmen would not performe promise touching the
delivrie of the pledges, and that William Maleis
still moued the people to rebellion, he assembled his
armie, & with the same entring Scotland, came un-
to Striueling. Then the lord steward of Scotland,
and also the earle of Lenox came unto him, requi-
ring him to staie till they might haue leasure to see if
they could bring the people of Scotland unto the
kings peace. But when they could not do it, they re-
turned on the tenth day of September, promising to
bring to the aid of the earle of Surrey on the mor-
row after fortye horsemen, upon the which day two
friars of the order of preachers were sent unto Wil-
liam Maleis, and to the other Scottishmen lieng be-
yond the hill about the monastirie of Scambelkin,
to moue them to the kings peace. But their answer
was, that they were not come to haue peace, but to
trie the matter by battell.

The English armie without good aduise, thorough
the presumptuous pride of the lord Hugh Cressling-
ham, preased to the bridge, and halting to passe the
same, the Scottishmen came vpon them per the one
halfe could get ouer, and so fiercelie assailed them,
that the Englishmen were beaten backe and slaine
downe. For the Scots, after they saw so manie of
the Englishmen to haue passed the bridge, as they
thought themselves able to distresse, they made
downe to the bridge foot, and with a number of their
spearmen on foot, closed it vp, that no more should
come ouer to the aid of their fellows, nor those that
were already passed, should returne againe: yet one
sir Parmaduke Whewng a right valiant knight,
which was one of the first among the men of armes
that came ouer, after that he and his compaignie had
giuen downe one wing of their aduersaries, & had
followed them in chase a good waie, as purposing to
haue gotten the conquest against them, at length per-
ceiving the compaignie behind distressed by the Scots,
he returned with those few that were about him, and
purposing to repasse the bridge, rushed in among the
Scots that stood before him with such violence, that
he passed thorough them, making waie for himselfe
and his folks by great manhood, slaying one of his
nephews also which was set on foot & wounded, after
his horse had bene killed under him.

At length the discomfiture was such, and the Scots
preased so earnestlie to win the bridge also of those
Englishmen, which were not yet passed, that at
length the earle of Surrey commanded to breake
that end of the bridge, where they stood at defense to
kepe backe the Scots, for else had there few of the
Englishmen escaped. There were slaine (as some
haue written) to the number of six thousand men, and
amongst other was slaine sir Hugh Cresslingham,
whose skin (as hath bene reported) the Scots stripped
off his dead carcasie, for the malice which they bare
toward him. This discomfiture chanced on the 11 day
of September. The earle of Surrey, leauing in
the castell of Striueling the said sir Parmaduke
Whewng, promised him to come to his aid at all
times when need should be, without teni weekes space,
and here with taking his horse, rode in such hast to
Berwike, that after his coming thither, his dead
being set vp in the table of the friers minours, neuer
after tasted meat, but died: after this, the said earle
making no long aboad in Berwike, rode vp to Lon-
don unto prince Edward, and left the towne of Ber-
wike as a prele to the Scottishmen: but those yet
that had the castell in keeping, defended it manfully
against the Scots, the which assembled together in
campe under the leading of Alexander earle of Arur-

rey: and their capteine William Maleis came to
Berwike, and finding the towne void of all defense,
entered it, but they could not win the castell by any
meanes.

The Northumberland men conueied their wiues,
their children, their cattell, & other goods, which might
be remoued, out of the countrie for feare of the eni-
mies inuasion: but when the Scots lingered time,
and entered not within the English borders for a sea-
son, they brought their goods againe, in hope that the
Scots would not come forth of their owne marches
at that time. But the Scots hauing aduertisement
thereof, about the feast of S. Luke entered the En-
glish borders, and did much hurt within the countrie
of Northumberland, so that to auoid the danger, all
the religious men fled out of the monasteries situat
betwixt Bewcastle vpon Tyne, and Carleill. The
Scots spoiled, harried, and burnt vp the countrie,
till the feast of saint Martine, and in the octaues of
the same feast they drew together, and went towards
Carleill, which towne they summoned, as you shall
heare.

They sent a preest to them that kept it, comman-
ding them to yeld: but receiuing a froward answer,
they fell to and wasted all that countrie, passing thro-
ugh the foreest of Inglewood, Cumberland, and Al-
lerdale, till they came unto Derwent and Coker-
mouth, not sparing either church nor chappell. Their
meaning was to haue gone into the bishoprike of
Durham, but what through fore weathier of haile,
snow and frost, & what through vaine feare of wrong
information giuen by their spials, that the countrie
was well provided of men of warre for defense, they
broke off that iournie, and yet there were not past a
hundred men of armes, and three thousand footmen
in that countrie, which were then also disperfed thro-
ugh irksomenesse of long staing for the enimies.
The Scots therefore drew unto Berham, and there
lodged, not without bering the canons, although they
had granted letters of protection vnto the prior and
couent of the same house, to indure for one whole
yeare: and likewise letters of safe conduit to passe
and repasse for one canon, one squire, and two ser-
uants, when soeuer they should send to them, during
that terme: which letters were giuen forth vnder the
name of the said earle of Surrey, and William
Maleis. From thence they went towards Bewcas-
tell, and burnt the towne of Riton. Finally, percei-
uing they could not preuaile in attempting to win
the towne of Bewcastle, they diuided their spoiles
and returned home.

About the same time, to wit, a little before Christ-
masse, the lord Robert Cliford, with the power of the
cttie of Carleill, entered Annandale, committing all
to the spoile of the footmen, of whome there was a
great number. The men of armes on horsebacke, be-
ing not past an hundred in all, kept together, and fin-
ding their enimies assembled nere to Annankirke,
gaue a charge vpon them, and chased them into a
marish, within the which they kept them, till the foot-
men came in, and assailing them, slew 308 persons,
and took diuerse of them prisoners, and returning a-
gaue to their market, burnt ten villages, and on
Christmasse euen returned with their preie and bot-
ties vnto Carleill. In the beginning of Lent they
made an other rode, in the which they burnt the church
of Annan.

Whilste these things were in hand, prince Edward
the kings eldest son, and other, which had the rule of
the realme in the kings absence, sought meanes to
pacifie the earles Marshall and Hereford: but they
would not agree, but vpon such conditions as pleased
themselves to prescribe, which were, that the king
should confirme the ggeat charter, and the charter of
G. i.

The castell
holdeth tacks
against them.

The Scots
inuaide North-
umberland,
and spoile the
countrie.

The forest of
Inglewood.

The towne of
Riton burnt.
Anno Reg. 26.

The Scots
returne home.

The lord Clif-
ford inuaide
Annandale:

Annankirke.

Scots slaine.

1298
Annan kirke
burnt.

N Triuer,
The froward
dealing of the
earles of Here-
ford & Mar-
shall.

forreſſes, with certeine new articles to be included in the ſame great charter, and that from thenceforth the king ſhould not charge his ſubiects ſo ſtriſſe at his pleaſure as before time he had done, without conſent of the ſtates of parlement, and that he ſhould pardon his diſpleaſure and malice conceiued againſt them for denieng to go with him into Flanders. And other articles they would that the king ſhould grant, confirme, pardon and eſtabliſh. The which were all ſent ouer into Flanders to the king, that he might perule them, and declare whether he would agree or diſagree to the ſame. He as one being diuinen to the wall, thought good to yield vnto the malice and iniquitie of the time, to reconcile the offended minds of the peres and barons of his realme, and granted vnto all the ſaid articles, confirming the ſame with his charter vnder his great ſeale. In conſideration whereof, the nobles of the realme and commons granted to the king the ninth penie of all their goods: the archbiſhop of Canturburie, with the cleargie of his prouince, the tenth penie; and the elect of Poſke and thoſe of his prouince, granted the fiſt penie; towards the maintenance of the war againſt the Scots, becauſe they were next vnto the danger.

Abington.
A ſubſidie
granted.

A parlement
at Yorke.

Magna charta.

Debate be-
tweene the
king and the
Cantners.

The king alſo by his ſpeciall letters required the nobles of the realme, that if they continued in their due obedience to him, as they promiſed at his departure out of the realme to do, that then they ſhould reſort and appeare at his parlement, to begin at Poſke the morrow after the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, without all excuſe or delaie: for otherwiſe he would accompliſh them as enimies to the commonwelth of the realme. At which day appeared the earles of Warren and Gloceſter, with the counteſſe of Gloceſter his wiſe daughter to the king, the earles Marſhall, Hereford, and Arundell, Guiſe ſonne to the earle of Warwike in his fathers come: and of barons, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord John Wake, and the lord John Seigne, with manie of the nobilitie, the which being aſſembled together, would that it ſhould to all men be notified, in what manner the king had confirmed the great charter, and the charter of forreſſes: whereupon the ſame being read with the articles therevnto added, and put in, the biſhop of Carleill, adorned in pontificalibus, did pronounce all them accuſed, that went about to violate and breake the ſame. And becauſe the Scottiſh lords appeared not, being ſummoned to be there, it was decreed that the armie ſhould come together at Newcaſſell vpon Tyne, in the octaues of the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie next inſuing, ſo that the generall muſters might then and there be taken.

The king laie the moſt part of this winter at Gaunt, in the which meane time there chanced ſedition betwene the Engliſhmen & the Cantners, inſomuch that the Welſhmen had ſet fire on the towne, if the king had not ſtraied the matter. But the Flemiſh writers ſaie, the Engliſhmen ſet fire in ſoure parts of the towne indeed, that they might the more freely haue robbed in other parts thereof, whileſt the townemen had gone about to quench the fire. But the townemen bent on reuenge, aſſembled together in great numbers, and falling on the Engliſhmen ſue thirtie of their horſemen, and of their footmen to the number of ſeuen hundred, or thereabouts. They had alſo ſlaine the king, if a knight of Flanders had not made ſhift to ſaue him. ¶ In deed (as ſhould appeare by the ſame writers) the Engliſh footmen had done much hurt in the countrie, and namelie one day they ſpoiled the towne of Dam, and ſue two hundred worthie perſonages, who had yielded themſelues to the king at his firſt comming into the countrie.

And although the king cauſed certeine of thoſe

that had done this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this & other iniuries in their minds, & meant to be reuenged thereof, before the Engliſhmen departed out of their countrie, and therefore there dzeu out of ſundrie parts into the cite of Gaunt by ſmall companies, to the number of ſoure thousand men of armes, beſides a great multitude of footmen, and when they perceiued themſelues ſtrong enough (as they toke the matter) at the day amongſt them appointed, and conſidered in their minds, that

*unita potentior eſt vis
Quilibet, at partes in plures ſeſa peribit,*

they cluſtered together, and vnder the leading of the earles ſonnes, William and Robert, they did firſt ſet vpon the Engliſhmen that were in their lodgings, of whom they ſue diuerſe, and after comming forth into the ſtreets, they went to haue made ſlaughter of all the reſidue: but by the noiſe that was raiſed, the king had warning in what ſtate the matter ſtood, and therewith getting him to armour, came ſorth of his lodging, and ſtreightwaies his people ſtood about him. And furthermore, the footmen which were lodged in the ſuburbes, hearing of this tumult, got them to armour, & approaching the gates, found them ſhut: but with fire which they kindled with ſtraw, wood, butter and tallow, and other ſuch things, they burnt by the ſame gates and ſo got in, loſing not paſſ ſix perſons that were ſlaine at the firſt entring.

Herewith the earle of Flanders came to the king, and beſought him to ſaue his people from committing further outrage: but the king as he had reaſon ſo to do, blamed him for the outrageous attempt of his people, and bad him go to appeaſe them, or he would take paine with them himſelfe to his owne ſuertie, though not greatlie to their eaſe. The earle went, and preuailed ſo much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for reſtitution of ſuch things as had been taken from any man wrongfully, according to the order and direction preſcribed by certeine diſcret perſons appointed as commiſſioners in that behalfe. The king perceiuing himſelfe in ſome danger, and that without the fauour of the Flemings he might hardlie eſcape out of their countrie, bare manie things, and ſpake courteouſlie, making partlie amends for the harms done by his people, as well abroad in the countries as in the towne. And ſinnallie about Midlent he returned into England, as after ye ſhall heare.

In this meane time, by the kings appointment, the earle of Surrey lord warren of Scotland, with other earles and noble men to him aſſociat, about the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, had aſſembled an armie at Poſke, hauing firſt ſummoned the lords of Scotland to appeare there at the ſame day, who yet came not, but contrarilie had beſieged the caſtell of Rochefborough. Whereupon the earle of Surrey haſted thitherwards, ſo that William Waleis and other of the Scottiſhmen which laie there at ſiege, raiſed the ſame, and departed from thence. The earle of Surrey comming to Rochefborough, and relieving them that kept it with ſuch things as they wanted, paſſed forth to Holloſe, and came afterwards to the towne of Bertwike; which the Scottiſhmen had left voſt. Here came letters vnto them from king Edward, ſignifieng that he had taken truce with the French king, and that he meant thortlie to returne into England, and therefore commanded them not to make any further enterpriſe than the defending of the frontiers, and the recouerie of Bertwike, till his coming ouer. Whereupon was a great part of the armie diſcharged, and ſuch onelie remained in Bertwike as might ſuffice for deſenſe thereof.

King Edward hauing made an end of his buſineſſe in Flanders, as before ye haue heard, returned home.

The Flemings on the Engliſhmen in their lodgings.

The earle of Flanders perſuaded his people.

Nic. Trici. An armie aſſembled at Yorke.

The Scottiſh beſiege Rochefborough.

The earle of Surrey relieueth Rochefborough.

R. Edward returneth home.

into towards England, and came to a towne called
Ardenburge, where the most part of such Scottishmen
as he had brought with him into Flanders slipped
from him, and went into Paris. The king being re-
turned into England, ransomed the barons of the ex-
chequer, and the knights of the bench into Poike, cal-
ling a parlement together, and gave summonses unto
the lords of Scotland to come to the same, but ma-
king default in their appearance, he sent forth his
commission and letters to warne his subjects to be
readie with horse and battelle at Rochesterburgh in
the feast of the Nativite of St. John Baptist next in-
coming. They obeying his commandement, assembled
there at the day appointed.

Where were in this armie now assembled at Roc-
kelesborough together with those of the bishoppeke, a-
bout thre thousand men of armes mounted on bar-
bed horses, besides four thousand other armed men
on horsebacke without barbs. There were also a
great number of footmen, and yet none but such as
came upon their owne god willes, the which were
almost all Welshmen or Irishmen. There came al-
so afterwards five hundred men of armes well ap-
parelled, furnished and mounted out of Galcoine, of
the which a certaine number were sent to Berwike
by the king: where after the battell fought with the
Scots, they remained in garison. The earle of Here-
ford, and the earle of Marthall were present with their
retinues amongst other in this armie here assembled
at Rochesterburgh, the which upon suspition concei-
ved of that they had heard, thought it not sufficient
to have the kings letters patents touching the con-
firmation of the two charters, and other the articles
about mentioned, signed by him, whilist he was out
of the realme, and therefore required that he would
now within his owne land confirme the same a-
gaine. Here the bishop of Durham, John earle of
Surrey, William earle of Marthall, and Rafe earle
of Glocester, undertooke for the king, that after he
had subdued his enemies, and should be againe re-
turned into the realme, he should satisfie them in that
behalf, and confirme the same articles.

This done, the king marching forth with his ar-
mie, came to Temple Biston, and sent forth the bi-
shop of Durham to take certaine castels therabouts,
as Wynton or (as some copies have) Wynton, and o-
ther two, which enterprise the bishop speedilie accom-
plished. The English fleet that should have come
from Berwike, and kept alongst the coast to have
furnished the armie with victuals, was strated and
holden backe with contrarie winds, so that the armie
began to be in great necessitie of victuals. The Sco-
tishmen were advertised hereof, and supposing that
the Englishmen by reason of such want of victuals,
had not bene able through feeblesse to make anie
great resistance, assembled their powers together,
and came towards the place where the king with his
armie was lodged.

At the same time two of the English ships arri-
ued there with victuals, the which being bestowed a-
mongst the souldiours, relieved them greatlie of their
hunger. Amongest other the Welshmen had two
turnes of wine delivered to them for their share, the
which they tasted so greedilie, that overcome there-
with they fell to quarrelling with the Englishmen,
and begun a fraie, in the which they slew eightene,
and hurt diuerse. The English horsemen herewith
being kindled with displeasure, got them to armor,
and setting upon the Welshmen, slew of them to the
number of fourescore, and put the other to flight:
whereupon the next morning it was said that the
Welshmen upon wrath conceived hereof meant to
depart to the Scots: but yet when the campe remo-
ued, they followed the armie though a farre off, and a

part by themselves, insomuch that manie doubted
least if the Englishmen had chanced to have had the
worste at the Scottishmens hands, they would have
joined with them against the Englishmen. This bloo-
die battell sprang of intemperance, and surfeiting
drunkenness, which is worthe to be thus disclaimed,

animæ lethum, et victorum

Nurix, ac felerum, quid dæmonia cogit

Pelloræ? quid per te non audent? Iurgialiter,

Prædicta hæc, et grandes sanguine fuso,

Sædigiunt, a nequit bellæ viciis.

The king notwithstanding that the Scots were com-
ming towards him, raised his field, and went forth
to meet them, lodging the next night in a faire
plaine. In the morning vertie earlie, a great alarme
was raised, so that manie man got him to armour,
supposing the Scots to be at hand. The horse appoin-
ted for the kings saddle that day, as the king should
have got upon him, frightened with some noise, started
aside, and threw the king downe with such violence,
that he brake two of his ribbes, as the report went.
Other while, that his horse trod on him in the night,
as he and his people rested them, keeping their horse
still bridled, to be readie the sooner upon occasion
of any necessitie: but howsoever he came by his
hurt, he staid not to passe forward in his purposed
iourne, but mounting upon an other horse, went
forth with his armie till he came to a place called
Foukirke, where both the armies of England and
Scotland met and fought.

The Scots were divided in foure schiltrons, as
they termed them, or as we may saie, round battels,
in forme of a circle, in the which stood their people
that carried long staves or speares, which they crossed
to intlie together one within another, betwixt which
schiltrons or round batels were certaine spaces left,
the which were filled with their archers and bowmen,
and behind all these were their horsemen placed.
They had chosen a strong ground, somewhat sloeing
on the side of a hill. The earles of Marthall, Hereford,
& Lincolne, which led the fore ward of the English-
men, at the first made directlie towards the Scots,
but they were strated, by reason they found a marsh,
or an euill fauoured moles betwixt their enemies
and them, so that they were constrained to fetch a
compasse towards the west side of the field. The bi-
shop of Durham ruling in the second battell of the
Englishmen, consisting of six and thirtie standards or
banners, knowing the let of that moles or marsh to-
ward the east side, hastied forth to be the first that
should giue the onlet: but yet when they approached
nere to the enemies, the bishop commanded his peo-
ple to staid till the third battell, which the king led,
might approach. But that valiant knight the lord
Rafe Bassett of Wynton said to him: My lord bishop,
you may go and say masse, which better becommeth
you, than to teach us what we haue to do, for we will
do that which belongeth to the order and custome of
warre.

Herewith they passed forth on that side to charge
the first schiltron of the Scots, and the earles with
their battell on the otherside, and enen upon the first
bunt the Scottish horsemen fled, a few onelie excep-
ted, which staid to keepe the footmen in order. And a-
mongst other was the brother of the lord steward of
Scotland, who as he was about to set in order the
bowmen of Selkirke, by chance was unhorsed, and
slaine there amongst the same bowmen, and manie a
tall mans bodie with him. The Scottish archers thus
being slaine, the Englishmen assailed the spearemen,
but keeping themselves close together, and standing
at defense with their speares like a thicke wood, they
kept out the English horsemen for a while, & fought
manfullie, though they were fore beaten with shot of
arrows.

f. ij.

arrows

The Scots
summoned to
the parlement
at Wyke, refus-
ed to come.

An armie rais-
ed.

Abington.
The number
of men armed
in this armie.

Welshmen and
Irishmen.

Galcoine.

N. Triet.

The earles of
Hereford and
Marthall met
with the king.

The earle of
Flanders pe-
cunieth his
people.

Castles won
by the bishop
of Durham.

Nic. Triet.
An armie as-
sembled at
Wyke.

The Scots
besiege Roc-
kelesborough.

The earle of
Surrey sur-
reth Scot-
land.

Abington.
A fraie be-
twixt the
Welsh and
Englishmen.

The English-
men stand in
doubt of the
Welshmen.

R. Edward
returneth
homeward.

N. Triet.

The battell
of Foukirke.

Abington.
The order of
the Scottish
battels.

The earles
Marthall, He-
reford, and
Lincolne led
the fore ward.

The bishop of
Durham led
the second
ward.

The lord
Basset of
Wynton
swears to the
bishop of
Durham.

The Scottish
horsemen fled.

Their ar-
ches slay-
ed. These Sco-
tish spearemen
were of Gal-
loway as
Eucliden
saith.

Nic. Triuet.

Match. West.
saith fourtie
thousand.
Polydor.
N. Triuet.

The towns of
S. Andrews.

The castell
of Aire.

Abingron.
Irish lords.
The Ile of
Araigne.

Thomas Wi-
llet requirith
the Ile of
Araigne.

The emil opti-
mon of the
earles Spar-
shall & Here-
ford towards
the king.

The kings
liberalitie to-
wards his
nobles.

Anno Reg. 27.

Cottingham.

1299

A parliament.
Abingron.

The lords
call upon the
king to per-
forme promise.

attroies by the English archers on foot so at length
galled with shot; and assailed by the fortification on
the; they began to disorder and shrike from one
side to another, and betwixt the fortification and the
amongst them, and so they were slain and beaten
down in manner all the whole number of them.

Some saie there died of the Scots that date (be-
ing the two & twentieth of Julie, and the feast of Ma-
rie Magdalene) above twenty thousand. Other write
that there were slain at the least to the number of
15 thousand. The Scottish writers alledge that this
battel was lost by treachery of the Cornish and other,
as in the Scottish historie ye may more plainly per-
ceive, with more matter touching the same battell:
after this was the towne of saint Andrews destruyed,
no man being within to make resistance. And
from thence the English army came through Sel-
kirk forest unto the castell of Aire, which they found
sold; and after they came by the towne of Amman,
and took the castell of Lochmaben, and so returned
into England by the west marches, and came to
Carleill.

About the same time certeine Irish lords, and a-
mongst other as chiefe, one Thomas Wislet landed in
the Ile of Araigne, the inhabitants whereof yielded
themselves unto the same Thomas, who as was sub-
geynerant to have aided the Scots: but now hear-
ing of the victorie which king Edward had gotten
in a fight field, he sent unto him to give him to un-
derstand that he was come in his aid, & had won the
said Ile of Araigne, and therefore besought him that it
might please him to grant it unto him and his heires
for ever. Which request the king granted: whereof
when the earles Sparshall and Hereford were ad-
vised, they thought this a rash part of the king, con-
sidering that he had promised to do nothing anew
without their consents and counsel.

Therefore the king being (as ye have heard) return-
ed to Carleill, they got licence to depart home with
their people, leaving the king still at Carleill, where
he remained a time, and held a parliament there, in
the which he granted unto manie of his nobles, the
lands and livings of divers noble men of the Scots,
as to the earles earldomes, to the barons baronies;
but Galloway and Annandale, with certeine other
counties, he assigned to none, reserving the same (as
was thought) unto the foresaid two earles, least they
should thinke themselves evill dealt with, if they had
no part bestowed on them amongst the residue.

The king after this went to Durham, and from
thence thought to have returned straight towards
London, but hearing that the Scots meant to make
some invasion, he went to Linmouth, and remained
there till towards Christmasse. Now when the king
had laine a certeine time at Linmouth, he departed
from thence, and dyed southward, and comming to
Cottingham, a little from Beverlie, held his Christ-
masse there, and after dyed towards London, where
in the beginning of Lent, he held a parliament, at the
which he was required to keepe promise for the confir-
mation of the two charters and articles concluded
with the earles of Hereford and Sparshall. The king
was nothing contented that this matter should be
so earnestlie called upon, for loth he was to grant
their full requests; and againe to denie them, he stood
in doubt how it might be taken: he therefore prolon-
ged time, & would make no answer either to or fro.
But when the lords urged him so sore to give them
an answer, he got him out of the citie, not making them
pryncie of his departure, and when they followed him,
and seemed not well contented that he should so dis-
semble with them, he excused himselfe by blaming
the aire of the citie to be against his health, and there-
fore bare them in hand, that he onelie sought to re-

fresh himselfe in some better aire in the countie
more agreeable to his sickness; and as for answer to
their requests, he would leave to repaire againe to
the citie, and they should have answer by that coun-
rely, as farre as should stand with reason and content
them. They returned as he wished them; and had the
chartes confirmed according to their request, sa-
ving that this addition was put in: the latter end of
the same, *in the name of the king*. With which addition
the lords were contented, and returned home to their
houses in the great displeasure towards the king as
before. *in the name of the king* in the name of the king

The countess mounting some seditions stir to assise
hereof amongst the people, delivered the charters (so
sealed and signed as they were) unto the shiriffes of
London, that the same might be read openly before
the people, which was done in Pauls churchyard in
presence of a great assemble there, come together
and gathered for that purpose. The people (than
whom the sea in ebbing and flowing is not more in-
constant, nor in judgment more rash, heddie, sudden,
and unadvised, as one saith verie well, & to purpose,

*Indignum vulgi insulsum, imbecillaque mens est,
Quandopidem inuisa et vulgo sapientia, &c.*)
at the first before they heard the addition, gave manie
blessings to the king for those grants: but when they
heard with what words he concluded, they cursed as
fast as before they had blessed. Before this parliament
was dissolved, the lords had warning to returne &
gaine hostile after Easter; and then they had all
things granted and performed as they could wish or
desire. The perambulations of forrestes were ap-
pointed unto three bishops, three earles, and three
barons.

About the latter end of June there came over a
bishop sent from pope Boniface as his Nuncio, and
diverse other with him, to declare the order which the
pope as arbitrator indifferentlye chosen betwixt the
kings of England and France, for the deciding of
all controuersies depending betwixt them, had gi-
uen forth & decreed, which was in effect as followeth.

1 First that king Edward being then a wid-
ower should marrie the French kings sister named
Margaret, notwithstanding the degrees of consan-
guinitie, for the which the pope would dispense.

2 That the lord Edward the kings eldest sonne
should at convenient time take to wife the ladie Is-
bell the French kings daughter.

3 That the king of England should make satis-
faction for the French ships which his men had taken
at the beginning of the war, and that sundrie townes
in Gascoigne should be put into the popes hands, till it
might be understood unto whome the right appertei-
ned. But those two last articles took small effect,
the French king refusing to deliver any of those
townes which he had gotten in possession. Moreover,
these messengers in the popes behalfe required the
king that he would set John Balioll, sometime king
of Scotland at libertie, and restore those lands unto
his sonne Edward Balioll, which he ought to hold
within the realme of England, promising and under-
taking in the popes behalfe to preserve and save the
realme harmlesse from all hurt and damage that
might insue by the delivrie of the said John Ba-
lioll.

King Edward understanding that there was
great danger in setting him at libertie, was conten-
ted to deliver him unto the pope, but he refused to
make restitution unto Balioll of the lands which he
demanded. The popes ambassadours receiving John
Balioll at king Edwards hands, took him over with
him into France, and there left him in the custodie
of the bishop of Cambriz, the popes deputie in that
behalfe, where shortly after he died. After this, accord-
ding

This emil
put in the
clauson of the
articles.

The articles
red in Pauls
churchyard.

The per-
ambulations of
forrestes.

A bishop sent
from the pope

The popes
decree of peace
betwixt the
kings of
England &
France.

Nic. Triuet.

The popes
request for
the restoring
to libertie of
John Balioll.

John Balioll
delivered out
of prison at
the popes com-
mand.

Polydor.
He departed
this life.

An. Reg. 28, 29.

N. Triuer.

The king married the French king's sister.

A parliament at York.

The decease of the archbishop of York.

Anno Reg. 28.

1300

Abington.

A proclamation on for monie.

Foreign monies forbidden to go as current.

Abington.

The king goes with an armie into Scotland.

Thomas of Brotherton.

Died the first of June.

ding to the covenants of agreement made betwixt the two kings of England and France, the captives upon either part were delivered. In the feast of the nativite of our Ladie, the king married the ladie Margaret sister to the French king at Canturburie with great solemnitie. About the feast of S. Martine in winter the king held a parliament at York, meaning to have gone from thence into Scotland, to have rescued the castell of Striveling, which the Scottismen had besieged, and had it surrendered unto them, yet the king could not set forward to come to raise the siege. The same yeare died Henrie Be-warie archbishop of York, and Thomas Corbridge a doctor in divinitie succeeded him.

In the eight and twentieth yeare of his reigne, in the Christmase season king Edward set forth a proclamation, forbidding and prohibiting all foreign coins to be received and paid as sterling monie within his dominion, commanding by the same proclamation, that two peeces of them should go for one sterling, untill the feast of Easter. There were diverse monies in those daies current within this realme, as pollards, crocards, faldings, eagles, leonines, slappings, and all these were white monies, artificiallie made of silver, copper, and sulphur, so that it was an ill time for base monies, & much chopping and changing was used in buying and selling of things.

At Easter following the king utterly forbade that any of those monies should be current at all, and held his exchange in sundrie places, and to be rid of them, men gave five or six of them for one sterling, not caring for them, because of their baseness, and yet within a yeare after that men had learned the skill by proofe how to trie mettall with melted lead in the fire, they found that two peeces of those base monies were in value worth one sterling, and many became rich by the exchange, which had bought good store of them, when they were so smallie esteemed: but the king caused inquirie to be made of them that used such exchange without his licence, and put them to their fines.

At a parliament holden at London in Lent this yeare, the king renewed the confirmation of the charters, and made certeine new statutes concerning fines and goale deliveries, verie profitable to the common-wealth. About the feast of saint John Baptist, king Edward went with an armie into Scotland, and there granted a truce to the Scots that inhabited the mountaine countiees to indure for eleven moneths, that is to saie, till Whitson-tide next ensuing. As the king was upon his journey towards in the north parts, his late married wife queene Margaret was delivered of hir first sonne at Brotherton, a place in Yorkeshire not farre from Pontefract; he was named Thomas, and took the surname of Brotherton, of the place where he was borne.

Whereupon pope Boniface at the sute of the Scots wrote his letters unto king Edward, commanding him by the same and by the archbishop of Canturburie, whom he appointed to deliver the same letters by other letters to him directed, that he should not onelie releafe and set at libertie all such Scots as he had in prison, but also give over his warres which he made against the realme of Scotland: and if he meant to make any claime to the same, then to send his procurators unto the court of Rome, and there to shew what evidence he could for his right thereto, where the matter as he maintained was to be heard, decided, and iudged; and not elsewhere. The archbishop, according to the popes commandment, did the message, and presented the popes letters unto the king, who deferred the answer unto the assemble of

the estates in parlement, and hereof the archbishop advertised the pope accordingly, as in the letters to him directed he was commanded; which he durst not but satisfie, because he was persuaded the popes authority to have bene so ample and peremptorie, that there was no resisting or gaine-saying of him, with,

*Pro medijs ludunt in aquis immania cœtes,
Et paulo pisces quoslibet ore vorant:
Sic tenet imperium mortales inter, & omnes
Diripit, illicita subdit & arte duces,
Omnibus insultans, sic subijcit impius orbem,
Implicat atque suo regia colla iugo.*

Anish, Christ. & Anichrist. pag. 24.

This yeare also on saint Kenigins daie, which is the first of October, died Edmund earle of Cornewall, the sonne of earle Richard, that was also king of Almaine; and because he left no issue behind him to inherit that earldome, the same returned to the crowne. In the 29 yeare of king Edwards reigne, on saint Oswalds day, or (as some have written) the Friday after the feast of Peter Ad Vincula, his wife queene Margaret was delivered of hir second sonne, that had to name Edmund of Woodstocke, surnamed so of the place where he was borne. The king also this yeare after Christmase held a parliament at Lincoln, to the which the earls and barons of the realme came in armour, to the end (as it is said) that they might procure of the king the more speedie execution of the charter of foresters, which by him had hitherto bene delayed, but now that he perceived their earnestnesse and importunate suit, he condescended to their willes in all things.

Pope Boniface being solicited by the instant suit of the Scottismen, and offended also that the lands in England, which belonged unto Edward Balioll sonne of John Balioll, were not to the same Edward restored, he wrote letters to king Edward; forbidding him from thence forth any further to ber the Scots by wars, because that the kingdome of Scotland was surrendered already into his hands by the generall consent of the Scottismen themselves, and therefore was it in his power to bestow and take away the same to whom or from whom soever it should please him.

There were reasons alledged why the king of England seemed to do wrong in challenging as then the kingdome of Scotland: and amongst other, one was, that such homage as had bene done of ancient time to the kings of England, by the kings of the Scots, was onelie meant for Lindale, Berreth, and such other lands as the Scottish kings held within England, and not for the realme of Scotland. And whereas the kings of Scotland had aided the kings of England in their warres against the rebels of the realme of England, and bene present at their coronation, the same was done of speciall favour, and not of dutie. B. Edward having received the popes prescript, and well considered the whole contents thereof, sent in writing his answer at large, pointing by evident reasons that the right of proprietie in the kingdome of Scotland, did most iustlie appertaine unto him, and that the allegations were not true, but forged, which had bene by furnished information presented against him.

Beside the kings letters, which he wrote in his owne behalfe, there was an other letter devised and written by all the lords temporall of the land, assembled in parlement at Lincoln, in which letter they answered in name of all the estates there gathered, unto that point wherein the pope pretended a right to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, protesting flatlie, that they would not consent that their king should do any thing that might tend to the inheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and plaine overthrow of the state of the same realme, and

Eueriden.

Anno Reg. 29. Math. Westm. Croxden.

1301

Pope Boniface prohibited the king of England further to ber the Scots.

N. Triuer.

at hurt of the libertie, customs, and lawes of their fathers, sith it was neuer knowen, that the kings of this land had answered or ought to answer for their rights in the same realme, afore any iudge ecclesiasticall or secular.

The tenour of the foresaid letter
indited and directed to pope
Boniface.



Our most holie father in Christ, Boniface by Gods providence high bishop of the holie Romane and universall church, his deuout sonnes John earle Warren, Thomas erle of Lancaster, Rafe de Monthermer earle of Gloucester and Hereford, Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hertford and Essex and constable of England, Roger Bigod earle of Norfolk, and marshal of England, Guie earle of Warwick, Richard earle of Arundell, Adamare de Valence lord of Montherney, Henrie de Lancaster lord of Monmouth, John de Hastings lord of Bergeuennie, Henrie de Percie lord of Copclife, Edmund de Mortimer lord of Wigmore, Robert Fitz Walter lord of Wobham, John de S. John lord of Hamnake, Hugh de War lord of Swanestampe, William de Breuse lord of Gower, Robert de Menthault lord of Watwarden, Robert de Cateshall lord of Wokeham, Reignold de Grey lord of Ruthin, Henrie de Grey lord of Coduore, Hugh Bardolfe lord of Womegaie, Robert de Clifford chatelaine of Appelbie, Peter de Halowe lord of Hulgrene, Philip lord of Rime, Robert Fitz Roger lord of Clauertings, John de Mohun lord of Dunester, Amerike de S. Amound lord of Widehaie, William de Ferrers lord of Grobie, Alane de Fouche lord of Albie, Theobald de Werdon lord of Webbeley, Thomas de Furnuall lord of Schefeld, Thomas de Hulton lord of Egremont, William Latimer lord of Corbie, Thomas lord Berkley, Foulke Fitz Warren lord of Wittingham, John lord Segraue, Edmund de Cincourt lord of Churgerton, Peter Corbet lord of Caus, William de Cantelowe lord of Rauenthorpe, John de Beauchampe lord of Hacche, Roger de Mortimer lord of Denkethlin, John Fitz Reignold lord of Blenleueny Rafe de Neuill lord of Rabie, Brian Fitz Alane lord of Bedale, William Warthall lord of Hengham, Walter lord Huntercombe, William Martin lord of Cameis, Henrie de Thies lord of Chilton, Roger le Mare lord of Isfeld, John de Riwers lord of Augre, John de Lancaster lord of Grisedale, Robert Fitz Daine lord of Lainnier, Henrie Cregoz lord of Garinges, Robert Hipard lord of Lomford, Walter lord Fancumberge, Roger le Strange lord of Ellemmer, John le Strange lord of Enokin, Thomas de Chances lord of Norton, Walter de Beauchampe lord of Alcester, Richard Talbot lord of Eccleswell, John Butetourt lord of Whendeham, John En-

gain lord of Colom, Hugh de Poins lord of Cornualet, Adam L. of Wels, Simon L. Montacute, John L. Sulle, John de Melles of Melles L. of Candeburie, Edmund baron Stafford, John Louell lord of Packings, Edmund de R. lord of Elchunhones, Rafe Fitz William L. of Grimthorpe, Robert de Stales lord of Peusels, William Tucher lord of Lewenhales, John Abadan lord of Deuerston, John de Haue rings lord of Craston, Robert la Ward lord of Whitehall, Nicholas de Segraue lord of Stow, Walter de Cep L. of Stongrau, John de Lisse lord of Wodton, Eustace lord Hacche, Gilbert Perche L. of Corbie, William Dainell lord Crachington, Rog. de Albomasterio, Foulke le Strange lord of Corham, Henrie de Pinkenie lord of Wadon, John de Hodeleston lord of Aneis, John de Huntingfield lord of Brandenham, Hugh Fitz Henrie lord of Raucneswath, John Daleton lord of Spozle, Nicholas de Carrie lord of Hulestord, Thomas lord de la Roche, Wal. de Huncie lord of Chornton, John Fitz Harma duke lord of Horden, John lord of Kingston, Robert Hastings the father lord of Chelley, Rafe lord Grendon, William lord of Leiborne, John de Greistocke lord of Morpath, Matthew Fitz John lord of Stokenham, Nicholas de Neuell lord of Wtheriton, and John Dainell lord of Ateli, with all humble submissioun.

The holie mother church, by whose ministerie the catholike se is gouerned, in hir deeds (as we throughele beleue and hold) procedeth with that ripenesse in iudgement, that she will be hurtfull to none, but like a mother would euerie mans right be kept unbroken, aswell in another, as in hir selfe. Whereas therfore in a generall parlement called at Lincolne of late, by our most dread lord Edward by the grace of God the noble king of England; the same our lord caused certeine letters receiued from you to be read openlie, and to be declared seriously afore vs, about certeine businesse touching the condition and state of the realme of Scotland: we did not a litle muse and maruell with our selues, hearing the meanings concerning the same, so wondrous and strange as the like we haue not heard at any time befoze. For we know most holie father, and it is well knowen alwell within this realme of England (as also not unknouen to other persons besides) that from the first beginning of the realme of England, the certeine and direct gouernment of the realme of Scotland in all temporal causes from time to time belonged to the kings of the same realme of England and realme of Scotland, aswell in the times both of the Britains as also Englishmen, yea rather the same realme of Scotland of old time was in fee to the ancestours of our foresaid lords kings of England, yea and to himselfe.

Furthermore, the kings of Scots and the realme haue not bene vnder any other than

Hastings
take it.

Robert
I think.

Chasler
of St. Peter
king of the
new temple.

Out of
the first
part of
the 47.

Et
to 5

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An. Reg. 29, 30.

than the kings of England, and the kings of England haue answered or ought to answer for their rights in the foresaid reime, or for anie his temporalities before anie iudge ecclesiasticall or secular, by reason of fre preheminnence of the state of his roiall dignitie and custome kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treatie had, and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid letters, this was the common agrement & consent with one mind, and shall be without faile in time to come by Gods grace, that our foresaid lord the king ought by no meanes to answer in iudgement in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to send any proctors or messengers to your presence, speciallie seeing that the premises tend manifestlie to the disheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrowe of the state of the said realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customes and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping & defense of which we are bound by the duetie of the oth made, and we will mainteine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all strength, and furthermore, will not suffer our foresaid lord the king to do or by anie means attempt the premises being so accustomed, without, and not hard of afoze. Wherefore we reuerentlie and humbly besech your holinesse, that ye would suffer the same our lord king of England (who among other princes of the world sheweth himselfe catholike and deuout to the Romish church) quietlie to enjoy his rights, liberties, customes, and lawes aforesaid: without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witnesse whereof, we haue set our seales to these presents, as well for vs, as for the whole communalte of the foresaid reime of England. Dated at Lincolne the twelfth of Februarye, in the yeare of our Lord 1301, Et anno Edwardi primi 29.

The pope when he heard and deliberatelle pondered the kings answer, with this letter directed to him from the English barons, waxed cold in the matter, and followed it no further. The truce betwixt the king and the Scots being once expired, the king assembled his armie, and went into Scotland, about the feast of saint John Baptist, and tarling there all the summer and winter following, his soldiers lost manie of their great horses for lacke of forrage, which could not be gotten in the cold winter season. He kept his Christmas at Lithquo, and at length at the request and sute of his brother in law the French king, he granted effones a truce to the Scottishmen, untill the feast of All saints next ensuing.

Then hauing ordered his businesse for that time in Scotland, he returned into England, and about midlent called a parlement at London. Also this yere pope Boniface vpon displeasure conceiued against the French king, sent vnto king Edward, exhorting him to make warres against the same French king, and to persuaade him the more easilie thereunto, he promised him great aid: but the king of England hauing proued the said pope, not the

surest man in friendship towards him, forbore to attempt anie forceable exploit against the French king, trusting by some other meanes to recouer his right.

This yere Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford departed out of this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Humfrey, who afterwards married the kings daughter, Elizabeth countesse of Holland, after that his first husband was dead. Tourneys, iustices, barriers, and other warlike exercises, which yong lords and gentlemen had appointed to exercise for their pastime in diuerse parts of the realme, were forbidden by the kings proclamations sent downe to be published by the shirifs in euerie countie abroad in the realme: the tesse of the writ was from Westminster the sixteenth of Iulie. ¶ The citizens of Burdeaur could not beare the yoke of the French bondage, and therefore this yere about Christmaste expelled them out of their citie. ¶ Shortly after the French king doubting least the king of England, by the setting on of the pope, should make warres against him for wrongfull detaining of Gascoine, to purchase his fauor, restored to him all that which he held in Gascoine, and so then they of Burdeaur also submitted themselves to the king of England of their owne accord.

Now after that the truce with the Scots was expired, which took end at the feast of All saints last past, the king sent the lord John Segraue, a right valiant knight (but not so circumspect in his gouernment as was necessarie) with a great armie into Scotland, to haue the rule of the land as lord warden of the same: with him was ioined also Rafe Confreie, treasurer of the armie. These two capitains comming to the borders, and hearing that the Scottishmen already were in armes, they entered into Scotland, and in order of battell passed forth to Edinburgh, and hearing nothing of their enemies which kept them still in the mountains, they deuised their armie into three seuerall battels, two of the which came behind the fore ward vnder the leading of the said Rafe Confreie, the third (that is to say) the fore ward, the lord Segraue led himselfe, in such order that there was the distance of foure miles betwixt their lodgings. This they did to be the more plentifully serued of vittels.

But the Scots vnderstanding this order of their enemies, became the more hardie, and thereupon hauing knowledge where the lord Segraue was lodged with his companie, a good way off from the other two parts of the armie, they hasted forwards in the night season, and came nere vnto the place where the same lord Segraue was encamped, a little before daie, making themselves readie to assaile the Englishmen in their campe. But the lord Segraue hauing knowlege of their comming, though he was counsellled by some of them that were about him, either to withdraw vnto the other battels, or else to send vnto them to come to his aid, he would follow neither of both the waies; but like a capteine more hardie than wise in this point, disposed his companies which he had there in order to fight, and encouraging them to plaie the men, immediatlie vpon the rising of the sunne, and that his enemies approached, he caused the trumpets to sound to the battell, and gaue therewith the onset.

The fight was sore and doubtfull for a while, till the Englishmen overcome with the multitude of their enemies began to be slaine on eche side, so that few escaped by flight. To the number of thientie worthie knights were taken, with their capteine the said lord Segraue being sore wounded, but he was by chance rescued and deliuered out of the enemies hands, by certeine horsemen, which vnder the leading of the lord

The decesse of the earle of Hereford.

Re. Tur. Tourneys prohibited.

Townes restored to the k. in Gascoine.

Polydor. The lord Segraue set with an armie into Scotland.

Abingron. Polydor.

The English men vanquished by the Scots.

om. 1301.

Hastings take it.

robteimind I thinke.

Thus far out of the par- kins of the inner temple.

Out of me- ster for pag. 427.

The k. goth to Scotland.

Anno. Reg. 30. 1302. A truce granted to the Scots.

The king returned into England.

The pope exhorteth the k. of England to make war against France.

Rafe Cofrete
was flaine at
this inroun-
ter, as Abing-
ton faith.

N. Triuer.
The earle
Marshall re-
signeth his
lands vnto
the king.

A subsidie.

The king go-
eth in perfon
into Scots
land.

Cathnes.

The Scots
submit them-
selves to the
king.

Abington.
William Wa-
leis.

Polydor.
Hect. Boccius.
La. Meir.

Anno Reg. 32.
Striueling
castell be-
geb.
Abington.
1204
Engins to
cast stones.

lord Robert Peuell a right ballant knight (vpon hearing the noife of them that fled) came on the furs out of the next campe to the succour of their fellows. Rafe Confric after this mishap (as Polydor faith) brought backe the residue of the armie into Eng- land, not thinking it necessarie to attempt any fur- ther enterprife at that time against the enimies, our- matching him both in strength and number. This in- counter chanced on the first Iundaie in Lent. ¶ I re- member the Scottis chronicles containe much more of this enterprife greatlie to their glorie, and more (haplie) than is true, as by conferring the place where they intreat of it, with this that I haue here exem- plified out of our writers it may well appeare. The earle Marthall hauing spent largelie whilft he stood in contention against the king, who was now ear- nestlie called vpon to repaie such summes of monie as he had borrowed of his brother John Bigod, who was verie rich by reason of such benefices and spiri- tuall livings as he had in his hands, the earle bicause he had no children, to whom he might leaue his lands, meant to haue left them vnto his said brother: but when he saw him so importunate in calling for the debts which he owght him; he toke such displeasure therewith, that to obtaine the kings fauour, and to disappoint his brother of the inheritance, he gaue vnto the king all his possessions, vpon conditi- on that the king adding thereto other lands in value worth a thousand markes by yeare, should restore them to him againe to inioy during his life, the re- mainder after his decesse to come vnto the king, and further, the king should paie and discharge him of all his debts.

King Edward being aduertised of the losse which his men had sustained in Scotland, freightwaies called a parlement, wherein by assent of the states a subsidie was granted, towards the maintenance of his warres, and then the same being leued by assen- bled his people, and shortly after about Whitsuntide entred into Scotland to reuenge the death of his men. The Scots hearing of the kings coming, fled into the mountins, moles, and marish grounds, not once shewing any countenance to fight any set battell with the English host, so that the king in manner without resistance passed through the coun- trie euen vnto Cathnes, which is the furthest part of all Scotland. ¶ Some of the Scots perceiving their lacke of power to resist the English puissance, came to king Edward, and submitted themselves, with condition that they should inioy their lands which he had giuen auaie to his lords, they redeming the same with convenient fines, which was granted.

But Will. Waleis with certeine other, keeping themselves in places where no armie could come to pursue them, would neuer giue eare to any conditi- ons of agreement: so that neither with feare, neither with offer of rewards could this Waleis be induced to follow: behold the English R. ruling the realme of Scotland, King Edward returning backe, came to the castell of Striueling (which the Scottis men held against him) and besieged it. The king himsele laie at Dunferling the most part of the winter: and whilft he laie there, the queene which had lien a long time at Linmouth came to him, and when the win- ter was once past, the king himsele came to the siege, and caused certeine engins of wood to be raised by against the castell, which shot off stones of two or three hundred weight: but yet would not they with- in once talke of any surrender. And where the En- glishmen filled the ditches with wood and boughs of trees, they set the same on fire, and burnt them to ashes: at length the ditches were filled with stones and carth, so that then the Scots within perceiving themselves in euident perill to lose the castell, on

saint Margarets daie they yielded themselves sim- ple into the kings hands, as the English writers as- firme, though the Scottis writers record the con- trarie.

Finallie, when the king had ordered all his busi- nesse in Scotland at his pleasure, he returned into England, leauing in Scotland for warden the lord John Segraue, or (as other writers haue) sir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke. At his coming to Poike he caused the iustices of his bench, and the ba- rons of the exchequer to remoue with their courts, and all their clerks and officers, together with the lord chancellor and his court to London, that the termes might be kept there, as in times past they had bene, whereas now the same had remained at Poike a- boue the space of six yeares, vpon this consideration, that the king and his counsell might be nere vnto Scotland to prouide for the defense thereof, as occa- sion from time to time should require. ¶ From Poike he came to Lincoln, and there remained all the win- ter, holding a counsell, in the which he estones confir- med the articles of Magna charta, touching the liber- ties, priuileges and immunities of his subjects, the which to declare their thankfull minds towards him for the same, granted to him for the space of one yere the fifteenth part of all their reuenues. Others write that the king had in this yeare of citizens and of the burgeses of god townes, the first penie according to the valued rate of their goods.

About the same time, Thomas Coleburgh or Co- bridge archbishop of Poike departed this life, and one William Cranesfield doctour of both the lawes suc- ceeded him. ¶ There died about the same time that valiant knight the lord W. Latimer. ¶ Also John Warren earle of Surrey and Sussex died this yere e was buried at Welles. His nephew by his son (na- med also John) succeeded him, obtaining to wife the kings nece by his daughter Elianor that was mar- ried to the earle of Bar, as before ye haue heard. Likewise Robert Bruce earle of Carrike, the fift of that name died this yeare, who was father to that Robert Bruce that was after R. of Scots. ¶ More- over, about this season the king ordeined certeine commissioners of iudiciaries, to make inquisitions through the realme, by the verdict of substantiall iu- ries vpon all officers, as maiors, shiriffes, balliffes, exchetois, and other that had misused themselves in their offices, either by extortion, by berie, or other- wise, to the greiuanee of the people, contrarie to that they rightlie might do and iustifie by vertue of their offices: by means of which inquisitions manie were accused and found culpable, and therevpon put to greuous fines.

Also the iustices, which were assigned to take these inquisitions, extended the same according to their commission against such as had made intrusions in- to other mens lands, and for doubt to be impleaded for the same had made alienations ouer into the hands of great men; also against such barretois as vied to take monie to beat any man, and againe would not sticke to take monie of him whom they had so beaten, to beat him that first hired them to beat the other. The malice of such maner people was now restrained by force of these inquisitions: for such as were found culpable, were twofolde punished, some by death, and some by ransoms: diuerse also for feare to come to their answers fled the realme: also forfeits against the crowne were freightlie looked vnto, found out, and leuied; by reason whereof great summes of monie came to the kings coffers, which holpe well towards the maintenance and charges of his warres. This kind of inquisition was named commonlie Traile baston, which signifieth, Traile or draw the staffe. And forsomuch as the proceeding in this

Polydor.

Tho. Wall.
The earle of
Penbroke
lord warden
of Scotland.
N. Triuer.
Polydor.

A fifteenth
granted.

The death
of the arch-
shop of York.
Wille. Cranes-
field made
archbishop
of York.

Robert
Bruce earle
of Carrike
departeth
this life.

N. Triuer.
Inquisitions
taken of the
misdeame-
nors of the
offices.
Caxton.

Iustices
fined.
March. Wala.

Intrusions
punished, and
other offences
against the
kings peace
and iustice.

Forfeits.

Nic. Triuer.
Traile baston

this wille against such misdemenors as then were to
sed, brought to great a benefit to the realme in re-
streining such malefactours, whiche greatlie (as shoulde
seme) disquieted the state of the commonwealth; &
haue thought god to set downe the substance of the
same, as followeth.

An extract of the foresaid writ, as it is
registred in the booke that belonged
to the abbey of Abington.

Rex dilectis & fidelibus suis, Radulfo fi-
lio Wilhelmi, & Iohanni de Barton de
Riton salutem. Quia quamplures male-
factores, & pacis nostre perturbatores,
homicidia, depredationes, incendia, & alia damna
quam plurima nocte dieq; perpetrantes, vagantur
in boscis, parcis, & alijs locis diuersis, tam infra li-
bertates quam extra, in comitatu Eboracensi, &
ibidem receptantur in maximum periculum tam
hominum per partes illas transeuntium, quam ibi-
dem commorantium, in nostri contemptum, ac pa-
cis nostre lesionem manifestam, ut accepimus: per
quorum incursum poterunt peiora peioribus de fa-
cili euenire, nisi remedium super hoc citius appo-
natur, nos eorum malitia in hac parte obuiare, &
huiusmodi damnis & periculis praeuere volentes,
assignamus vos ad inquirendum per sacramentum
tam militum quam aliorum proborum & legalium
hominum, de contemptu predicto, tam infra liber-
tates quam extra, per quos ipsa veritas melius sciri
poterit, qui sint illi malefactores & pacis nostre
perturbatores, & eos conduxerunt & conducunt ad
verberandum, vulnerandum, male tractandum, &
interficiendum, plures de regno nostro in ferijs,
mercarijs, & alijs locis in dicto comitatu, pro inimi-
citijs, inuidia, aut malitia. Et etiam pro eo quod in
assisis iuratis, recognitionibus, & inquisitionibus
factis de felonijs positi fuerant, & veritatem dixe-
runt: unde per conditionem huiusmodi malefacto-
rum, iuratores assisarum, iurationum, recognitio-
num, & inquisitionum illarum, pro timore dicto-
rum malefactorum, & eorum minarum, sapius ve-
ritatem dicere, seu dictos malefactores indicare
minime ausi fuerunt, & sunt. Et ad inquirendum
de illis qui huiusmodi munera dederunt, & dant,
& quantum, & quibus, & qui huiusmodi munera
repperunt, & a quibus & qualiter, & quo modo,
& qui huiusmodi malefactores fouent, nutriunt,
& manutinent in comitatu predicto, & ad ipsos
malefactores tamper vos, quam per vicecomitem
nostrum comitatus predicti arrestandos, & priso-
na nostra liberandos, & saluo & secure in eadem
per vicecomitem comitatus predicti custodiendos,
ita quod ab eadem prisoa nullo modo deliberen-
tur, sine mandato nostro speciali.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos diem
& locum, quos ad hoc prouideritis, inquisitiones il-
las faciatis. Et assumpto vobiscum sufficienti pasc
comitatus predicti, si necesse fuerit, dictos male-
factores coram vobis sic indictatos, arrestetis, &
ipsos prisoa nostra liberetis, in forma predicta: &
etiam omnia bona, & catalla ipsorum malefactorum
qui se subtraxerint, & fugam fecerint, postquam
de felonijs aliquibus coram vobis solenniter in-
dictati fuerint, per vicecomitem comitatus pra-
dicti, in manum nostram capiat, & ea ad opus no-
strum saluo custodire faciat, donec aliud inde vo-
bis praeceperimus. Mandamus enim vicecomiti

nostro comitatus predicti, quod ad certos diem &
locum, quos vos prouiderere duxeritis, venire faciat,
coram vobis tot & tales, tam milites quam alios,
quos habere decreueritis, de comitatu illo, tam in-
fra libertates, quam extra, per quos ipsa veritas
melius sciri poterit, & inquiri. Et quod omnes il-
los quos per inquisitionem culpabiles inuenire con-
tigerit, & quos vos sic liberaueritis, a nobis re-
cipiantur, & quorum nomina eis scire faciat, as-
sumpto secum sufficienti posse comitatus pra-
dicti, sine dilazione arrestari, & in prisoa nostra
saluo & secure custodire faciat in forma pra-
dicta, & communitati dicti comitatus, quod si-
mul cum vicecomite predicto, vobis quotien-
scumq; opus fuerit in praemissis pareat, assistat, &
intendat, prout eis iniungetur ex parte nostra. In
cuius reite testimonium, &c. ¶ Heerevnto were
annexed certeine articles by way of instructi-
ons, of what points they should inquire, as part-
lie aboue is noted out of the addition to *Mat-
thew West*. but not so fullie, as in the said chro-
nicle of *Abington* is found expressed, and heere
for brecefenesse omitted.

In the thre and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, King
Edward put his sonne prince Edward in priso, bi-
cause that he had riotoullie broken the parkes of
Walter Langton bishop of Chester; and because the
prince had done this deed by the procurement of a
lewed and wanton person, one Peers Gascoigne, an
esquire of Gascoigne, the king banished him the
realme, least the prince, who delighted much in his
companye, might by his euill and wanton counsell
fall to euill and naughtie rule. Moreover, the same
yeare, William Malets was taken, and deliuered
vnto king Edward, who caused him to be brought to
London, where on St. Bartholmewes euen, he was
conueied through the streets vnto Westminster,
and there arreigned of his treason, and condemned,
and thereupon hanged, by a stone and quartered, his
head was set ouer London brdge, his right side
ouer the brdge at Newcastle vpon Tyne, his left
side was sent to Bertholme and there set by, his right
leg was sent to St. Johns towne; and his left vnto
Aberden, in which places the same were set by for an
example of terroz to others.

Also, about the same time, the king of France re-
quired the king of England by messengers and let-
ters sent vnto him, that he would banish all the Flem-
mings out of his realme, in like manner as at his
instance he had latelie before banished all the Sco-
tishmen out of France. The king of England was
contented so to do, and by that means were all the
Flemmings anoided out of this land at that season, but
shortlie after, they returned againe. King Edward
accused Robert archbishop of Canturburie vnto the
pope, for that he should go about to trouble the quiet
state of the realme, and to defend and succour rebel-
lious persons, whereupon the said archbishop being
cited to the popes consistorie, was suspended from
executing his office, till he should purge himselfe by
order of law, of such crimes as were laid and objected
against him. The king also obtined an absolution of
the pope, of the oath which against his will he had ta-
ken, for the obseruing of the liberties erected by force
of him, by the earls and barons of his realme, name-
lie, touching disforrestings to be made.

This yeare, Robert Wince, contriuing waies how
to make himselfe king of Scotland, the nine & thien-
tith day of Januarie, slew the lord John Comin at
Dunfrice, whilste the kings iustices were sitting in
iudgement within the castell there, and vpon the day
of

Anno Reg. 33.

I 305
Prince Ed-
ward com-
mitted to ward.
Caxton,
Fabian.William wa-
lets taken &
put to death.
Rich. South.

N. Triuet.

Flemmings
banished the
land, at con-
templation of
the king of
France,
Abington.
The archb-
shop of Can-
turburie accus-
ed by the St.
Nic. Triuet.
He is suspen-
ded.

Anno Reg. 34.

I 306
John lord
Comin slaine
by Robert
Wince.

The countesse
of Boughan
for the crowne
on Robert
Bruce his
head.

She is taken.

His punish-
ment.

An armie sent
into Scot-
land.

Prince Ed-
ward made
knight.
There hun-
dred faith
March. West.

Prince Ed-
ward sent into
Scotland.

Robert
Bruce.

Abington.

It was the
next sondaie
after midsum-
mer daie.

Rob. Bruce
out to fight
by the earle of
Penbrooke.

Rob. Bruce
fled into Ken-
tish.

His wife and
brother are
taken.
The earle of
Atholl taken.
Fabian.

of the Annunciation of our ladie, caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland at Scone, where the countesse of Boughan, that was secretlie departed from hir husband the earle of Boughan, and had taken with hir all his great horses, was readie to set the crowne vpon R. Bruces head, in absence of hir brother the earle of Jife, to whom (being in England) sojourning at his manor of Whitwike in Leicestershire, that office of right appertained. This countesse being afterwards taken the same yeare by the Eng-
lishmen, where other would haue had hir put to death, the king would not grant therunto, but commanded that she should be put in a cage made of wood, which was set vpon the walles of the castell of Berwike, that all such as passed by might behold hir; to render a punishment for so great an offense. But the king counted it no honour to be seuer against that for whom nature tendereth, though malefactors, and therefore was content with a mild correction tending rather to some shame than smart, to recompense hir offense, whereby she procured against hir selfe no lesse reproch than she sustained, agreeable to the old saying,

Sape sum proprium fecit puer ipse flagellum.

There were present at his coronation foure bishops, five earles, and a great multitude of people of the land. Immediately vpon the newes brought to the king of Bruces coronation, he sent forth a power of men, vnder the conduct of the earle of Penbrooke, and of the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Robert Clifford, and others, to resist the attempts of the Scots, now readie to worke some mischief, though the encouragement of the new king. Edward prince of Wales was made knight this yeare at London vpon Whitsondaie, & a great number of other young bachelors with him (297 as Abington writeth) the which were sent freightwaies with the said prince towards Scotland, to ioine with the earle of Penbrooke, to resist the attempts of the new king Robert le Bruce and his complices. King Edward himselfe followed. The generall assemble of the armie was appointed at Carleill, fiftene daies after the feast of saint John Baptist, from thence to march forth vnder the guiding of the prince into Scotland.

In the meane time, Robert le Bruce went abroad in the countries of Scotland, receiued the homages of manie Scottishmen, and got together an armie of men, with the which he approached nere to saint Johns towne, into the which the earle of Penbrooke was a little before entred to defend it, with three hundred men of armes, beside footmen. Then R. Bruce sent to the earle to come out and giue battell, the earle sent unto him word againe, that he would not fight that daie being sondaie, but vpon the next morow he would satisfie his request. Robert Bruce here vpon withdrew a mile backe from the towne, determining to rest himselfe and his people that night. About euening tide came the earle forth of the towne with his people in order of battell, and assailing his enemies vpon a sudden, slue diuerse yer they could get their armour on their backs. Robert Bruce and others that had some space to arme themselves made some resistance for a while, but at length the Englishmen put them to the worse, so that they were constrained to flee.

The earle following the chase, pursued them euen into Kentish, not resting till he vnderstood that a great number of them were gotten into a castell, which he besieged, in hope to haue found Robert Bruce within it, but he was fled further into the countrie. Howbeit, his wife and his brother Jfigell or Beall, with diuerse other were taken in this castell, and sent in safetie unto Berwike. Also shortly after, the earle of Atholl was taken, being fled out of the same castell. ¶ But some write, that this earle

was taken in the battell last remembred, after long fight and great slaughter of Scots, to the number of seven thousand, and also that in the chase, the lord Simon de Friseill was taken, with the bishops of saint Andrew and Glasco, the abbat of Scone, and the said earle of Atholl, named sir John Chambres. The bishops and abbat, king Edward sent unto pope Innocent, with report of their perjurie: but others write, that the foresaid bishops and abbat being taken indeed the same yeare, were brought into England, and there kept as prisoners within sundrie castles.

The wife of Robert le Bruce being daughter to the earle of Ulster, was sent unto the manour of Whitwike, and there honorablie used, hauing a conuenient number of seruants appointed to wait on hir. The earle of Ulster hir father, in the beginning of these last wars, sent unto king Edward two of his owne sonnes to remaine with him, in such wise as he should thinke conuenient, to assure himselfe of him, that he would attempt nothing against the English subjects. Also it was said, that the ladie hir selfe, the same daie hir husband and she should be crowned, said, that she feared they should proue but as a summer king and queene, such as in countrie townes the young folks chole for sport to dance about maipoles. For these causes was she the more courteously used at the kings hands, as reason no lesse required.

It should appeare by Robert Fabian, that the king was present himselfe at this battell: but other asseme, that prince Edward was there as generall and not his father, and that the battell was fought at Dunchell vpon the river of Tay. But neither the Scottish chronicles nor Nicholas Triuet (whom in the hystorie of this king Edward the first, we haue most followed) make any mention, that either the king or prince should be at the foresaid battell, but that the earle of Penbrooke with Robert lord Clifford, and Henrie lord Percie were sent before (as ye haue already heard) with an armie, by whom as appeareth this victorie was obtained, at a place called Methen. After this was the castell of Lochdore taken, and within it Christopher Setton, that had married the sister of Robert le Bruce; and because he was no Scot but an Englishman borne, the king commanded that he should be led unto Dunferme, where he had killed one of the kings knights, and there to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

The wife of this Christopher Setton, he appointed to be kept in the monastrie of Athrell in Lindsey; and the daughter of Robert le Bruce, which was also taken about the same time, was sent to the monastrie of Winton. Moreover, the manour of Setton in Whitebessford he gaue unto the lord Edmund de Spaulley, and those other lands that belonged unto the said Christopher Setton in Northumberland he gaue unto the lord William Latimer. The lands that belonged to the new Scottish king he bestowed in this wise, to Henrie Bohun earle of Hereford, which had married one of king Edwards daughters, he gaue the lordships of Annandale, Hert & Hertines he gaue unto the lord Robert Clifford, sauing alwaies the right yet that belonged to the church of Durham, Totenham, and Totenhamshire; and the maner of Wrothell in the south parts he gaue to other noble men; and the earldome of Carrke which R. Bruce had holden, as by inheritance from his mother, the king gaue to the lord Henrie Percie, the earldome of Atholl he gaue to Rafe de Spontmer earle of Gloucester, who had also married (as before ye haue heard) another of the kings daughters, after the decease of hir first husband Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester.

About the feast of saint Michaele, the new Scottish king

Nic. Triuet.
March. West.

Bruces wife
whole temp-
ter the war.

The falling
of Robert
Bruces wife.

Polydor.

Nic. Triuet.

March. West.
Methen.

Nic. Triuet.
He is execu-
ted.

His lands
giuen away
by the king.

The lands of
Rob. Bruce
giuen away.
The earle of
Hereford.

Lord Clifford.

The lord
Percie.
Rafe de
Spontmer.

king Robert le Bruce returned south of the fies (into the which he had fled) with manie Irishmen and Scots in his companie, and remained a certeine time in Kentire, he sent certeine of his officers, to leuie and gather up the rents of the fermes due at the feast of saint Martine for such lands and possessions as they held in that countrie, wherof the lord Percie being aduertised, hasted thither; but the new king comming vpon him, slew certeine of his men, toke his horses and plate, with other things, and droue him into a castell, within the which he besieged him, till at length by a power sent from king Edward, Bruce was constrained to depart. The king in this meane time was come to Lauercoft nere to Carleill, and there remained a long time. From thence he sent his iustices vnto Berwik, where they late in iudgement vpon Pigell Bruce, and the other priuoners taken with him, which were condemned to die, and so they were hanged, drowen and quartered. The earle of Atholl was conuied to London, and although he sued for pardon in respect of that he was of kin to the king, yet was he hanged vpon a gibbet higher than all the residue, his bodie burned vnder the same gibbet, and his head first cut off, was set vpon a pole ouer London brdge for example sake that traitors should loke for no pardon.

The elect archbishop of Yorke William Grænefeld was confirmed this yeare by pope Clement the first, at the citie of Lions in France, where the same pope was crowned about the same time, and held his court there, liuing cheslie by the monie which he got of bishops that came to him for their confirmations: he had of the said archbishop of Yorke within one yeare, nine thousand and 500 markes, besides the expences which he was at whilst he late there, and so when this archbishop was returned into England, through pouertie he was driuen to gather monie of the persons, prests, and religious men within his prouince at two sundrie times in one yeare, as first, in name of a courtesie and gracious beneuolence, and the second time by waie of an aid.

Moreouer, pope Clement ordeined Anthonie bishop of Durham, patriarch of Jerusalem, dispensing with him, so as he held still the bishopricke of Durham, notwithstanding his other promotion; and this was, because the bishop was rich, and the pope poore. For this bishop might dispend in yearelie revenues by purchases & inheritances, besides that belonged to his miter, about five thousand marks, and he gaue great rewards to the pope; and to his cardinals, by means whereof he obtained in suit against the priour of Durham, so that he had the charge and oversight of the monastirie of Durham, both the spirituall gouernement and temporall, through informing the pope, that the priour was not able in discretion to rule the house. At his returning home, he caused a crosse of silver and gilt, adorned with an image of the crucifix, to be borne afore him.

But where he appointed certeine persons as his deputies to enter into the priorie of Durham, and to take charge thereof in place of the priour, the monks shut the gates against them, appealing to the pope, and pretending the kings protection, which they had purchased. But those that thus came in the bishops name, accused the monks, & so departed. The king herewith was highlie offended, so that he caused them to answer the matter afore the iustices of his bench, and for their presumption in pronouncing the curse, without making the king priuie to their doings, they were put to their fines. And whereas the bishop was summoned to appeare before the king in person at a certeine daie, he made default, and departing out of the realme, got backe againe to the pope, contrarie to the kings prohibition: whereupon

the liberties of the see of Durham were seized into the kings hands, and the king placed his iustices and chancelor there, and in the yeare next ensuing, he executed of the tenants of the archbishopricke, the thirtieth partie of their goods, and otherwise beyed them with sundrie talages.

The conclusion of this matter was this, that the priour was cited by the pope, to appeare at his consistorie, whither he went, hauing the kings letters in his fauour directed to the pope; whereupon, when the pope had examined the matter, and heard the priour speake in his owne person, he perceiued him to be otherwise than he was informed (a sober and discret man) and therefore restored him againe to the gouernment of his house; but he remained in the popes court, till after the kings death, and finally died there himselfe in the yeare 1307. But now to returne to other doings of king Edward. We find, that whilst he lay still at Lauercoft, he gaue to the earle of Marwik Bernards castell, the which he had by escheat, through forfeiture thereof made by John Balioll late king of Scotland. He also toke and seized into his hands Penreth with the appurtenances.

In the octaues of S. Hilarie, the king held a parliament at Carleill, in the which, by the paires of the realme, great complaint was made of the oppressions done to churches, abbeies, and monasteries, by reason of payments latelie raised and tared by one maister William or Guillelmo Tessa the popes chapleine. Commandement therefore was giuen to the same chapleine, that from thenceforth he should not leaue anie such payments; and for further remedie, messengers were made south vnto the pope, to declare vnto him the inconuenience thereof. This Tessa was sent from pope Clement into England with bulles, in the contents whereof it appeared, that the pope had reserved to himselfe the first fruits of one yeares revenues of euerie benefice that fell void by anie manner of meanes within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and likewise of all abbeies, priories, and monasteries; so that it may well be said of him & his retinue, according to the proceesse of all their actions, as it was said of old,

Curia Romana non querit ouem sine lana.

But the king and lords of the land thought it against reason, that the pope should take and receiue the profits of those abbeies and monasteries, which had bene founded by their predecessors for the seruice of God, and the maintenance of almesdeuses, and good hospitalitie to be kept: and so the pope changed his purpose, touching abbeies, but granting to the tenth of the English churches for two yeares, he obtained the first fruits of the same churches for himselfe, as before he required. In the same parliament were statutes made concerning religious men, which had their head and chiefe houses in foreign regions.

There came also at the same time, a cardinall from the pope, named Petrus Hispanus, to procure the consummation of the marriage, betwixt the prince of Wales, and the French kings daughter; for the same was delayed, by reason that all couenants were not kept on the French kings behalfe, touching the deliuerie of the towne in Gascoine. For whereas in times past, the French king had giuen one of those towne that were taken from the Englishmen, named Gauleon, vnto a French knight; he kept the same still, and would not deliuer it now at the French kings commandement, where-through (as was said) the marriage had bene hitherto deferred. The same cardinall by vertue of his bull, would haue had of euerie cathedrall church, college, abbeie, and priorie, twelue marks of sterling monie; and of euerie person of parish churches eight pence of euerie

The conclusion of the strife betwixt the bishop and monks of Durham.

Bernards castell giuen to the earle of Marwik.

Anno. Reg. 35. 1307. Parliament at Carleill.

William Tessa the popes chapleine inhibited to leuie monie.

Abington.

A statute against the religious persons.

N. Triuer.

Petrus Hispanus a cardinall sent fro the pope.

The cause of his coming.

Math. West. His demand of monie of religious houses.

rie

Nic. Triuer. Math. West.

Bruces wife whose daughter she was.

The taking of Robert Bruces wife.

Polydor.

Nic. Triuer.

Math. West. Berthen. The castill of Lochboys taken, and Christopher Setton with in it. Nic. Triuer. He is executed.

His lands giuen away by the king.

The lands of Rob. Bruce giuen away. The earle of Hereford.

Lord Clifford

The lord Percie. He is summoned to appeare before the king and reuoluntly.

The L. Percie put to fight by the Scottish king Bruce.

Pigell or Peggall Bruce condemned and executed.

The earle of Atholl executed.

The summes of monie which the pope had of the archbishop of Yorke.

The great revenues of Anthonie B. of Durham.

He is kept out of the abbey of Durham.

He is summoned to appeare before the king and reuoluntly.

The cardinal
preacheth.

He accurseth
Rob Bruce.
Nic. Trivet.

Thomas
Bruce and
Alexander
Bruce taken.

March. West.

Tho. Bruce
executed.
Alexander
Bruce & Re-
ginald Cra-
ford executed.

The earle of
Denbroke
put to flight.

Bruce belie-
geth the earle
of Gloucester.

He is chased
fro that siege.

The death of
Ed. Edward
the first.
He is buried
at westmin-
ster.
His issue.

ric marke of his reuenues. But the English clea-
gie appealed from this cracion, so that by the king
and his counsell it was ordeined, that he should haue
no more than in times past cardinall Othobon did
receiue, that is to saie, the halfe of his demand. More-
ouer, this cardinall being at Carleill, and hauing
made a sermon in praise of peace, vpon the conclu-
sion of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and
the French kings daughter, in the end he reuelled
himselfe and the other bishops which were present,
and then with candels light, and causing the bells to
be rung, they accurset in terrible wise Robert Bruce
the blasper of the crowne of Scotland, with all his
partakers, aiders and maintainers.

After the lesse, Robert Bruce in this meane while
slept not his businesse, but ranging abroad in the
countrie, sue manie that would not obeye him, and
sent forth his two brethren, Thomas that was a
knight, and Alexander that was a priest, with part of
his armie into an other quarter of the countrie, to al-
lure the people vnto his obedience, partlie with gen-
tlenesse, and partlie with menaces. But the English
men came vpon them in the night and took them
both, so that being brought before the iustices they
were condemned, and there vpon hanged, broken
and quartered. ¶ Some write, that Duncan Pag-
doill, a man of great power in Galloway, took these
two brethren prisoners, together with Reginald
Crawford (being the principall) on the ninth daie
of Februarie, as they with certeine other capteins
and men of war came by sea, and landed in his coun-
trie, vpon whome being seuen hundred men, he with
three hundred or few about that number boldlie gaue
the onfet, and not onelie took the said three persons
prisoners, sore wounded as they were, with diuerse
other, but also sue Malcolme Makale a lord of Ren-
frew, and two Irish lords, whose heads, and the spe-
ciall prisoners, he presented vnto king Edward, who
caused Thomas Bruce to be hanged, broken and
quartered, but the other two were onelie hanged and
quartered at Carleill, where their heads were set vp
aloft on the castell and gates of the citie.

After Easter their brother Robert Bruce, calling
himselfe king of Scotland, and hauing now aug-
mented his armie with manie souldiers of the out-
fles, fought with the earle of Denbroke and put him
to flight, and sue some of his men though not manie.
Within a few daies after, he chased also the earle of
Glocester, into the castell of Aire, and besieged him
within the same, till an armie was sent from king
Edward to the rescue: for then the said Robert was
constrained to fle, and the Englishmen followed, till
he got into the woods and marshes, where they might
come nere him without manifest danger, so call
themselves abwaie. ¶ The king of England, min-
ding to make a full conquest of the Scots, and not to
leave off untill he had wholie subdued them, sent his
commissions into England, commanding all those
that ought him seruite, to be redie at Carleill with-
in three weekes after Midsummer. He sent his sonne
Edward into England, that vpon knowledge had
that the French king did touching the agreement, he
might accordingly proceed in the marriage to be
made with his daughter.

After the prince was departed from the campe,
his father king Edward was taken with sore sick-
nesse, yet he remoued from Carleill, where the same
sicknesse first took him, vnto Burrough vpon Sand,
and there the daie after being the seuenth daie of Ju-
lie, he ended his life, after he had reigned 34 yeares,
six moneths and one and twentie daies. He liued 68
yeares and twentie daies. His bodie was conueied
to London, and in the church of Westminster lieth
buried. He had issue by his first wife queene Elianor,

four sons, John, Henrie, Alfonso, & Edward which
succeeded him, the other died long before their father.
Also five daughters; Elianor, Ione, Margaret, and
Elizabeth, were betroved in marriage as before in
this booke is expresse: the fifth named Marie became
a nunne. By his second wife queene Margaret, he
had two sonnes, Thomas of Brotherton, and Ed-
mund of Woodstocke, with one daughter named
Margaret after his mother.

He was tall of stature, some what blacke of colour,
strong of bodie, and leane, auoiding grolenesse, with
continual exercise, of comelie fauour, and iettie eyes,
the which when he was angry, would suddenlie be-
come reddish, and same as though they sparkled with
fire. The haire of his head, was blacke and curled,
he continued for the most part in good health of bo-
die, and was of a stout stomack, which neuer failed
him in time of aduersitie. Moreover, he had an ex-
cellent god wit, for to whatsoener he applied his stu-
die, he easilie attained to the vnderstanding thereof:
wise he was and vertuous, an earnest enemie of the
high and presumptuous insolence of priests, the
which he iudged to proceed cheslie of too much wealth
and riches: and therefore, he deuised to establish the
statute of Mortmaine, to be a bzidle to their inopi-
nate lusts and riotous excesses. He built the abbey of
the vale rofall in Cheshyre, he was a constant friend,
but if he once took displeasure or hatred against any
person, he would not easilie receiue him into fauour
again: whilst he had any vacant time from weigh-
tie affaires, he spent lightlie the same in hunting.

Towards the maintenance of his warres and o-
ther charges, besides the subsidies which he leuied of
his people, and other reuenues comming to his cof-
fers, he had great helpe, by reason of the siluer mines
which in his daies were found in Denonshire, and
occupied greatlie to his profit, as in the records re-
maining in the exchequer, concerning the accompts
and allowances about the same it doth and may ap-
peare. For in the accompts of master William de
Williamsham, it is recorded, that betwixt the twelfth
daie of August, and the last of October, in the 22
yeare of this king Edwards reigne, there was tried
and fined out at Martineston in Denonshire by
times, so much of fined siluer, as amounted to the
summe of 370 pounds weight, which being brought
to London, was there refined by certeine men, that
plate might be forged thereof, for the lady Elianor
duches of Bar, and daughter to the said king, married
in the yeare then last past to the duke of Bar, as he
fore ye haue heard.

In the 23 yeare of his reigne, there was fined at
the place aforesaid 321 pounds 4 ten shillings weight
of siluer by times, which was also brought to Lon-
don. In the 24 yeare of his reigne, there were taken
by 337 miners, within the wapentake of the Beake
in Darbithyre, and brought into Denonshire, to
work there in those siluer mines, as appears by the
allowances demanded by the said master William de
Williamsham in his roll of accounts, deliuered that
yeare into the exchequer: and there was brought from
thence to London the same yeare of siluer fined and
cast in wedges 700 four poundes, three shillings, one
penie weight. In the 25 yeare of his reigne, there
were three hundred and fourtie eight miners brought
again out of the Beake into Denonshire, and out
of Wales there were brought also 25 miners, which
all were occupied about those siluer mines, besides o-
thers of the selfe countrie of Denonshire, and other
places. Also Wil. de Aulton cleark, keeper of the
kings mines in Denonshire and Cornewall, was
accountant of the siluer and profits of the kings
mines there, from the fourth of March, Anno 26. of
his reigne, till the eighteenth of Apill, Anno 27. and
paided

His stature
and forme of
bodie.

His quality
of mind.

He mislike
the price of
prelats.

His warre

The fine
Williamsham
also record
82 poundes
26 poundes
lead, out of
the Beake
was refined
as appears
by his ac-
count.

Between
10 day of
Iulie, and the
day of Sep-
tember the
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yielded by his account, both of the silver and lead.

But now to conclude with this noble prince king Edward the first, he was sure not onely valiant but also politike, labouring to bring this divided Ile, into one entier monarchy, which he went verie nere to haue atchiued, for whereas he was fullie bent to make a conquest of Scotland, in like case as he had already done of Wales, if he had liued any longer time to haue dispatched Robert le Bruce, that onely stood in his waie, it was verie likelie that he should haue found none other to haue raised banner against him about the quarrell or title to the claime of that realme. For as he was a right warlike prince of himselfe, so was he furnished with capitains and souldiers answerable to his desire, who being able to lead and command them of himselfe, had them at length obedient inough to serue him, although (as partlie ye haue heard) some of the peres thelved themselves at times disobedient and stubborne, whom yet in the end he tamed well inough, as the earles of Hereford and Southfolke, the which in the thirtieth yeare of his reigne resigned their castels and manours into his hands, as by the records of the towne it further may appeare.

Now to follow, as in other kings I haue done heretofore for learned men, these I find to haue flourished in this kings daies, Henrie de Henna a Carmelite frier, Godwine the chantor of the church of Salisburie, Adam de Marisco or Maris bozne in Summersethire an excellent diuine as he was reputed in those daies, Gregorie Huntington a monke of Kanesey verie expert in the tonges; Senall archbishop of Poike a man singularly learned and stout in defending the cause of his cleargie against the pope, Haimo de Fenertham, Peter Swanington, Helias Trickingham, Helias de Cuesham, Radulfe Boeking bozne in Suffex, Alfrede surnamed Anglicus, James Cisterciensis, William of Ware, Robert Drenford, Thomas Docking, John surnamed Grammaticus, Robert Dodeford; but the more part of these are rather to be ascribed vnto the time of Henrie the third, the father of this king Edward, where these that follow are thought to flourish in the time of king Edwards reigne, after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, Thomas Spot a chonographer, Peter de Ickeham a Kentishman bozne as Bale thinketh, John Beckton a doctor of both the

lawes, William Hanaberge a Carmelite frier, prouinciall gouernour of his order here in England; Robert Kilwarbie bishop of Canturburie, and after made a cardinall and bishop of Portua; Gilbert surnamed Maginus, a monke of the Cisterciur order; Helias Ros, Walter Recluse, Hugh le Cuesham, John Cnerden a writer of annales, whom I haue partlie followed in this kings life; William Bagham, Henrie Clesborne, John de Haida, Roger Bacon a Franciscane frier, an excellent philosopher, and likewise a mathematician, John Derlington a dominike frier, John Chelmeiston, Thomas Worsfale a Southfolke man bozne, Gregorie Cairugent a monke of Glocester a writer of annales, Gregorie de Bedlington, Thomas Bungey a frier minor bozne in Southfolke, an excellent mathematician, prouinciall ruler of his order here in England, he flourished in the daies of king Edward the first, although there were another of the same name that liued in the time of king Edward the third, Hugh de Marchester a Dominike frier, & prouinciall gouernour of his order here in England, Richard Knapwell a Dominike frier, John Beckham bozne in the dioces of Chichester, a Franciscane frier, excellently learned, as by his workes it appeareth, he was advanced by pope Bonozius the third, to the archbishops see of Canturburie; Thomas de Illey a Southfolke man bozne, and a white or Carmelite frier in the house of Cipestolch, Michaele surnamed Scot, but bozne in the bishopricke of Durham (as Leland saith) an excellent physician, and likewise verie expert in the mathematical; Hugh de Newcastell a frier minor, professed in the same towne, Thomas Sutton a blacke frier, that is of the order of S. Dominike, John Kead an historiographer, William de la Mare a frier minor, Thomas Wicke a chanon of Wney in Drenford, Simon de Gaunt, William Hothun, prouinciall of the friers Dominiks in England, John de Hyde a monke of Winchester, Robert Crouch, a corbellier, or a Franciscane frier, Richard Adleton a frier minor, Thomas Spirman a blacke frier, William Adlington a doctor of diuinitie, and a Carmelite frier in Stanford, John Fiberte or Beuer, a monke of Westminster, William Spakelesfeld bozne in Cheshire, in a market towne, whereof he beareth the name, a blacke frier by profession, and an excellent philosopher.

Thus farre Edward the first, surnamed Longshanks.



Hh.j.

Edward



Edward the second, the sonne of Edward the first.

1307

Continuation
of Matt. West.The bishop of
Conventrie
committed
to prison.Officers re-
moued.

Polydor.

Piers de
Caueson.

Edward, the second of that name, the sonne of Edward the first, bozne at Carnaruan in Wales, began his reigne ouer England the seauenth day of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1307, of the world 5273, of the comming of the Barons 847, after the conquest 241, about the tenth yeare of Albert emperor of Rome, and the two and twentieth of the fourth Philip, surnamed Le Beau, as then king of France, and in the third yeare after that Robert le Bruce had taken upon him the crowne and gouernement of Scotland. His fathers corpse was conueied from Burgh upon Sands, unto the abbete of Waltham, there to remaine, till things were readie for the buriall, which was appointed at Westminster.

Within three daies after, when the lord treasurer Walter de Langton bishop of Conventrie and Lichfeld (thorough whose complaint Piers de Caueson had bene banished the land) was going towards Westminister, to make preparation for the saue buriall, he was upon commandement from the new king arrested, committed to prison, and after deliuered to the hands of the said Piers, being then returned againe into the realme, who sent him from castell to castell as a prisoner. His lands and tenements were seized to the kings vse, but his moorables were giuen to the foresaid Piers. Walter Keig-nold that had bene the kings tutor in his childhood, was then made lord treasurer, and after when the see of Worcester was void, at the kings instance he was by the pope to that bishopricke preferred. Also, Rafe bishop of London was deposed from the office of lord Chancellour, and John Langton bishop of Chichester was thereto restored. Likewise, the barons of the exchequer were removed, and other put in their places. And Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke was discharged of the wardenship of Scotland, and John de Britaine placed in that office, whom he also made earle of Richmond.

But now concerning the demeanour of this new king, whose disordered manners brought himselfe and manie others unto destruction; we find that in the beginning of his gouernement, though he was of nature giuen to lightnesse, yet being restrained with the prudent aduertisements of certeine of his counsellors, to the end he might shew some likelihood of good prouise, he counterfeited a kind of grauitie, betwee and modestie; but yet he could not thoroughlie be so briddled, but that forthwith he began to plaie diuers wanton and light parts, at the first indeed not outrageouslie, but by little and little, and that couertlie. For hauing reuoked againe into England his old mate the said Piers de Caueson, he receiued him

into most high fauour, creating him earle of Cornuall, and lord of Span, his principall secretarie, and lord chamberlaine of the realme, thorough whose companie and societie he was suddenly so corrupted, that he burst out into most heinous vices; for then using the said Piers as a procurer of his disordered doings, he began to haue his nobles in no regard, to set nothing by their instructions, and to take small heed vnto the good gouernement of the commonwealth, so that within a while, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure, and riotous excesse: and to helpe them forward in that kind of life, the foresaid Piers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworn to make the king to forget himselfe, and the state, to the which he was called) furnished his court with companies of iesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughty ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in iesting, plaieing, banqueting, and in such other filthie and dishonorable exercises: and moreover, desirous to aduance those that were like to him selfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, sith they were ill bestowed, were rather to be accounted dishonorable than other wise, both to the giuer and the receiuer, sith

*Sufficiens honor est homini, cum dignus honor est,
Qui datur indigno non est honor, est uero imo
Ludibrium, ueluti in scena cum ludus est rex,
Quippe honor est sibi virtutis debita merces.*

About the thirteenth day of October, a parliament was holden at Westhampton, in the which it was ordeined by the kings appointment, that the coine of his father king Edward should be still currant, notwithstanding the basenesse thereof, as some reputed it, and therefore it was moued in the parliament to haue it disallowed. Also, order was taken for the buriall of his fathers corpse, which was solemnlie conueied from Waltham, and brought to Westminister the seauen and twentieth day of October following, where with all funerall pompe it was interred. Moreover, at the same parliament, a marriage was concluded betwixt the earle of Cornuall Piers de Caueson, and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which he had by his wife the countesse Joane de Acres the kings sister, which marriage was solemnized on All halloves day next ensuing.

About the two and twentieth of Januarie, the king sailed ouer into France, and at Wallongne in Picardie on the four and twentieth day of Januarie, he did homage to the French king for his lands of Calcoine and Pontieu, and on the morrow after, married Isabell the French kings daughter, and on the twentieth of Februarie he returned with her into England, and comming to London, was iustitie receiued of the citizens, and on the five and twentieth daie

The peers
next ensuing
the 14 of
April was
taken by
Robert Bruce.

Parlement
holden at
Westhampton.

Piers de
Caueson married.

The king
sailed out of
France.

The king
married the
French kings
daughter
the 14 of
February.

The king and
quene crowne
ned.

Tho. Wals.
Sir John
Blackwell
fourth
and thrust to
death.
Continuation
of N. Triet.

The order
taken for the
apprehension
of the templers.

of Februarye, being Shrouelundate in the leape
yeare, they were solemnly crowned by the bishop of
Winchester, because that Robert the archbishop of
Canturburie was not as then within the realme.
There was such ptease and throng of people at this
coronation, that a knight called Sir John Bakewell
alias Blackwell, was thrust or crowded to death. On
the day of the circumcision this yeare, a great tem-
pest of thunder and lightning began about euenlong
time, that continued the most part of the night fol-
lowing.

On Wednesday after the Epiphanie, the knights
templers in England were apprehended all in one
day by the kings commandement, upon suspicion of
hainous crimes & great enormities by them practi-
sed, contrarie to the articles of the christian faith. The
order of their apprehension was on this wise. The
king directed his writs vnto all and euerye the shir-
riffes of counties within the realme, that they should
giue summons to a certeine number of substantiall
persons, knights or other men of god accompt, to be
afore them at certeine places within their gouerne-
ments, named in the same writs, on the Sunday the
morrow after the Epiphanie then next insuing, and
that the said shirriffes shoulde not be there the same
day in their owne persons, to execute that which in
other writs to them directed, and after to be sent,
should be contained. The date of this writ was the
fiftenth of December.

The second writ was sent by certeine chapleins,
in which the shirriffes were commanded upon the ope-
ning of the same, forthwith to receiue an oth in pre-
sence of the said chapleins, to put in execution all
that was therein contained, and not to disclose the
contents to any man, till they had executed the same
with all expedition, and therewith to take the like oth
of those persons, whom by vertue of the first writ they
had summoned to appeare afore them. An other writ
there was also framed & sent by the same chapleins,
by the which the said shirriffes were commanded to
attach by their bodies, all the templers within the
precinct of their gouernements, and to seise all their
lands and goods into the kings hands, together with
their writings, charters, deeds, and miniments, and
to make thereof a true inuentarie and indenture, in
presence of the warden of the place, whether he were
brother of that order, or any other, & in presence of ho-
nest men being neighbors; of which indenture, one
part to remaine in the custodie of the said warden,
and the other with the shirriffe, vnder his seale that
should so make seisure of the said goods: and further,
that the said goods and chattels should be put in safe
custodie, and that the quicke goods and cattell should
be kept and found of the premisses as should seeme
most expedient, and that their lands and possessions
should be manured and tilled to the uttermost con-
uinitie.

Further, that the persons of the said templers be-
ing attached, in manner as before is said, should be
safely kept in some competent place out of their
owne houses, but not in streight prison, but in such
order, as the shirriffes might be sure of them to bring
them forth when he should be commanded, to be
found in the meane time according to their estate of
their owne goods so seised, and hereof to make a true
certificat vnto the treasurer and barons of the exche-
quer, what they had done concerning the premisses,
declaring how manye of the said templers they had
attached, with their names, and what lands and goods
they had seised by vertue of this precept. The date of
these two last writs was from Wistec, the 20 of De-
cember, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the
exchequer, was the morrow after the Purification.
There were writs also directed into Ireland, as we

haue there made mention, and likewise vnto John
de Wittaine earle of Richmond the lord warden of
Scotland, & to Eustace de Cotesbach chamberclene
of Scotland, to Walter de Pederton iustice of
Westwales, and to Hugh Aldighle alias Audle ius-
tice of Northwales, to Robert Holland iustice of
Chester, vnder like forme and maner as in Ireland
we haue exprested.

The malice which the lords had conceiued against
the earle of Cornewall still increased, the more in-
creased through the high bearing of him, being now ad-
uanced to honour. For being a goodlie gentleman
and a stout, he would not once yeeld an inch to any of
them, which worthilie procured him great enuie a-
mongst the chiefeest peeres of all the realme, as Sir
Henrie Lacie earle of Lincoln, Sir Oue earle of
Warwike, and Sir Almer de Valence earle of Den-
broke, the earles of Glocester, Hereford, Arundell,
and others, which upon such wrath and displeasure as
they had conceiued against him, thought it not con-
uenient to suffer the same any longer, in hope that
the kings mind might hapilie be altered into a bet-
ter purpose, being not altogether conuerted into a be-
nignous disposition, but so that it might be cured, if
the corrupter thereof were once banished from him.

Whereupon they assembled together in the parle-
ment time, at the new temple, on Saturday next be-
fore the feast of Saint Dunstan, and there ordeined
that the said Peers should abiure the realme, and de-
part the same on the morrow after the Natinitie of
Saint John Baptist at the furthest, and not to returne
into the same againe at any time then after to come.
To this ordinance the king (albeit against his
will) because he saw himselfe and the realme in dan-
ger, gaue his consent, and made his letters patents
to the said earles and lords, to witnesse the same.

Tho. Wals.
Continuatio
of N. Triet.

The tenour of the kings let- ters patents.

Notum vobis facimus per presentes,
quod amodo usque ad diem dominus
Petrus de Gauesdon regnum nostrum
est abiuraturus & exsurus, videli-
cet in crastino natiuitatis S. Iohan-
nis Baptiste proximo sequenti: nos in quantum
nobis est nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permitte-
mus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo
poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin secundum for-
mam a prelatibus, comitibus, & baronibus regni no-
stri, ordinatam, & per nos libero consensu confir-
matam, plenarie perficiatur. In cuius rei testimo-
nium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes.
Datum apud Westm. 18 die May. Anno regni
nostri primo.

These letters were read heard, and allowed in the
presence of all the noble men of this land, the day
and yeare abovesaid. The archbishop of Cantur-
burie, being lately returned from Rome, where he
had remained in exile in the late deceased kings
daies for a certeine time, did pronounce the said
Peers accursed, if he taried within the realme lon-
ger than the appointed time, and likewise all those
that should aid, helpe, or mainteine him, as also if he
should at any time hereafter returne againe into
the land. To conclude, this matter was so follow-
ed, that at length he was constrained to withdraue
himselfe to Bristow, and so by sea as a banished man
to saile into Ireland.

The king being sore offended herewith, as he that
fauoured the earle more than that he could be with-
out

Anno Reg. 2.
The earle of
Cornewall
banished the
realme.

The kings
favour to-
wards the
earle of Corne-
wall.

Polydor.
Fabian.
The earle of
Cornwall
deputie of
Ireland.
Hen. Marle.

out his companie, the atned the lords to be renewed
for this displeasure, and ceased not to send into Ire-
land unto Piers, comforting him both with friend-
lie messages, and rich presents, and as it were to the w
that he meant to retaine him still in his favour, he
made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there. A
wonderfull matter that the king should be so incan-
ted with the said earle, and so addia himselfe, or rather
fix his hart vpon a man of such a corrupt humoz, a-
gainst whome the heads of the noblest houses in the
land were bent to deuise his overthrow: but the lesse
maruell it is that the king bare him such a feruent
affection, and set his hart vpon him, considering that

vetus auctorum sententia, mores

Quod simile, simile et studium sunt fomes amoris,

Sic vanus vanum, studiosus sic studiosum

Diligit, et socios adeunt animalia cetera.

The lords perceiving the kings affection, and that
the treasure was spent as lawleslie as before, thought
with themselves that it might be that the king would
both amend his passed trade of life, and that Piers
being restored home, would rather aduise him there-
to, than follow his old maners, considering that it
might be well perceived, that if he continued in the
incouraging of the king to lewdnesse, as in times
past he had done, he could not thinke but that the
lords would be readie to correct him, as by pofse he
had now tried their meanings to be no lesse. Here-
vpon to retaine amitie, as was thought on both sides,
Piers by consent of the lords was restored home
again (the king meeting him at Chester) to his great
comfort and reioysing for the time, although the ma-
lice of the lords was such, that such ioy lasted not long.

In the fourth yeare of king Edward was a coun-
cell holden at London against the templers, the
which counsell induced from the beginning of Aprill,
till June. In this counsell they confessed the same,
but not the fact of the crimes laid to their charge, ex-
cept two or thre ribalds that were amongst them:
but because they could not cleare themselves, they
were adiudged vnto perpetuall penance within
certaine monasteries. The king this yeare fearing
the enute of the lords against Piers de Caueson,
placed him for his more safetie in Wambourgh cas-
tell, bearing the prelates and lords in hand, that he
had committed him there to prison for their plea-
sures.

This yeare also there were ordinances made for
the state and gouernement of the realme, by the pre-
lates, earles, and barons, which were confirmed with
the sentence of excommunication against all them
that should go about to breake the same. The king
neither allowed of them nor observed them, although
he had confirmed them with his seale, and sent them
to all cathedrall churches and counties, to be regi-
stered in perpetuall memorie thereof. The king indeed
was lewdisle led, for after that the earle of Cornwall
was returned into England, he shewed himselfe no
changeling (as writers do affirme) but through sup-
port of the kings favour, bare himselfe so high in his
doings, which were without all good order, that he re-
med to disdaine all the peeres & barons of the realme.
Also after the old sort he provided the king to all
naughtie rule and riotous demeanour, and having
the custodie of the kings iewels and treasure, he
toke out of the iewel-house a table, & a paire of tre-
sels of gold, which he deliuered vnto a merchant cal-
led Aimerie de Fricobald, commanding him to
conueie them over the sea into Gascoine. This table
was iudged of the common people, to belong some-
time vnto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged
the more that the same should thus be sent out of the
realme.

The king this yeare raised a great power to go

into Scotland. And about the feast of the Assumption
of our ladie, hauing with him Piers de Caueson
earle of Cornwall, and the earles of Gloucester and
Warren, he came to Berwik, which towne he cau-
fed to be fortified with a strong wall, and a mightie
deepe ditch, and although the other earles would not
come to serue him in that vofage, by reason of a new
variance risen amongst them, yet he marched forth
into Scotland, to seeke his aduersarie Robert le
Bruce: but Robert refusing the battell, kept him
forth of the waie, so that the king was driuen to re-
turne to Berwik againe, without meeting with his
enemie. And he was no sooner come backe, but the
said Robert and his people entred into Louthian, for-
molesting such as were yeldded to the king of Eng-
land. The king aduertised therof, followed them, but
could doo no good, & so returned. The earle of Corne-
wall laie at Rockeshourgh, and the earle of Gloce-
ster at Roxham to defend those parts. After Can-
demasse, the king sent the earle of Cornwall, with
two hundred men of armes to St. Johns towne, be-
yond the Scottish sea, who receiued to the kings peace
all those that inhabited beyond that sea vnto the
mounteins. The king laie still at Berwik, but the
earles of Gloucester and Warren, after the begin-
ning of Lent, rode into the forest of Solkirke, and
receiued the foresters & other the inhabitants there
to the kings peace. ¶ In this fifth yeare of the kings
reigne, but somewhat before this present, in the yeare
1310, Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne gouernour of
England in the kings absence departed this life, in
whose place the earle of Gloucester was chosen gou-
nour, and therefore he returned now into England.
This erle of Lincolne was buried in the new worke
at Paules. Lieng on his death bed, he requested (as
was reported) Thomas earle of Lancaster, who had
married his daughter, that in any wise he should
stand with the other lords in defense of the common-
weith, and to mainteine his quartell against the earle
of Cornwall, which request earle Thomas faithfu-
lie accomplished: for by the perswade of him, and of the
earle of Warwick cheefle, the said earle of Corne-
wall was at length taken and beheaded (as after
shall appeare.) Some write that king Edward the
first vpon his death bed, charged the earles of Lin-
colne, Warwick, and Penbrooke, to seeke that the
foresaid Piers returned not againe into England,
least by his euill example he might induce his sonne
the prince to lewdnesse, as before he had alreadie
done.

Thomas earle of Lancaster came toward Ber-
wik, to do homage to the king for the earldome of
Lincolne fallen to him in right of his wife, now af-
ter the deceasse of his father the late earle of Lin-
colne. But he was counsellled not to go forth of the
realme to the king, so that therevpon rose no small
displeasure, and great doubt least there would haue
followed civil waies about it. Nevertheless, at
length the king was perswaded to come ouer the wa-
ter vnto Hagerston, foure miles distant from Ber-
wik, and there receiued homage of the earle, and so
they continued friends, and for that time departed a-
lunder in loving matter. The lords perceiving the
mischiefe that dailie followed and increased by that
naughtie man (as they took it) the earle of Corne-
wall, assembled at Lincolne, and there toke counsell
together, and concluded estates to banish him out of
the realme: and so therevpon shortly after, about
Christmasse (as some write) or rather, as other haue,
within the quindene of saint Michael, he was criled
into Flanders, for against the kings will and plea-
sure, who made such account of him, that (as appea-
red) he could not be quiet in mind without his com-
panie, & therefore about Canlemasse he estates re-
turned

Rich. Scob.
Anno Reg.

Berwik
tised.

The king
entred into
Scotland.

1309
Anno Reg. 3.
Hen. Marle.

1310
Anno Reg. 4.
The addition
to Triuet.

The earle of
Cornwall
placed in
Wambourgh
castell.

Polydor.

Caxton.

1311

Fabian.
Hen. Marle.

Rich. Scob.
The earle
of Cornwall
banished into
Flanders.

Anno Reg. 7.
Record. Tur.

Hen. Marle.
Marriages.

1324
The success
of Robert
Bruce.

The king of
England pas-
seth into
Scotland.

The English
men chased.

The king
escapeth.

The battell
of Banock-
burne.

The great
slaughter of
Englishmen.
Polydor.

Fabian.
Croxden.
Addition to
Triuer and
Matth. Paris.

Anno Reg. 8.
A council hol-
den at York.

Sir Peter
Spalding.

1325
The Scots
in Ireland.

Whilomdate at the coronation of Philip sonne to the French king, created that day king of Navarre. John de Wokenford bishop of Bath and Wells was appointed warden of the realme till the kings returne. In Julie the king returned backe from his iourne into France, and landed at Sandwich the mondaie before the feast of S. Margaret, hauing patched his businesse with the French king in good and honorable manner, for his lands and countrie of Gascoigne. About this season Maurice fitz Thomas, and Thomas fitz John married two sisters that were daughters to Richard earle of Gloucester. In this meane time, Robert Bruce recovered the most part of all Scotland, winning out of the English mens hands such castles as they held within Scotland, chasing all the soldiers which late there in garri- son, out of the countrie, and subduing such of the Scots as held on the English part.

King Edward to be reuenged herof, with a mightie armie brauelie furnished, and gorgeously apparel- led, more seemelie for a triumph, than meet to incoun- ter with the cruell enimie in the field, entered Scot- land, in purpose speciallie to rescue the castell of Sterling, as then besieged by the Scottishmen. But at his approaching nere to the same, Robert Bruce was readie with his power to giue him battell. At the which king Edward nothing doubtfull of losse, had he vnto selfe ordered his people, and confounded their ranks, that euen at the first joining, they were not onlie beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by those that coped with them at hand, but also were wound- ed with shot a farre off, by those their enimies which stood behind to succour their fellows when need re- quired, so that in the end the Englishmen fled to saue their liues, and were chased and slaine by the Scots in great number.

The king escaped with a feio about him, in great danger to haue bene either taken or slaine. Many were drowned in a little river called Banockburne, nere to the which the battell was foughten. There were slaine of noble men, Gilbert earle of Gloucester, Robert lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argentine, the lord Ihuane Tiptoth, the lord William Spallhall, the lord Reginald Daincourt, the lord Edmund of Spaulpey the kings stepson, with other lords and barons to the number of 42, and of knights and bar- nets to the number of 67. There were slaine of all sorts vpon the English part that date about ten thou- sand men, ouer and beside the prisoners that were tak- en. Amongst the which were accounted 22 men of name, as the earle of Hereford, the lord John Be- grave, William lord Latimer, Maurice lord Berkeley, and others. He that listeth to heare more of this discomfite may read thereof further at large in the Scottish historie.

The king of England hauing escaped from this battell, which was fought on the summer day in the here aforesaid, came to York, where he held a coun- cell of his lords, to haue their advice by what meane he might best redoe his auaire, and reuenge the losse, which he had susteyned at the hand of his enimie Ro- bert Bruce. And shortly after was Sir Peter Spalding sent into Berwick, with a crew of soldiers to de- fend the towne against the said Bruce, who intended thortie to laie siege to that towne, as the king had certeyne vnderstanding. Also the Scottishmen ad- uanced highlie in their minds for the late gotten vic- torie, passed ouer into Ireland, vnder the conduct of Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, lea- uing that countrie, by spoile, rape, and fire, the villages were robbed, the towne and castles which they wane sacked, and after fired, so utterlie to deface them.

The Irishmen being put in great feare herewith,

assembled togither, and ioined themselves with such Englishmen as late there in garri- sons, curt the which the lord John Bermingham as deputie had the these charge. Thus being ioined togither, they made earnest resistance against the attempts of their en- mies in defence of the countrie. And so by that means they warred and fought one against another, with great slaughter on both sides, the Scottishmen on their part doing their best to obtayne the gouerne- ment of the countrie, hauing already obtained no small portion thereof, and created Edward Bruce king there, and the Irishmen on the other part, in- forcing their whole induer to beat the enimie backe, and to rid him out of the countrie. But at length the inuincible obstinacie of the Irishmen prevailed, through aid of the Englishmen, (as after shall ap- peare.) Presently in the meane while, as some English chronicles make mention, there died of the Scots in these warres to the number of thirtie thou- sand, and aboue fiftene thousand Irishmen.

The Scots not onlie thus invaded Ireland, but also continued their rage against England. For the same yeare about the feast of Peter and Paule, they entered into the bishoppe of Durham, & spo- led the countrie vnto Hartlepole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there found, the in- habitants being fled with their ships to the sea. About the ende of the following, the king of Scots entered England with a mightie armie on the west borders, and comming to Carlisle besieged the citie, remain- ing before it ten daies, but they within so valiantlie defended themselves and their walls, that the Scots lost more than they wane, saving that during their abode at this siege, they robbed and wasted the coun- tries of Alledale, Copeland, and Westmerland. The 11 day after their comming thither, when they had assailed all their force and pollicie to win the citie, and saw themselves nothing toperuail, but to lose their men and trauell, they dashed their field, and re- turned into Scotland with dishonour, leaving behind them all their engines of warre, so that besides the dishonour which he sustained by the repulse, in lieu of lurre he suffered losse, and therefore this lesson by ex- emplification would be learned and practised, that

As he who spee generis hinc in inde ferunt
Pole as they went their waie, certaine Englishmen following them, took John de Spurre, who in the battell of Redbourn had for his part 13 English knights prisoners, beside squires and others. They took also with him one Robert Berdolf a great enemy of the Englishmen.

This yeare there fell a great great raine and abundance of snow, in the moneths of Julie and Au- gust, that the husbandmen of the countrie could not get in that small crop which then stood on the ground, and that which they sowed, yielded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the springing well ap- peared. On the day of the Assumption of our lau- die, John the kings second sonne was borne at Chatham. A knight of Lancashire called Sir Adam Banister raised war in this yeare of king Edward as trigne against his lord the earle of Lancaster, but about the feast of saint Martine he was taken and beheaded. Also this yeare Edward de Bruce bro- ther to the king of Scots, entered into the north parts of Alchester with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Augustine in Maie, and afterwards burnt Dun- dolke, and a great part of Shropshire. The Irishmen so burnt the church of S. Mary in the battell of Conneran in Alchester, Richard earle of Gloucester fled, and Sir Richard Bourgh, Sir John Spandeville, and Sir Alan Fitz Warren were taken prisoners. The castell of Northburgh was also taken, & at Berlis in South the lord Roger Mortimer was discomfited by

The lord
Bermingham

Great
slaughter of
Scots in
Ireland.

Ri. Scutier.

The bishop
of Durham
spoiled
the town

Anno Reg.
1324
The king
of Scots
invaded
Eng-
land.
Carlisle
besieged.

The king
returned.

John de
Spurre
taken.

Great
rain.

John de
Spurre
born.

Hen. Marle.
Dun-
dolke
burnt.

The
burning
of
Conneran.

A blasing star
dearth and
death.

The deccale
of Guie earle
of Warwike.
Croden.

1316
Rich South.

Anno Reg. 10.
The dearth
increased.

The lord Be-
aumont dis-
comfied.
1317

Lewes Beau-
mont taken
by Sir Gilbert
Spibleton.

Caxton.

Sir Gilbert
Spibleton
proclaimeth
himself duke.

Cardinals
and Fifco
cardinals.

the foresaid Edward Bruce, and manie of the said
for Rogers men were slaine and taken.

Also in the ninth years of king Edwards reigne,
before Whissnalle, a blasing starre or comet appeared
in the north part of the element, by the space of a mo-
neth together, and after followed dearth and death (as
after shall appeare.) Guie earle of Warwike, a man
of great counsell and skilfull prouidence, departed
this life this yeare, and was buried at the abbey of
Woddestre. About Spibsummer the Scots estones
entred into England, doing much mischief with fire
and sword, in like sort as they had bled to do before
time, not sparing (as some write) so much as those
houses wherein women late in childbed. At their com-
ing to Richmond, the gentlemen of the countrie
that were got into the castell to defend it, compoun-
ded with the enemies for a great summe of monie,
to spare the towne and countrie about it, without do-
ing further damage thereto at that tountrie.

The Scots hauing received the monie, turned
their march toward the west parts, and iournieng
threcoze miles, came to Jfourneis, burning all the
countrie thereabouts, and toke abwaie with them all
the goods and prisoners, both men and women which
they might laie hands on, and so returned, retolling
most of such iron as they had got in that iournie, for
they had great want in Scotland of that kind of me-
tall in those daies. The dearth by reason of the unsea-
sonable weather in the summer and harvest last past
still increased, for that which with much adoe was in-
ned, after when it came to the profe, yielded nothing
to the value of that which in thease it seemed to con-
teine, so that wheat and other graine which was at a
lowe price before, now was enhanced to a farre higher
rate, the scarcitie thereof being so great, that a quar-
ter of wheat was sold for forty shillings, which was a
great price, if we shall consider the allaie of monie
then current. Also by reason of the murther that
fell among cattell, hedes and muttons were unresol-
nable prices.

About this season, the lord Henrie Beaumont a
man of high valiance and noble courage, hauing
gotten together a power of men, entred into Scot-
land, and after he had taken great booties and spoiles
in the countrie, he being intrapped by Sir James
Douglas, lost the most part of his men, together
with the prey which they had gotten. The displeasure
of these mishaps was increased with the naughtyie
and bold presumption of Sir Gilbert Spibleton
knight, who being offended that maister Lewes
Beaumont was preferred unto the bishops see of
Durham, and Henrie Stamford put from it, that
was first elected and after displaced by the kings suit
made unto the pope, toke the said Lewes Beau-
mont and his brother Henrie on Wingleston more
nere unto Darlington, leading the bishop to Spar-
path, and his brother the lord Beaumont into the cas-
tell of Spibford, and so deteined them as prisoners,
till they had redemed their libertie with great sums
of monie. Here with the said Sir Gilbert being ad-
vanced in pride, proclaimed himselfe duke of York
thumberland, and joining in friendship with Robert
Bruce the Scottish king, cruelly distressed the coun-
tie of Richmond with such traitorous parts. While
aim frilton, and Thomas Petre being not a little
frighted, first went by force the castell of Spibford, and
after apprehended Sir Gilbert Spibleton, with his
companion Walter Selbie, and sent them up to
London, where shortly after they were againe han-
ged and quartered.

Some write that the said Sir Gilbert was put to
death for robbing two cardinals, to wit, Warwike
the popes chancellore, and Lucas de Wylton, that
were sent from pope John the thownd twentieth, to

consecrate the foresaid Lewes Beaumont bishop of
Durham, and to intreat a peace betwixt the realms
of England and Scotland, and also to make an a-
greement betwixt the king and the earle of Lanca-
ster. The which being met with upon Wingleston
more in Yorkshire by the said Gilbert, were robbed
of such stuffe & treasure as they brought with them,
but yet escaped themselves and came to Durham,
and from thence sent messengers to Robert Bruce,
to perswade him to some agreement. But whereas he
would not condescend to any reasonable conditions
of peace at that time, they determined to go into
Scotland to talke with him themselves: but before
they came to the borders, king Robert, who iudged it
not to stand with his profit to haue any peace in that
season, sent certeine of his people to forbid the cardi-
nals the entrie of his realme. The cardinals being
thus inturionable handled, pronounced the Scots by
their legantine power accursed; and interdicted their
whole realme. And because they saw nothing lesse
than any hope to do good with king Robert touching
any composition or agreement to be had, they retur-
ned againe to the pope, without any conclusion of
that for the which they were sent.

After that Edward Bruce had atchined such en-
terprises in other parts of Ireland, as in the last yere
we haue heard, he went unto Ffenath, and to Ske-
res in Leinster, and there the lord cheefe iustice Ed-
mund Butler rose against him, with the lord John
fitz Thomas, that was after erle of Kildare, Sir Ar-
nold Butler, and diuerse other, with a great armie.
But by reason of discord that chanced amongst them,
they scaled their armie, and departed out of the field
on the 26 date of February. Edward Bruce then
burned the castell of Leis, and after returning into
Ulmeffer, he besieged the castell of Knockfergus,
and due Thomas Spandensle, and his brother John,
at a place called Dowon, as they came thither out of
England. After this the foresaid Edward returned
into Scotland.

In this season vittels were so scant and deere, and
wheat and other graine brought to so high a price,
that the poore people were constrained thorough fa-
mine to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, and other vil-
le beasts, which is wonderfull to beleue, and yet for de-
fault there died a great multitude of people in di-
uers places of the land. Fourre pence in bread of the
countie of York would not suffice one man a daie. Wheat
was sold at London for foure marks the quarter and
aboue. When after this dearth and scarcitie of vittels
insued a great death and mortallitie of people, so
that that by warre of the Scots, and that by this
mortallitie and death, the people of the land were
wonderfullie waied and consumed. A pittifull depo-
pulation!

Edward Bruce before the feast of Easter retur-
ned againe into Ireland, with the earle of Murray
and other noble men of Scotland, hauing with them
a great armie, and besieged the castell of Knockfer-
gus, and after they went to another castell where
they took a Baron prisoner: & there Edward Bruce
late for a season. Also Richard earle of Ulmeffer lay
in saint Patricks abbey by Dublin, where the maior
and commonaltie of the cite toke him, and put him
in prison within the castell of Dublin. They also
dne his men, and spoiled the abbey. After this the
foresaid Edward Bruce went to Lincolne, after
the feast of saint Patthe the apostle, and there so-
journed till Easter was past.

In the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings
deputie herked at Waterford with a great armie,
by reason wherof Edward Bruce for feare depart-
ed, and got him into the uttermost parts of Ulme-
ffer, and John fitz Thomas was made earle of Kil-
dare.

Thom. Wallf.

Fabian.
Caxton.

Polydor.

The curse
pronounced
against the
Scots.

Rich. South.

A pittifull
famine.

Tho. Wallf.
Fabian.

A soze mortu-
allitie of people,
by reason
of the
warre.

John fitz
Thomas erle
of Kildare.

Croxden.

Anno Reg. 11.
Ri. Southwell.
1218Berwick be-
trayed to the
Scots.Castles won
by the Scots.Northalerton
and Bourgh-
bridge burnt.Anno Reg. 12.
Additions to
Triact.
The king &
the earle of
Lancaster
made friends.Rob. Bruce
pronounced
accursed.

Hen. Marl.

Th. Walsing.
Continuation
of Triact.

dare. Also Decore of Conneigh, and manie other
Irishmen of Cor nagh and Meth were slaine nere
to Arie by the Englishmen of those parts. There
was a great slaughter also made of the Irishmen
nere unto Whiffildermote, by the lord Edmund But-
ler, and an other also at Balteham of Dmoyth by the
same Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle
of Wlnester out of prison, and after Whiffuntide ba-
nished out of Meth sir Walter Lacie, and sir Hugh
Lacie, giuing their lands awaie from them unto his
knights, and they went ouer into Scotland with Ed-
ward Bruce, who returned thither about that time.
The death still increased as by some writers it should
appeare.

In the elcuenth yeare of king Edward the second
his reigne, upon the saturday night before Midlent
sundaye, the towne of Berwtike was betrayed to the
Scots, through the treason of Peter Spalding. The
castell held good tache a while, till for want of vittels
they within were constrained to deliuer it into the
Scotishmens hands, who wan also the same time the
castell of Harbottell, Wlcker, and Medford, so that
they possessed the more part of all Northumberland,
euen unto Newcastle upon Tyne, sauing that cer-
taine other castles were defended against them. In
Maye they entred with an armie further into the
land, burning all the countrie before them, till they
came to Alton, which towne they spoiled, and tarieng
there thre daies, they receiued a thousand marks of
those that were got into the church, and defended it a-
gainst them, for that they should spare the towne, and
not put it to the fire, as they had already done the
townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they
came forwarde. In their going backe they burnt
Barnesburgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they
had first sacked, and so passing through the midst of
the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them,
they returned into Scotland with a marvellous
great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and
women, and no small number of poore people, which
they toke with them to helpe to dyne the cattell.

In the 12 yeare of Edward the seconds reigne,
in August, the king and the earle of Lancaster came
to talke together in a plaine beside Leicester, where
they were made friends to the outward shew, so that
in the yeare next following, the said earle went with
the king to the siege of Berwtike. About the feast of
the Ascension of our ladie, the two cardinals, which
were yet remaining in England, sent forth com-
mandements unto all the prelates and priests with-
in the realme, that thre times in euery solemne
masse, they should renounce Robert Bruce that cal-
led himselfe king of Scotland accursed, with all his
counsellors and fauours, and on the behalfe of the
pope, they deposed him by denunciation of all ho-
nour, and put all his lands vnder interdiction, dis-
abling all their children [to the second degree] that
held with him, as hypochrite & usit to receiue, or
take vpon them any ecclesiasticall function. They de-
nounced also all the prelates of Scotland, and men of
religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate
and accursed.

The lord Roger, Mortimer returned againe into
England, and Alexander, King of Scots, was made there
knight of Ireland. The said Edward Bruce, with sir
Walter and sir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a
great armie, returned out of Scotland, and arrived
at Dundalk, on the day of saint Calixt the pope.
But nere to the same place sir John Bellingham,
Richard Lute, and Giles of Winton, with a power
of 1200 men incountred them, and slay the said Ed-
ward Bruce, and about the number of 100 men,
or (as other haue) but 70. The said sir John Bel-
lingham brought the head of Edward Bruce

ouer into England, and presented it to the king.
Whereupon the king in recompense of his seruice,
gaue vnto him the earldome of Aouth, to hold to
him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird
to him and his heires generally.

About this season, or somewhat before, about the
summer (as Southwell saith) a naughtie fellow called
John Woidas, or (as some books haue) Ponderham,
a tanners son of Cresser comming to Drford, and
there thrusting himselfe into the kings hall that stood
without the wals, gaue forth that he was sonne and
right heire of king Edward the first, and that by
means of a false nurse he was stolne out of his crad-
dle, and this Edward the second being a carter son
was brought in and laid in his place, so that he by
reason thereof was afterwards hardlie fostered and
brought vp in the north part of Wales. At length be-
ing laid for, he fled to the church of the white friers in
Drford, trusting there to be safe through the immuni-
tie of the place, because king Edward the first was
their founder. But when he could not keepe his tong,
but still fondlie uttered his follie, and stood in his opi-
nion, so that great rumour thereof was raised, he was
at length taken out of that church, & caried to North-
hampton, where he was there arraigned, condem-
ned, and had forth to a place in the countrie called the
copped oke, where he was drawne, hanged, and as a
traitour botvelled. At the houre of his death he con-
fessed, that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of
a cat, which amongst other things assured him that
he should be king of England.

In this season, to wit, in the yeare 1219, a great
murder and death of cattell chanced through the
whole realme, spreading from place to place, but spe-
ciallie this yeare it reigned most in the north, where
as in the yeares before it began in the south parts.
The king desirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made
preparation to leue a nightie armit, and for want
of sufficient numbers of men in other places to-
wards the north parts, the king caused much people
to come vnto him out of the south and east parts of
the realme, amongst the which the citie of London
was constrained to send at their costs and charges
two hundred men, sending them to Poike, where the
generall assemble of the armie was made. From
thence, after he had receiued his men from sundrie
countries and good townes of his realme, he went to
Berwtike, & laid siege to the towne. In which meane
time the Scots being assembled, came to the boy-
ders, passed by the English host, and entering into
England, came in secret wise to the north into the
marshes of Pockesfure, and there slay the people, and ro-
bed them in most cruel wise.

Wherefore the archbishop of York, meaning in
time of such necessitie to do his endeour in defense
of his countrie, assembled such power as he could get
together, of clerkes, monks, canons, and other spi-
rituall men of the church, with husbandmen and such
other brabst people for the warres, and thus with a
great number of men, and with warlike or discreet
chefe men, he together with the bishop of Elie, as
then lord chamberlaine, came forth against the Scots,
and incountred them at a place called Spittot
byon Swale, the thirteenth day of October. Here as the
Englishmen compassed about the head of Swale, the
Scots setting upon certaine Englishmen, the smoke
where of was so thicke, that the Englishmen might
not perceiue the Scots. And when the English-
men were once got ouer the water, the Scots came
upon them with a living in god order of battell, first
charging the Englishmen with their long speares,
then with the bowes, and lastly with the swordes, and
great resistance was that there, many slaine to the
number

dare. Also Drconer of Conneigh, and manie other Irishmen of Cor nagh and Besh were slaine nere to Aurie by the Englishmen of those parts. There was a great slaughter also made of the Irishmen nere unto Whilidermote, by the lord Edmund Butler, and an other also at Balteham of Dmogh by the same Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle of Wlneffer out of prison, and after Whitsuntide banished out of Besh sir Walter Lacie, and sir Hugh Lacie, giuing their lands awaie from them unto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotland with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time. The death still increased as by some writers it should appear.

Croxden.

Anno Reg. 11.
Ri. Southwell.
1318
Berwike betrayed to the Scots.

Castels soon by the Scots.

Northalerton and Bourghbridge burnt.

Anno Reg. 12.
Additions to Triet.
The king & the earle of Lancaster made friends.

Rob. Bruce pronounced accursed.

Hen. Marl.

Th. Walsing.
Continuation of Triet.

In the eleuenth peare of king Edward the second his reigne, upon the saturday night before Wholent funde, the towne of Berwike was betrayed to the Scots, through the treason of Peter Spalding. The castell held good tache a while, till for want of vittels they within were constrained to deliuer it into the Scottishmens hands, who wan also the same time the castell of Harbottell, Wlker, and Medford, so that they possessed the moze part of all Northumberland, euen unto Newcastell upon Tyne, sauing that certeine other castels were defended against them. In Maye they entred with an armie further into the land, burning all the countrie before them, till they came to Alpon, which towne they spoiled, and tarieng there thre daies, they receiued a thousand marks of those that were got into the church, and defended it against them, so that they should spare the towne, and not put it to the fire, as they had already done the townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwards. In their going backe they burnt Linarshourgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they had first sacked, and so passing through the middle of the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a marvellous great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and women, and no small number of poze people, which they toke with them to helpe to drue the cattell.

In the 12 peare of Edward the seconds reigne, in August, the king and the earle of Lancaster came to talke together in a plaine beside Leicester, where they were made friends to the outward shew, so that in the peare next following, the said earle went with the king to the siege of Berwike. About the feast of the Ascension of our ladie, the two cardinals, which were yet remaining in England, sent forth com mandements unto all the prelates and priests with in the realme, that thre times in euery solemne masse, they should denounce Robert Bruce that called himselfe king of Scotland accursed, with all his counsellors and fauours, and on the behalfe of the pope, they depriued him by denunciation of all honours, and put all his lands under interdictiō, disabling all their children [to the second degree] that held with him, as being this & built to receiue. As take upon them any ecclesiasticall function, they denounced also all the prelates of Scotland, and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accursed.

The lord Roger Mortimer returned againe into England, and Alexander, his son, was made chiefe of Ire land. At this Edward Bruce, with sir Walter and sir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie, returned out of Scotland and arrived at Dundalk, on the day of saint Calixtus the pope. But nere to the same place sir John Belingham, Richard Cote, and Miles of Winton, with a power of 1200 men encountered them, and slue the said Edward Bruce, and shew the number of his men, or (as other haue) but 800. The said sir John Belingham brought the head of Edward Bruce

ouer into England, and presented it to the king. Whereupon the king in recompense of his seruice, gaue unto him the earledome of Louth, to hold to him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird to him and his heires generall.

About this season, or some what before, about the summer (as Southwell saith) a naughtie fellow called John Doidras, or (as some books haue) Dunderham, a tanners son of Wycoffer comming to Drford, and there thrusting himselfe into the kings hall that stood without the wals, gaue forth that he was sonne and right heire of king Edward the first, and that by means of a false nurse he was stolne out of his cradle, and this Edward the second being a carters son was brought in and laid in his place, so that he by reason thereof was afterwards hardlie fastened and brought by in the north part of Wales. At length being laid for, he fled to the church of the white friers in Drford, trusting there to be safe through the immunity of the place, because king Edward the first was their founder. But when he could not keepe his tongue, but still fondlie uttered his follie, and stood in his opinion, so that great rumour thereof was raised, he was at length taken out of that church, & caried to Northampton, where he was there arreigned, condemned, and had forth to a place in the countrie called the copped oke, where he was dratone, hanged, and as a traitour bowelled. At the houre of his death he confessed, that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of a cat, which amongst other things assured him that he should be king of England.

In this season, to wit, in the peare 1319, a great murdaine and death of cattell chanced through the whole realme, spreading from place to place, but especially this peare it reigned most in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the south parts. The king desirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made preparation to leue a mightie armie, and for want of sufficient numbers of men in other places towards the north parts, the king caused much people to come unto him out of the south and east parts of the realme, amongst the which the citie of London was constrained to find at their costs and charges two hundred men, sending them to Poike, where the generall assemble of the armie was made. From thence, after he had receiued his men from sundrie countreies and good townes of his realme, he went to Berwike, & laid siege to the towne. In which meane time the Scots being assembled, came to the borders, passed by the English host, and entring into England, came in secret wise to the marches of Pokeshire, and there slue the people, and robbed them in most cruel wise.

Wherefore the archbishop of Poike, meaning in time of such necessity to do his indubitable in defence of his countie, assembled such power as he could get together, of clerkes, monks, canons, and other spiritual men of the church, with husbandmen and such other trust people for the warres, and thus with a great number of men, and with warlike or discreet chiefe men, he together with the bishop of Ely, as then lord chancellor, came forth against the Scots, and encountered them at a place called Spittell upon Dunbar, the thirtieth day of October. Here as the Englishmen passed dur the river of Swale, the Scots set on upon them with such hate, the noble knights of the king, that the Englishmen might not stirre the Scots, and when the Englishmen were once got ouer the river, the Scots came upon them with a wing in god order of battell, in which they were slaine, and all the king's entrees, who for lack of good government, were easily betrayed, and thus discomfited, without the wing and great resistance, so that there were slaine to the number

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1319
Anno Reg. 12.
Additions to Triet.

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The enue of
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Spenfers.I 3 2 0
Additions to
N. Triuic.Tenth of the
ecclesiasticall
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Anno. Reg. 14.
Caxton.Scots est-
toms accused

number of two thousand and the residue shamefullie put to flight.

The archbishop, the lord chancellor, and the abbat of Selbie, with helpe of their swift hories escaped, and diuerse other. The maior of Poike named Nicholas Fleming was slaine, & sir William Dremyn preest taken prisoner. Manie were drowned, by reason that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Englishmen and the bridge, so that the Englishmen fled betwixt that wing of the Scots and their maine battell, which had compassed the Englishmen about on the one side, as the wing did vpon the other. And because so manie spirituall men died in this battell, it was after named of manie writers The white battell. The king of England informed of this overthrow giuen by the Scots to the Boztherne men, he brake vp his siege incontinentlie, and returned to Poike.

Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to euill successe, so that the English nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate government of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, rashlie and with no good aduise ment ordered his doings, which thing so greued the noblemen of the realme, that they studied day and night by what means they might procure him to loke better to his office and dutie; which they iudged might well be brought to passe, his nature being not altogether euill, if they might find shift to remove from him the two Spenfers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, who were gotten into such fauour with him, that they onelie did all things, and without them nothing was done, so that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation (sith

linor non deerit iniquum

Dulcibus et letis, qui se confundat amarum)

both of the lords and commons, as euer in times past was Peters de Cauxton the late earle of Cornuall. But the lords minded not so much the destruction of these Spenfers, but that the king ment as much their advancement; so that Hugh the sonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrarie to the mind of all the noblemen, by reason whereof he bare himselfe so haucie and proud, that no lord within the land might gainsaie that which in his conceit seemed good.

In this thirteenth yeare of his reigne, in June king Edward went ouer into France, where at Amiens he found the French king, of whome he received the countie of Pontieu, which the said French king vpon his coming to the crowne had seized into his hands, because the king of England had not done to him his homage due for the same. Also this yeare the pope granted to the king of England the tenth of ecclesiasticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he had likewise done. About this season, pope John, being informed of the great destruction and vnnecessfull warre which the Scots made vpon the Englishmen, and namelie for that they spared neither church nor chapel, abbey nor priory, he sent a generall sentence vnder his bulles of lead vnto the archbishop of Cantuarburie and Poike, appointing them that if Robert le Bruce the Scottish king would not recompense king Edward for all such harmes as the realme of England had by him suffered, and also make restitution of the goods that had bene taken out of churches and monasteries, they should pronounce the same sentence against him and his accomplices.

Wherevpon when the Scots toke no regard to the popes admonition, the archbishop proceeded to the pronouncing of the foresaid sentence, so that Robert Bruce, James Douglas, and Thomas Randolph earle of Murray, and all other that kept him

company, or them in any wise maintained, were accursed throughout England euerie day at masse three times. Notwithstanding this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great cost and charge, and in the meane season the commons of the realme were sore oppressed by sundrie waies and means, diuerse of them lost their goods and possessions, being taken from them vpon surmised and feined quarrels, so that manie were vtterlie vndone, and a few singular and misordered persons were aduanced.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce failed betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an armie of Scots entred England, and came into the bishoprike of Durham. The earle of Murray staid at Darlington, but James Douglas and the steward of Scotland went forth to waste the countie, the one towards Hartlepole and Cleueland, and the other towards Richmond: but they of the countie of Richmond (as before they had done) gaue a great summe of monie to saue their countie from inuasion. The Scots at that time remained within England by the space of fiftene daies or more. The knights and gentlemen of the north parts did come vnto the earle of Lancaster that laie the same time at Donstret, offering to go forth with him to glue the enemies battell, if he would assist them: but the earle seemed that he had no lust to fight in defense of his prince, that sought to oppresse him wrongfullie (as he toke it) and therefore he dissembled the matter, and so the Scots returned at their pleasure without encounter.

About this season, the lord William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioied diuerse faire possessions to him descended from his ancestors, but through want of good gouernement was run behind hand, offered to sell a certeine portion of his lands called Gowers land lieng in the marches there, vnto diuerse noble men that had their lands adjoining to the same, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Spottimers, the uncle & nephue, albeit the lord Spottimaie that had married the onelie daughter and heire of the lord Bruce, thought verelie in the end to haue had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spenfer the yonger lord chamberleine, coueting that land (because it lay nere on each side to other lands that he had in those parts) found such means through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchase, to the great displeasure of the other lords that had bene in hand to buie it.

Hereby such hart burning rose against the Spenfers, that vpon complaint made by the erle of Hereford vnto the earle of Lancaster, of their presumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the king as seemed best to their likings, it was thought expedient by the said earles that some remedie in time (if it were possible) should be prouided. Wherevpon the said earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with the lords Roger Luchet, Roger Clifford, Jocelin Deieuille, Roger Bernfield, the two Spottimers, Roger the uncle and Roger the nephue, William de Soulie, William de Elmbrige, John Clifford of Barmesfield, and Henrie Cleis, all barons; the which with diuerse other lords and knights, and men of name, assembling together at Shierborne in Elmcdone, swore each of them to stand by other, till they had amended the state of the realme: But yet notwithstanding this their oath, the most part of them afterwards forsaking the enterprise, submitted themselves to the king.

Nevertheless, whether for that the king by a proclamation set forth the sixteenth of March, had commanded (as some write) that the lords Spottimaie, Clifford,

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The Scots
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fers.

Clifford, and De la Zouche for disobeysing to make their personall appearance before him, should avoide the land within ten daies next ensuing, or for that they meant with all speed to put their enterprise in execution, we find that the earle of Hereford, the lords Spontimer, the uncle and nephew, the lord Roger Damorie, the lord John Spoltwraie, the lord Hugh Audelie, and his sonne named also Hugh, the lord Clifford, the lord John Gifford of Wymsheld, the lord Spozice Berkely, the lord Henrie Ties, the lord John Patrauers, with manie other that were alied together, having the consent also of the earle of Lancaster, on the Wednesday next after the feast of the Invention of the crosse, having with them to the number of eight hundred men of armes, five hundred hoblers, and ten thousand men on foot, came with the kings banner spread unto Melport in Wensloks lands, where they toke the castell that belonged unto the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the younger.

The lords take armes upon them against the Spensers.

They invade the Spensers lands.

They also toke Kaerdie, Kerillie, Lantrellane, Caluan, Lambethian, Benesegis, Speoth, Wuslelan, and Diuenoz; part of his men which in the foresaid places they found, they slew, as sir John Swain, and sir Mattheu de Gorges knights, with 15 other of his men that were Welshmen: part they toke and put them in prison, as sir Rafe or Rantulle de Gorges being sore wounded, sir Philip Joice, sir John de Frisingfield, sir John de Dunsfable, William de Dunsfable, and manie other, of the which the most part were put to their ransom. They toke, spoiled and destroyed so much in value of his goods as amounted unto two thousand pounds. They toke up in such debts as were owing to him in those parts, to the summe of three thousand pounds, and of his rents to the value nere hand of a thousand pounds. They burnt 23 of his manors which he had in those parts of Wales, with his barnes, and did what hurt they could devise, burning or taking aboate all his writings and evidences. After they had remained 15 daies there, they came into England, with the like force and disorder invading his castles, manors and possessions, so that the damage which they did here unto the said lord chamberleine, amounted to the value of ten thousand pounds.

The king sendeth to the lords.

The lord Badelmeire is contrary to the king.

The king advertised of their doings, sent unto them the archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Bartholomeu de Badelmeire lord steward of his house, to request them to desist and leaue off from such their outrageous doings, and comming to the parliament which he had already summoned, they might put in their complaints and grievances, & he would see that they should have iustice, according as equitie should require. The lord Badelmeire forsaking the king, became one of the confederacie with the barons, and so the archbishop was glad to returne alone, leaving the L. Badelmeire behind him, who sent the king word by the archbishop, that till they had expelled the Spensers out of the realme, they would not give over their enterprise. On saint Barnabie's day they came to a manour of Hugh Spenser the father called Ffaserne, in the countie of Wiltshire, and spoiled the same with diuerse and manie other manors, as well in Wiltshire, as elsewhere, to wit, in Gloucestershire, Dorsetshire, Hamshire, Berkeshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrie, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Cheshire, and Warwickshire, making such haucke of all such goods or cattell as belonged to the said Hugh Spenser the father; that he was thought to be indamaged to the value of thirtie thousand pounds, burning his houses, beating, maiming and ransoming his men.

Furthermore not contented to spoile those places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the abbey

of Stanlie he had laid by monie and evidences, they brake into that abbey, and toke out there of a thousand pounds in readie coine, beside evidences and writings, to the indamaging of him to the value of six thousand pounds, and likewise entering into the castell of Sparteburgh, where the said Hugh Spenser the father had laid by in wolle to the number of 36 sacks, they toke the same and other of his goods, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of six thousand pounds. And they did not onelie spoile the possessions, houses, goods, and cattels of the two Spensers, wherefoer they could heare that the same were to be found, but also they used the like disorder against all such as were knowne to be friends or wellwillers, to either the father or sonne, sending commissions unto such as should see the same executed to the most extrenitie, so that in this rage of enuie and hot reuenge there was no parcialitie, but that one with another, the innocent with the nocent, the guiltlesse with the guiltie went to wracke, and as the old proverbe saith concurring with common practise

Quod suspicauit, succula sepe haurit

finallie, after they had satisfied their desires in such riotous sort, they raised the people, and constrained them to sweare to be of their accord, and so came forward with the like force towards the parliament that was summoned to be holden at London three weeks after Midsummer. At their comming to S. Albons, they sent the bishops of London, Salisburie, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, to the king with their humble suit in outward apperance, though in effect and vertue more presumptuous than was requisite. Their cheefe request was that it might please his highnesse to put from him the Spensers, whose commission they knew to be greatlie against his honour, and hercof not to faile if he tendered the quiet of his realme. They also required letters patents of him, containing a generall pardon for the indemnitie of themselves, and all those that had bene in armes with them, so as they should not be impeached by the king for any transgressions past or present, in time hereafter to come.

The king hereunto answered, that as concerning Hugh Spenser the father, he was abroad on his business beyond the seas, and that Hugh the sonne was on the sea for the safe keeping of the cinque ports, as by his office he was bound, and that they ought not by any right or custome to be banished, before they haue made answer to the crimes objected against them. He added further, that their request wanted foundation of law and reason. And if it might be proued that the Spensers had in any wise offended against the statutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwaies ready to make their answer as the lawes of the realme should require. Lastlie he added this with surplusage, that he would not be so succour contrary to that which at his coronation he had taken upon him by oath through granting letters of peace and pardon to such notorious offenders in contempt of his person, and to the trouble and dishonouring of the whole realme.

The barons upon knowledge had what answer the king made to their request, wherewith got them to armour, and with a great power of men of armes and other, came to the parliament, which the king had summoned to begin at Westminster three weeks after Midsummer. Their retinue were appareled in a suite of habergeons coats of colours, some in purple, some in red, some in blue, some in green, with a band of white all over them. By reason thereof, that parliament long after was called The parliament of white bards. When the kings peace kept within the citie, the barons caused a thousand men well armed to watch within the citie wards, & at diuerse gates of the citie, which watch

The barons raise the people and come in armes to wards the parliament.

They sent the king.

The king's request.

The king's answer.

Fabian. Canon.

The king which the barons did not like.

watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and so continued till six at night, and then as manie were appointed to the night watch, continuing the same till the houre of five in the morning. And for the more surtite that this night watch should be well and sufficientlie kept, two aldermen were assigned nightlie to ride about the citie with certeine officers of the towne, to see the watchmen well and discretlie guided. The gates were shut at nine of the clocke & opened againe at seaven in the morning. Also euerie citizen was warned to haue his armour by him, that he might be readie vpon anie occasion when he should be called.

Man. V. Vell.

The Spensers banished by the decree of the barons.

Neuertheless the barons being come in forceable wise (as ye haue heard) vnto this parlement, they constrained the earle of Richmond, Arundell, Waterren, and Denbroke, to agree vnto their purpose; and likewise some of the bishops they compelled through feare to take an oth to ioine with them in their purpose, for the expelling of the Spensers out of the realme, and so committing all together before the king, they published certeine articles against the said Spensers, both the father and sonne, whereupon they made an award, that they should be disherited and banished the land during their liues, if by the king and consent of all the lords in parlement assembled, they should not be reffozed. They had day and place appointed where to passe forth of the land, to wit, at Douer, and not elsewhere, betwixt the daie of his award made, and the feast of the decollation of saint John Baptist, that day to be counted for one. Divers articles (as before is said) were laid to the charge of those Spensers.

Articles wherewith the barons charged the Spensers.

Amongst other things it was alledged; first that Hugh Spenser the sonne, being on a time angry and displeased with the king, sought to alie and confederate himselfe with the lord Gifford of Wymestresh, and the lord Richard Gray to haue constrained and forced the king by strong hand to haue followed his will and pleasure.

Secondlie it was alledged, that the said Spensers as well the father as the sonne, had caused the king to ride into Gloucestershire, to oppresse and deströie the good people of his land, contrarie to the forme of the great charter.

Thirdlie, that where the earle of Hereford, and the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, had gone against one Chlewillin Bren, who had raised a rebellion against the king in Glamorganshire, whiles the lands of the earle of Gloucester were in the kings hands, the same Chlewillin yielded himselfe to the said earle, and to the lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpon promise that he should haue the kings pardon, and so the king receiued him. But after that the said earle and lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Spensers taking to them rofall power, toke the said Chlewillin and led him vnto Bardif, where after that the said Hugh Spenser the sonne, had his purpartie of the said earle of Gloucesters lands, he caused the said Chlewillin to be dratoned, beaped and quartered, to the discredit of the king, and of the said earle of Hereford and lord Mortimer, yea, and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the imperiall crowne.

Fourthlie, the said Spensers counselled the king to forswage sir Hugh Audley, sonne to the lord Hugh Audley, and to take into his hands his castles and possessions. They compassed also to haue atteinted the lord Roger Damorie, that thereby they might haue entred the whole earldome of Gloucester.

These and other articles of misdemeanour in the Spensers were exhibited, to perswade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common-wealth, and not worthy of those places

which they occupied. So after that their disheriting and banishment was concluded in manner as before is said, the earle of Hereford and other the lords that had prosecuted the quarell against them, came before the king, and humbly on their knees besought him of pardon for all things which they had committed against him, his lawes, or any other person in the pursuit of the said Spensers. The king, being brought into a streit, durst not but grant vnto all that which they requested, establishing the same by statute.

The parlement being thus ended, the king and quene went to Canturburie, there to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket sometime archbishop there. From thence he went to the Ile of Tenet, that he might meet with his deare & welbeloued counsellour Hugh Spenser the yonger, whome he had of late sent in ambassage vnto the French king, and now being returned by sea into those parts, he was desirous to see him, that he might haue conference with him: and so continuing together, they spent certeine daies in communing of such matters as they thought good. The king calling to him the mariners of the cinque ports, committed to them the custodie of the said Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ships, and the king sailing alongst the coast to Doverchester, conferred with him of manie things.

From Doverchester the king ment to returne vnto London, there to meet the quene, who in hir returne from Canturburie would haue lodged one night in the castell of Leeds, which the lord Bartholome de Badelismere late steward of the kings house had by exchange of the king for other lands, and now taking part with the barons, had left his wife and children with other of his friends and treasure in the same castell. Those that were put in trust with keeping this castell, would neither permit quene nor other to enter therein, without expresse commandement from their lord and master, and so they signified not one lie to the quenes seruants that came before to make prouision for hir, but also declared the same to hir selfe coming thither in person.

This chanced verie vnluckilie for the barons: for where the quene had euer sought to procure peace, lone and concord betwixt the king and his lords, she toke such displeasure with this deniall made to hir for one nights lodging in that castell, that vpon hir greuous complaint sent to the king, he forthwith raised a mightie armie out of Kent and Essex, from the cinque ports, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas earle of March, and Edmund earle of Kent, also the earls of Richmond, Denbroke, Arundell, and Athol, he halsted thither, & laid siege about the castell: constraining them within by all meanes that might be deuised.

In the meane time, at the suit of the lord Badelismere, the earle of Hereford, and other lords of the confederacie, came with a great power vnto Kingstons, about the feast of Simon and Jude, and there staing certeine daies for some of their companie that were to come vnto them, they sent vnto the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, with the earle of Denbroke, requiring him to remoue his siege, till by parlement some order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their suit, but continued his siege till the castell was yielded to him. For those that were at Kingstons cowardlie leuing their enterprize, came not forward, but returned backe againe. They that were within the castell, hauing simplie submitted themselves to the king, caused twelue or thirtene of them to suffer death. Amongst other was one Walter Culpepper reckoned for the cheefe of them that defended the castell against the king. The wife of the lord Badelismere,

The king goeth to Canturburie.

The cometh to talke with the lord chames berlaune.

The quene not suffered to lodge in the castell of Leeds.

The king besiegeth the castell of Leeds.

The lords came with a power to raise the siege.

The castell of Leeds yielded.

Walter Culpepper executed.

more, with his nephew Bartholomew de Burgh was sent to the tower of London, but his sister was sent to Dover castle, there to remaine in safe keeping. The castle of Leeds being thus yielded to the king, he entered the same on All halowes day, and shortly after the castle of Gylham was delivered, and the castle of Lumbrydge left void by them that had it in keeping. The king thus bestirring him, came into Essex, and seized into his hands the lands of the lord Badelismere, and likewise the lands of such as were his maintainers, abbettors, friends, favourers, and furtherers; of the which such as he could meet with he put in prison, and here with summoned an armie to meet him at Strenesse about saint Lucies day the virgine. And then about saint Andrews tide he came to London, where the archbishop of Canturburie had called a provinciall councill.

The lord chamberlene presented himselfe to the law.

At the same time Hugh Spenser the sonne, being lately come from the sea, yielded himselfe prisoner to the kings ward, beseeching the king that he might have right ministered to him, concerning the wrongs and injuries to him done by the barons in manner as before ye have heard, speciallie for the award which in parlement they had procured to be enacted against him, the errors committed in the proccesse, whereof he besought the king that he might be admitted to shew: as first, in that they made themselves iudges: secondlie, in that he was not called to answer: thirdlie, for that the same award was made without the assent of the prelates, who are pères of the parlement as well as the temporall lords: fourthlie, in that the said barons had no record in their pursuit upon the causes contained in that award: fifthlie, in that the award was made against the forme of the great charter of franchises, wherein is contained that none shall be foreiudged nor destroyed but by lawfull iudgement of his pères, according to the law of the land. Further, he alledged that it was to be considered, how the said barons and great men being summoned to come in due maner unto that parlement, they came in forceable wise with all their powers. A like petition was also exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spenser the father, for redresse to be had of the wrongs and losses, which in like case he had susteyned.

Anno Reg. 15.

The king asked both the opinions of the prelates.

The declaration of the prelates.

The declaration of the earles.

The king favouring through the causes and petitions of the Spensers, granted their requests, and delivered the petitions unto the archbishop of Canturburie and his suffragans, the which at the same time were there assembled in their provinciall councill aforesaid, requiring to have their advise and opinion therein. He likewise requested of the earles and barons that were then with him, and of the counsellors in law, what they thought of this matter. The prelates upon deliberation had, declared that in their opinion, the said award as touching the disheriting and banishing of the Spensers, the father and sonne was erroneous, and not rightlie decreed, and for themselves they denied that they either did or could thinke it reason to consent thereto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmund earle of Kent, John de Bitaine earle of Richmond, Aimer de Valence earle of Pembroke, and Edmund earle of Arundell, then being in presence of the king, and likewise of the aforesaid prelates, affirmed that the said award pronounced against the Spensers was made contrary to law and right, and therefore as the prelates requested, that the same might be repealed.

Further, the said earles alledged, that the assent which they gave in the said award, was for doubt of the unlawfull force which the barons brought unto the said parlement, when they made that award, and

for that the said earles that now were with the king, had counselled him to suffer the said award to passe, for feare of the said force, and confessed they had done euill, and besought him of pardon for their offenses in so doing. The king thus having caused the prelates, earles, barons, and lawyers there present to utter their iudgements in manner aforesaid, he judicially renoked and quite disannulled the proccesse of the said award, made as well touching the banishment, as the disheriting of the Spensers, and restored them to his peace and allegiance, and to their former estates, in all conditions as they enjoyed the same before the making of the said award, notwithstanding certeine letters to the contrarie of the earle of Lancaster, and other lords of his faction, which for the approving and ratifying of the said proccesse they directed under their seales to the king as yet remaining at London.

They wrote also to the prelates, iustices, and barons of the exchequer, to induce the king to give his assent to that which in the tenor of their letters was contained. The earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Mortimer of Cheshire, & the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, entering the marches of Wales, came to Gloucester, and took that citie. The castle was also delivered unto them by the constable thereof. The king having his people coming daily unto him, where by his armie was hugelie increased, about the feast of saint Nicholas he set forth from London, and with him there went his brother Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Edmund earle of Arundell, and many other great lords and barons. The queene with hir children he left in the tower of London. The lord John de saint John coming to submit himselfe unto the king, at the intercession of divers noble men, with much ado had his pardon at length granted him.

The king passing forward, seized into his hands the towncs, castles, manors, and goods of them that were against him. But in the meane time the lord Henry de Latics, with certeine other that were entered into Gloucestershire (hearing that a great multitude of people was assembled out of the countrie of Cirencester by the kings commandement) came thither and chased them home to their houses, putting them in feare of their wives, if they should offer to resist him. The king coming to Cricklade after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine, wrote to the earle of Lancaster an answer of his letters, which he had received from him at London, modestlie reproving him, for that he had so grievously and unadvisably reproached him, without respect had to his roiall estate, and also promising to alledge him a done within the which he should reforme those things which he mistaked in him, as if he were his subject and underling, & beside this was now lothed with his adversaries against him, where on his behalfe there had bene no let nor stay at any time, but that they might be friends & remaine in quiet together. Wherein though he did more than stood with the dignitie of his roiall title, in so much as he had the earles life at his commandement, yet for that he tolerated such insolence of behaviour, as was unbecomlie to be shewed against the person of his prince, the kings clemencie and patience is highly therein to be commended; though his forbearing and seeking means of quietnes did neither a whit amend the malignant mind of the earle, whose heart was so enchanted with ambition and supererminent honour, that he would forget this godd lesson of submission and due allegiance,

Prospiciat Lachrymanti Imperi obedi.

From Cricklade the king went to Cirencester, where he held the feast of Christmasse, the earles of Northfolke, Pembroke, Surrey, and other great lords coming

The king with his children at Cricklade

Carles that
came to the
king to Cricke
land.

1 3 2 2

The Scots
made a
thunderland.

Cassels taken
by the wylly-
men.

barons
re getti-
ng.

lord
John

lord
is.

meester.

to the
meester.

The earle of
Hereford com-
meth to some
with the earle
of Lancaster.

The lord
Berkeley sub-
mitteth him-
self to the K.

They appoi-
nted to meet at
Countrie.

W. Sutton.

It was
his
last
will.

comming thither to joine their powers with his. Thither came also a great strength of footmen, part of the which under the leading of one Robert Aquarri, a right famous capitaine, took the castell of Bromfield, those that had the keeping of it fleeing forth of it. The king comming to Worcester about Newperes tide, caused the walles of the citie to be repaired, committing the custodie thereof unto William de Longchamps. After the Epiphanie he passed on the side of Seuerne towards Shrewsburie, where, at his comming thither he was honourable received by the burgeses that came forth to meet him in armor, and so conueied him into their towne being stronglie fenced. In this meane time the Scots now that the truce was ended, entring with a strong power into England, destroyed all the countrie to Newcastell upon Tyne with fire and sword. The Welshmen with their capitaine Griffin Lottis took the castels in Wales, which were kept by the people of the lord Mortimer the elder. They took also the castels of Spole, Chirke, and Olono, the keepers whereof comming unto the king to Shrewsburie submitted themselves to him, who shortly after sent them to the tower of London. The lord Hugh Audelle the elder, the lord John de Hastings, and diuerse other comming in, and submitting themselves to the king were likewise committed to ward. The lord Roger Damorie entring into the citie of Worcester destroyed all that which the K. had appointed to be done, about the fortification thereof.

The earle of Lancaster lieng at Bomfret, and hearing of all this businesse, wrote to the earle of Hereford, and other lords that were with him, that they should make hast to come to him at Bomfret, promising from thenceforth to be their generall and leader. The earle of Hereford reioicing at these newes, together with all those that were about him, leauing Gloucester and all other strengths which they held in those parts, set forward to passe through the middell of the realme, spoiling by the way mens catell and goods verie disorderlie, and so came thorough to the earle of Lancaster. The king getting into his hands all the castels of his aduersaries in those parts, went to Hereford, where he was honorable received of the cleergie and citizens. His armie increased daily, many comming in unto him, that before durst not for feare of his aduersaries. The bishop of Hereford was sharplie checked, because he had taken part with the kings enemies.

The king sent from hence the lord John Hastings into Southwales, to take in his name the seizine of the castels belonging to the earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Damorie, and the lord Hugh Spenser the younger, which the barons had the last yeare got into their hands, all which being now taken to the kings use, were furnished with faithfull garrisons.

The king, after this, comming to Gloucester, condemned the shiriffe of Hereford to be hanged, for that he had taken part against him with the barons. The lord Maurice Berkeley came to the king to Gloucester, submitting himselfe to the kings pleasure. After this the king came by Welfton border edge towards Countrie, where he had appointed aforesaid such as he had litle licensed to depart to their homes to refresh themselves for a time, as also diuerse other, to assemble with their powers to go with him from thence against his aduersaries. The day of this assembly was the friday next after the first of ianuarie in Lent. The king from Countrie went to Winton, and there lodged in the abbey for his more ease, waiting to William Sutton under-constable of Warwike castell, commanding him to be attendant on the shiriffe of Warwike, in helping him to watch the entrees and issues to and from the castell of Killing-

worth that was holden against him. In the meane time certeine of the lords that were gone to the earle of Lancaster besieged Ekehill castell sixtene daies together, but preuailed not.

There were letters intercepted about the same time, which a messenger brought forth of Scotland, thre closed and thre open, for there were sir in all. The king sent them to the archbishop of Canturburie, who by his commandement published them in open audience at London. The first was closed with the seale of the lord Thomas Randolph earle of Murrie, lord of Annandale and of Man, lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, which contained a safe conduct for sir Thomas Topcliffe chapleine, and one to be associate with him to come into Scotland, and to returne from thence in safetie. The second was sealed with the seale of sir James Douglas for a like safe conduct for the same persons. The third was closed with the seale of the said earle of Murrie for the safe conduct of the lord John de Mowbray, and the lord John de Clifford, and fortye hoxses with their pages for their safe comming unto the said erle into Scotland, and for their abiding there and returninge backe. The fourth was closed with the seale of James Douglas, directed to king Arthur. The fift was closed with the seale of James Douglas directed unto the lord Rafe Nevill. The first had no direction, but the tenour thereof was this as folloiweth.

The tenor of the said sixt letter lacking a direction.



Du shall vnderstand my lord, that the communication befoze hand had, is now brought to effect. For the earle of Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audelle the younger, Bartholomew de Badeslesmer, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford, Henrie Ceis, Thomas Manduit, John de Willington, and all other are come to Bomfret, and are readie to make you good assurance, so that you will perfozme couenant with them, to wit for your comming to aid vs, and to go with vs into England and Wales, to liue and die with vs in our quarell. We therefore beseech you to assigne vs day and place, where we may meet, and we will be readie to accomplish fullie our businesse: and we beseech you to make vs a safe conduct for thirtie hoxses, that we may in safetie come to your parts.

The king, when such earles and lords as he had licensed for a time were returned (his brother the earle of Northfolke excepted) that the most part of those men of warre were assembled that had summons, although diuerse came not at all; about the first of ianuarie in Lent he set forward towards his enemies, hauing with him to the number of sixtene hundred men of armes on horsebacke, and footmen infinite, with his power passing forth towards his aduersaries, he caused proclamation to be made, that he was readie to receiue all men to his peace, that would come and submit themselves, those excepted which had bene at the siege of Ekehill castell, or at the taking of the citie of Gloucester, or at the invasion made vpon his men at Wydenozth.

At his comming to a litle village called Caldewell, he sent afoze him certeine bands to Burton by-

Killingworth holden against the K. The castle besieged.

Letters intercepted.

King Arthur a name feined of purpose.

Record, Tur,

The king set forth towards his enemies. He made a proclamation.

Burton upon Trent.

on Trent, where he ment to haue lodged: but the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelle the porgier, John de Spowbray, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Wyntfield, Henrie Tiers, and many other, being gotten thither before, kept the brydge, and assailing the kings people which he had thus sent before, some of them they slue, and some they wounded, so defending the brydge, that none could passe, and by reason that the waters, and spect¹⁰ allie the riuer of Trent throughe abundance of raine that was latelie fallen, were raised, there was no meane to passe by the fowds, whereupon the king was constrained to staie the space of thre daies, in which meane time, the earles and their complices fortified the brydge at Burton, with barriers and such like defenses, after the maner of warre, but the king at length vpon deliberate aduise taken how to passe the riuer, ordeined, that the earle of Surrie with certeine armed men, should go ouer by a brydge that was thre miles distant from Burton, that he might come vpon the backes of the enemies, as they were fighting with those that should assaile them afront.

The earle of Surrie. Peraburture at Wiche.

The earles of Richmond & Denbroke.

Robert Aquarie.

The R. passed by a fowd.

The earles of Lancaster & Hereford fled and set fire on the towne.

The R. cometh to Tutburie.

Hue and crye.

The earles of Richmond and Denbroke were appointed to passe by a fowd, which they had got knowledge of, with thre hundred horsemen in complet armour, and the king with his brother the earle of Kent should follow them, with the residue of the armie, sauing that Robert Aquarie of Waters, with certeine bands of footmen was commanded to assaile the brydge, which he did verie manfully, causing the archers & crossbowes to annoie them that kept it, so as he might draw the whole power of the enemies that waite, till the king and the earles were passed by the fowd. But after that the earles of Lancaster and Hereford with their complices, heard that the king was passed with his armie, they came forth with their people into the fields, and put them in order of battell: but perceiving the great puissance which the king had there ready to encounter them, without more ado they fled setting fire on the towne, and leauing all their vittels and other things behind them. The kings people coming speedilie forward, and entring the towne, quenched the fire, and fell to the spoile of such things as the enemies for haue left behind them. The king kept nothing to himselfe, but onelie a faire cup that belonged to the earle of Lancaster, a peece esteemed to be of some great value.

On the same night, being Wednesday, the king came to Tutburie, and lodged in the castell, sending forth the next day with all speed, letters to the shiriffe of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, aduertising him both of the successe he had against his enemies, and withall, pronouncing them and all their adherents, rebels and traitors to him and his realme, and that for such they should be reputed, taken and viced. Wherefore he commanded in the same letters or writs, vpon forfeiture of all that the said shiriffe might forseeit, he should pursue the said rebels, that is, the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelle the porgier, John de Spowbray, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Wyntfield, Henrie Tiers, and all and euerie other person or persons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies; causing hue and crye to be raised vpon them, in what part soeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the said shiriffe should thinke it expedient, and to inioine and strenghtlie command all and singular persons, the said rebels and enemies to pursue, take and arrest, and them to deliuer vnto the said shiriffe, and that such as were not able to pursue them, yet with hand or home they should leue hue and crye against them,

in paine that being found negligent herein, to be accounted for fauourers and adherents to the said rebels and traitors, and that the said shiriffe should therevpon apprehend them, and put them in prison. The writ was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writs were directed and sent forth to all other shiriffes throughe the realme, and likewise to the bishop of Durham, and to the iustice of Chester.

Beside this, he directed also other writs to the said shiriffes and others, that although he had bene constrained to passe in forcible wise throughe diuerse parts of his realme, and the marches of Wales, to suppress the malicious rebellion of diuerse his subjects, and that as yet he was constrained to continue his iourne in such forcible wise, neuertheless his pleasure was, that the peace should be maintained and kept througheout his realme, with the statutes, lawes and customes inuiolated, and therfore he commanded the said shiriffes, that they should cause the same to be proclaimed in places where was thought most expedient, as well within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of person, of what state or condition soeuer he was, vpon paine that might fall thereon, to attempt any thing to the breach of peace; but that euerie man should seeke to mainteine and preserve the peace and tranquillitie of the people, with the statutes, lawes and god customes of the land, to the vttermost of his power: this alwaies obserued, that the rebels, wheresoeuer they might be found, should be arrested, and committed to safe custody. The date of this writ was at Tutburie afore said on the twelfth of March.

The lord Roger Damorie laie sick in his bed at the same time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard that iudgement the king had pronounced against him, departed this life within two daies after. But the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with other in their companie that fled from the discomfiture at Burton, lost manie men and horses in their fleeing away, by reason of such pursuit as was made after them. Diuerse of them that had taken part with the lords against the king, came now and submitted themselves vnto him, amongst the which were sir Gilbert de Cliefeld, and sir Robert Holland knights. The king yet had the said Holland in some suspicion, because he had promised to haue come to him before. The earle of Lancaster had sent him at this time to raise his tenants in Lancashire, and to bring them vnto him, but he deceived him, and came not to him at all, wherevpon the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with the other barons, being come vnto Pomfret, fell to counsell in the friers there, and finally, after much debating of the matter, and considering how by the vntrue dealing of the said Robert Holland, their side was much weakened, it was concluded, that they should go to the castell of Dunstanborough, and there remaine till they might purchase the kings pardon, with their enterprise thus quailed vnder their hands: and herewith setting forward that waie forth, they came to Borough brydge, where sir Andrew de Berkley with the power of the countesse of Cumberland and Westmerland had laid the passage, and there on a Tuesday being the 16 of March, he setting vpon the barons, in the end discomfited them, and chased their people.

In this fight was kaine the earle of Hereford, the lord William de Sullie, with sir Roger de Bourghfield, and diuerse others. And there were taken Thomas earle of Lancaster, the lord Roger Clifford son to that lord Roger which died in the battell of Banockburne in Scotland, the lord Gilbert Talbot, the lord John Spowbray, the lord Hugh de Willington, the lord Thomas Spandwit, the lord Warren de Aile, the lord Philip Darcie, the lord Thomas Wilther,

Proclamation made by the peace to be kept.

The lord Damorie parted this life.

Sir Gilbert de Cliefeld & sir Robert Holland knights.

The earle of Lancaster & Hereford came to Pomfret.

Rich. South. Sir Andrew de Berkley.

The earle of Lancaster taken.

The battell
at Basing
bridge.

ther, the lord Henrie de Willington, the lord Hugh de Lanouill, the lord Phillip de Beche, the lord Henrie de Lebozne, the lord Henrie de Bradborne, the lord John de Beckes, the lord Thomas Louell, the lord William fitz William, Robert de Wateville, John de Strikeland, Donell Heron, Walter Paue, lie of Stretton, and a great number of other esquires and gentlemen. This battell was fought on the fiftenth day of March, in the yeare 1322 after the account of them that begin the yeare at the Circumcision, which was in the said fiftenth parte of this kings reigne.

The bodie of the earle of Hereford was sent to Poike, two friers, of the order of preachers being appointed to take to it, till the king took order for the burying of it. The lord Clifford also, because he was wounded with an arrow, was sent unto Poike. At the same time, the lord Henrie Percie took the lord Henrie de laeis, and John de Galdington knight, with two esquires, and within a few daies after, Donald de Bar took the lord Bartholomew de Badeslinere, the lord Hugh Audelle the younger, the lord John Gifford, the lord William Luchet, and in manner all those which escaped by flight from this battell were taken in one place or other, by such of the kings servants and friends as pursued them. Upon the one and twentieth of March, came sir Andrew de Harkley unto Pomfret, bringing with him the earle of Lancaster and other prisoners. The king was come thither a few daies before, and had the castell yelded to him by the constable, that not manie daies past was appointed to the keeping thereof by the earle, which earle now being brought thither captiue, was mocked, scorned, and in derision called king Arthur.

On the morrow after being mondaie, the two and twentieth of March, he was brought before these nobles men, Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Aimer earle of Penbroke, John erle of Surrie, Edmund earle of Arundell, David earle of Atholl, Robert earle of Arnegos, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, the lord Robert de Palmedhorp justice, and others with them associate, before whom he was arraigned of high treason, for that he had raised warre against the king, and defended the passage of Burton bridge, for the space of three daies together against him, and after when it was perceined that the king had passed the riuer, he with Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, and other their complices like traitors, set fire on the said towne, and cruelly burnt part of the houses and men of the same towne, and after, the said earle of Lancaster with his complices, arranged himselfe in field with his armie and banners displayed readie to fight against the king, till that perceiuing the kings power to be ouerstrong for him, and his partakers to resist, he together with them fled, committing by the waie diuerse felonies and robberies, till they came to Burrough bridge, where finding certeine of the kings faithfull subiects readie to resist them, they assailed the said faithfull subiects with force of armes and banners displayed, slaying diuerse of them, till finally the said earle of Lancaster was caught, and other of his complices, some taken, some slaine, and the residue put to flight, so that there wanted no good will in the said earle of Lancaster and others, while the king should not haue bene vanquished. Which treasons, murders, burning of houses, despoiling of the kings people, being plainlie & manifestlie knowne to the earls, barons, lords, and other people of the land, the said earle of Lancaster was thereupon adiudged to die, according to the law in such cases provided, that is, to be drawne, hanged, and headed. But because he was the quenes uncle, and sonne to the kings uncle, he was pardoned of all saue heading, and so accordinglie thereunto suffered.

The castell of
Pomfret is
reputed to
the king.

The earle of
Lancaster
arraigned,

The town of
Southwell.

The bishopric
of Ebor.

tered at Pomfret the two and twentieth of March.

Thus the king seemed to be reuenged of the displeasure done to him by the earle of Lancaster, for the beheading of Piers de Gaucisson earle of Cornwall, whom he so deuelie loued, and because the earle of Lancaster was the cheefe occasioner of his death, the king neuer loued him entirelie after. So that here is verified the censure of the scripture expressed by the wisdom of Salomon, that the anger and displeasure of the king is as the roying of a lion, and his reuenge inenitable. Therefore it is an hie point of discretion in such as are mightie, to take heed how they giue edge vnto the wrath of their soueraigne, which if it be not by submission made blunt, the burthen of the smart insuing will lie heauie vpon the offender, even to his bitter vndoying, and losse (perhaps) of life. In this sort came the mightie earle of Lancaster to his end, being the greatest pere in the realme, and one of the mightiest earles in christendome: for when he began to leaue warre against the king, he was possessed of five earldomes, Lancaster, Lincoln, Salisburie, Leicester, and Derby, beside other seignories, lands, and possessions, great to his aduancement in honoz and puissance. But all this was limited within prescription of time, which being expired, both honour and puissance were cut off with dishonour and death, for (as mutable state!)

*Inuida fatorum series, summissa negatum
stare diu.*

On the same day, the lord William Luchet, the lord William fitz William, the lord Warren de Lille, the lord Henrie Bradborne, and the lord William; Gentie barons, with John Page an esquire, were drawne and hanged at Pomfret aforesaid, and then shortly after, Roger lord Clifford, John lord Powel, and sir Golein d'Ceull barons, were drawne and hanged at Poike. At Wyke in like manner were executed sir Henrie de Willington, and sir Henrie Montfort barons; and at Gloucester, the lord John Gifford, and sir William Elmehyde knight; and at London, the lord Henrie de laeis baron; at Winchelse, sir Thomas Culpeper knight; at Windesore, the lord Francis de Aldham baron; and at Canturburie, the lord Bartholomew de Badeslinere, and the lord Bartholomew de Athborham, barons. Also at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Fleming knight was executed: diuerse were executed in their countries, as sir Thomas Maudit and others.

But now touching the foresaid earle of Lancaster, great strife rose afterwards amongst the people, whether he ought to be reputed for a saint or no. Some held, that he ought to be no lesse esteemed, for that he did manie almesdeeds in his life time, honoured men of religion, and maintained a true quarrell till his liues end. Also, his enemies continued not long after, but came to euill end. Others conceiued an other opinion of him, alledging, that he fauoured not his wife, but liued in spouse-breach, desiring a great number of damosels and gentlewomen. If anie offended him, he slue him shortly after in his wrathfull mood. Apostataes and other euill doers he maintained, and would not suffer them to be punished by due order of law. All his doings he vied to commit vnto one of his secretaries, and took no heed himselfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fled shamefullie in the fight, and was taken and put to death against his will, because he could not auoid it: yet by reason of certeine miracles which were said to be done nere the place both where he suffered, and where he was buried, caused manie to thinke he was a saint; howbeit, at length, by the kings commandement, the church doores of the priorie where he was buried, were shut and closed, so that no

Lords executed.

Auesburie.
Nic. Trivet.

Caxton.

man might be suffered to come to the towne to bring any offerings, or to do any other kind of deuotion to the same. Also, the hill where he suffered was kept by certeine Calcoines, appointed by the lord Hugh Spenser the sonne then lieng at Pomfret, to the end that no people should come and make their praiers there in worship of the said earle, whome they toke verelie for a martyr.

A parlement at Poike.

The record touching the banishing of the Spensers reversed.

Creation of earls.

The lord Audelle pardoned.

Robert Baldocke is made lord chancellor. Polydon.

The queene giueth god counsell.

The kings eldest sonne created prince of Wales.

Statutes.

A subsidie.

Addition to Triuett.

The earle of Penbrooke arrested.

Fabian.

When the king had subdued the barons, shortly after, about the feast of the Ascension of our lord, he held a parlement at Poike, in which parlement, the record and whole proccesse of the decrees or iudgements concerning the disheriting of the Spensers, ordeined by the lords in parlement assembled at London the last summer, was now throughe examined, and for their errors therein found, the same record and proccesse was clerelie adnihilated and reversed, and the said Spensers were restored to all their lands and offices, as before. And in the same parlement the lord Hugh Spenser the father was made earle of Winchester, and the lord Andrew de Herklie earle of Carleill. Moreover, in the same parlement, all such were disherited as had taken part with the earls of Lancaster & Hereford, except the lord Hugh Audelle the younger, and a few other, the which lord Hugh was pardoned, because he had married the kings niece, that was sister to Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which was slaine in Scotland, at the battell of Bannockburne, as before is mentioned.

At this time also master Robert Baldocke, a man euill beloued in the realme, was made lord chancellor of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of the Spensers, and so likewise was the earle of Arundell, whereby it may be thought, that the Spensers did helpe to aduance them into the kings fauour, so that they bare no small rule in the realme, during the time that the same Spensers continued in prosperitie, which for the terme of five peares after that the foresaid barons (as before is expessed) were brought to confusion, did wonderfullie increase, and the queene for that she gaue god and faithfull counsell, was nothing regarded, but by the Spensers meanes clerelie worne out of the kings fauour. Moreover, we find, that in this parlement holden at Poike, the kings sonne Edward was made prince of Wales, and duke of Aquitaine.

Also, the king caused the ordinances made by the earles and barons to be examined by men of great knowledge and skill, and such as were thought necessarie to be established, he commanded that the same should be called statutes, and not ordinances. Beside a great subsidie granted to the king by the temporarie, the cleargie of all the prouince of Canturburie granted five pence of euerie marke, and they of the prouince of Poike foure pence. Aimer earle of Penbrooke, being returned home from this parlement holden at Poike, was arrested by certeine knights, sent with authoritie thereunto from the king, who brought him backe to Poike, where at length thorough suit of certeine noble men, he was upon his oath taken to be a faithfull subiect, and in consideration of a fine which he paid to the king, set at libertie. The occasion of his imprisonment came, for that he was accused and detected to be a secret fauourer of the barons cause against the Spensers in time of the late troubles.

Moreover, shortly after the king gathered the first penie of the temporall mens goods thorough England, Ireland and Wales, which had bene granted to him at the foresaid parlement holden at Poike, towards the defending of the realme against the Scots. This tax was not gathered without great murmur and grudge, the realme being in such euill

and miserable state as it then was. ¶ This peare also the sunne appeared to mans sight in colour like to blood, and so continued six houres, to wit, from ten of the clocke in the morning of the last daie of October, untill one of the clocke in the after none of the same daie.

Here is to be noted, that during the time whilest the ciuill warre was in hand betwixt king Edward and his barons, the Scots and Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scots waisted & destroyed the countrie of the bishoprike of Durham (as before ye haue partlie heard) & the Frenchmen made roades & incursions into the borders of Gwent, alledging that they did it vpon good and sufficient occasion, for that king Edward had not done his homage vnto the king of France, as he ought to haue done, for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Ponthieu. But the true occasion that moued them to attempt the waies at that present, was for that they were in hope to recover all the lands which the king of England held within France, clerelie out of his hands, for so much as they vnderstood the discord betwixt him and his barons, and how infortunatlie he had sped against the Scots, by reason whereof they iudged the time to serue most fitte now for their purpose.

In the octaves of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist, Robert Bruce entring into England by Carlisle, kept on his waie through Cumberland, Coperland, Kendall, and so into Lancashire, till he came to Preston in Anderneffe, which towne he burnt, as he had done others in the countries through which he had passed. There were some of the Scots that forraied the countrie five miles on this side Preston southwards, and thus being fourescore long miles within England, they returned homewards, and entered againe into Scotland without encounter, after they had bene at this time within England the space of thre weeks and thre daies. King Edward being thus beset with two mischiefes both at one time, thought god first to prouide remedie against the newer danger, which by the Scots was still at hand, and therefore he meant to go against them himselfe, and to send his brother Edmund earle of Kent into Gwent, to defend that countrie from the Frenchmen. Whereupon now in the sixteenth peare of his reigne, after that the Scots were returned home with a great botie and rich spoile, he got together a wonderfull great armie of men, and entring into Scotland, passed far within the countrie, not finding any resistance at all (as the most part of our writers doe agree) but at length, through famine and diseases of the str and other maladies that fell amongst the Englishmen in the armie, he was constrained to come backe, and in his waie besieged the castell of Royham, which fortresse he wan within ten daies after he had begun to assault it.

Robert Bruce immediatlie after the English armie was retired home, raised a power, and entring into England by Sulwaie sands, late at a place called Beaumont, not past thre miles fro Carlisle, by the space of five daies, sending in the meane time the most part of his armie abroad to spoile and harrie the countrie on euerie side, and afterwards remouing from thence, he passed towards Blackamore, hauing knowledge by diligent espials, that king Edward was in those parts, giuing himselfe more to pastime in hunting there within the woods about Blackamore, than to the god ordering of his people which he had then about him. Whereupon the Scottish king Bruce, entring into that wild and mossie countrie, where he had not bene afore, conueied his enterprize so warlike, and with such diligent industrie, that on saint Lukes daie, comming vpon the English armie at vniuares, he put the same to flight, so that the king himselfe

Polydon.

The Scots made the bishoprike of Durham.

Rich. South. Rob. Bruce made the English.

See note hereof in Scotland.

Anno Reg. 1322.

The king goeth into Scotland with an armie. Ri. South. Merimouth.

Rich. S.

Polydon. Scots secured.

The earle of Carleill.

Fabian.

conf. set p. ers at errie.

The king goeth into Scotland with an armie.

Polydon.

Rich. South. Polydon.

himselfe was in great danger to haue bene taken prisoner. For (as some authoꝝ write) the Scots had almost taken him at dinner in the abbeye of Weighland. Sir John Bityaine earle of Richmond was taken at this battell, and the kings treasure was spoiled and carried awaie, with the prouision and ordnance that belonged to the host.

Rich. South.

Forkeswool
spoiled by the
Scots.
Benerlie ran-
somed.

The earle of
Carleill col-
lecting an armie.

The king escaping awaie, got to Forke, and the Scots hauing thus the vpper hand, after they had spoiled the monasterie of Kinsale, and taken their pleasure there, they passed forth into Forkeswool, desirous that countrie euen almost vnto Beuerlie, which to tyme they ransomed, receiuing a summe of monie for sparing it, least they should haue burnt it, as they did other. The earle of Carleill being commanded by the king to raise the powers of Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancashire, did so, and according to that he had in commandement, bringing them beloeue the countreies vnto Forke, found the king there in no plight to giue battell to his enemies, all things being brought about him into great confusion: whereupon he licenced his people to depart to their homes againe, and the Scots so returned without battell home into their countreies, entering into Scotland the morrow after All hallows daie, after they had remained in England at this time, one whole moneth and foure daies. Some write, that in their returne, they spoiled Northalerton, and diuerse other townes and places as they passed.

Fabian.

A conspiracie
to set pri-
soners at li-
bertie.

In the same yeare, there was a great conspiracie practised by certain persons that had taken part with the barons in the late warres, purposing to set at libertie in one selfe night, all those noble men and others, that were by the king kept in prison for that quarrell. Certaine therefore of those conspiratoꝝ came to the castell of Walingford, within the which the lord Sparke Berkeley, and the lord Hugh Audley remained as prisoners. The conspiratoꝝ found this to enter the castell by a posterne gate towards the Thames side, howbeit not so secretlie but that the townesmen hauing knowledge thereof, assembled together and besieged them that were so entred the castell, till the earles of Kent and Winchester came with a great power to reinforce the siege, so that in the end, they that had made this attempt fled into the chappell of the castell, in hope to be saued through sanctuary of the place, but they were (against the willes of the deane and preests of the colledge there that sought to defend them) taken forth by force, so that Sir John de Godington knight, Sir Edmund of the Beth chapeleine, and an esquire called Roger Walton, were sent to Pomfret, and there put in prison; the esquire was after sent to Forke, and there drawne and hanged. This enterpryse caused all other prisoners to be moze streightlie looked vnto.

Sir John
Godington.

Polydor.

Rich. Southw.
Polydor.

In this yeare was begun a wicked practise of treason vpon this occasion. Where King Edward hauing asailed fortune so stoward towards him, in chance of warre against the Scots at sundrie times, was thereby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and rather to seeke for peace, he appointed Andrew Herkely earle of Carleill, to seeke some means, whereby a peace might be concluded betwixt him and king Robert. The earle by the kings commandement, going into Scotland, and comming vnto king Robert, whome he found at Loghmaran, intreated with him of warre, and not of peace, for whether it were so that he despaired of the state of king Edwards business, which prospered neither at home nor abroad; chafelle by reason of his owne wilfull negligence (as some write) or whether of his owne nature this earle delighted in nothing so much, as in deceit, craft, and treason: he concluded vpon points with the Scottish king, how, when, and where king Ed-

ward should be betrayed, and to the end that couenanted faith on either side might be the moze suerlie kept and obserued, the sister of King Robert was affianced vnto the said earle of Carleill: a verie beautifull ladie and a comelie as was anie where to be seene or found.

This practise being thus contriued, shortly after the king got knowledge thereof, though by whome it was not certeinlie knowne: so hard a thing it is for man to conceale and keepe secret that thing which he goeth about, though he studie neuer so much so to do, namely in matters of treason, which hath a thousand fautes to crape abroad, and which way soeuer it goeth, it leaueth a thousand prints of the footsteps behind it, by the which it may be discouered to the world. When therefore the earle came backe againe to Carleill, he was arrested by commandement from the king, and straightwaies being arreigned of the treason, he was thereof condemned and put to execution.

His head was sent vnto London, and there set vpon the bridge, or rather vpon some turret of the tower. So hard a matter it is for traitoꝝ to escape the hands of the executioner; vnder whose hatchet they submit their heads to be beuen from their shoulders, euen then when they haue conceiued their traitorous attempts in hart, for God who hath placed princes in thrones of roialtie, to this end hath bought them a superlative degre of dignitie, that they might be obeyed, neither will his iustice permit impunitie to the disloyall enterprises and complots of malefactoꝝ, common peace-disturbers, hautie-harted pemrods, ambitious Hamans, or anie lewd malcontent: for

*Act Dei est oculus ad omnia videndum,
Eum panas non effugit mortalis,
Fuisse volens ergo ne faciat morte digna.*

¶ But there be that write otherwise (as it may well be) thus, that this earle of Carleill, perceiving the miserie of his countrie, without consent of the king of England, made peace with the king of Scots, vnder this forme, as by Richard Southwell we find recorded. First, the earle promised faithfullie for him and his heires, that they should with all their force and means possible, seeke to mainteine the said king of Scots, his heires and successors, in the peaceable possession of the kingdome of Scotland, and that to their powers they should fight against all those that would not agree vnto that couenant, as against them that should seeme to be enemies vnto the common-wealth of both the realmes of England and Scotland. The king of Scots promised faithfullie for his part, to defend the said earle, his heires, and adherents in the said couenant or paction, and not onelie to keepe peace with England, but also to build a monasterie within Scotland, assigning reuenues thereto, to the value of five hundred marks, to celebrate diuine seruice, and to pray continuallie for the soules of them that were dead, by occasion of the passed warres betwixt England and Scotland; and further, that he should giue to the king of England within ten yeares, forty thousand pounds of siluer; and that the king of England should haue the king of Scots eldest sonne, to marrie him vnto some ladie of his bloud, as he should thinke expedient. To the performance of all which couenants well and truelie to be obserued, Thomas Randulfe earle of Spurrey swore on the behalfe of the king of Scots, and the earle of Carleill swore for himselfe: and here with certaine writings indented were drawne and ingrossed, to the which interchangeable they set their hands and scales.

After that the earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the chiefe persons of the countrie, as well spirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare, than otherwise, confre-

Treason will
euer come to
light by one
meane or
other.

1 2 3 3
The earle of
Carleill put
to death.

Rich. Southwell.

The lord
Lucie.

ned them to receiue an oth, that they should aid & assist him to their powers, to see all the covenants & bouesaid performed and kept. After that these things were knowne to the king and the realme, although some of the communalie liked well inough of the matter, because they hoped thereby to remaine in peace, especiallie those of the north parts, the king yet and his counsell (not without cause) were sore offended, for that he whom the king had so latelie advanced, should confederate himselfe with the Scots, to the prejudice of the king and his crowne, concluding any covenants of peace without his consent, whereupon reputing him for a ranke traitor, the king sent vnto the lord Antonie Lucie, to apprehend the said earle by some meanes if he might, and for his paines he should not faile to be well rewarded.

The lord Lucie watching his time, when the earles men were gone some whither abroad, and but few left about him, the morrow after the feast of saint Mattheu the apostle, he entred the castell of Carleill, as it were to talke with the earle of some businesse, as his manner was at other times to doe. He had with him sir Hugh Lowther, sir Richard Denton, and sir Hugh Spence knights, and foure esquires, beside other priuie armed, so that leauing some at the inner gate and doore as he entred, he came into the hall, and there finding the earle inditing letters, arrested him. Herewith when certeine of the earles seruants made a noise, and cried, Treason, treason, the porter of the inner gate would haue shut it vpon them that were thus entred, but sir Richard Denton sue that porter with his owne hands, and there was not one more slaine by them in the apprehension of the earle, for all other his seruants yelded themselves and the house vnto the said lord Lucie, without more resistance.

Michael de
Berkeley.

Whosoeuer one of his seruants that saw these doings, got awaie, and with all speed ran to the peeple of Berthead, and shewed to the earles brother Michael Berkeley what was chanced to the earle, whereupon the said Michael forthwith fled into Scotland, and with him sir William Blunt knight a Scottishman, and diuerse other that were of the earles priuie counsell. The lord Lucie straightwaies sent a messenger to the king vnto Dorke, aduertising him how he had taken the earle, and therefore required to vnderstand further of the kings pleasure. The king forthwith sent the lord Geoffrey Scrope iustice, with a number of armed men vnto Carleill, the which came thither on saint Chaddes daie, and the morrow after, being the thirde of March, he sat in iudgement vpon the said earle, in the castell of Carleill, and there (as out of the kings mouth) he pronounced sentence against him in this wise; first, that he should be disgraced of his earledome, by the taking awaie from him the sword which the king had giuen him with, and likewise of his knighthood, by cutting off his spurs from his heeles, and that after this, he should be dyawen from the castell through the citis vnto the place of execution, where felons were accustomed to suffer, and there to be hanged, afterwards headed, and then his head to be sent vnto London, there to be set aloft vpon one of the turrets of the tower, and his quarters to be diuided, one to be set vp at Carleill, an other at Petercastle vpon Tine, the third at Wyfrow, & the fourth at Douer.

The earle of
Carleills
iudgement.

This constan-
cie at his
death.

When he had heard this iudgement, he said; You haue diuided my bodie at your pleasure, and I commit my soule vnto God: and being according to the iudgement dyawen to the place where he suffered, he neuer shrank at the matter, but boldlie behaued himselfe, declaring at the verie houre of his death, that his intention in concluding the agrement with the Scots was good, and proceeding not of any euill

meaning, but tending onlie to the wealth and quietnes of the realme. Neither could such friers as were permitted to come to him before his arraignment to heare his confession, get any thing more of him, but that his meaning was good, and that which he had concluded with the king of Scots was not done vpon any euill purpose, whereby any hurt might insue, either to the king or to the realme. Thus haue we thought good to shew the cause of this earles death, as by some writers it hath bene registred; although there be that write, that the ouerthrow at Beighland chanced through his fault, by misleading a great part of the kings host, and that therefore the king being offended with him, caused him to be put to death, albeit (as I thinke) no such matter was alleged against him at the time of his arraignment.

About this season was the foundation begun of St. Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one sir Henrie Stanton knight, chancellor of the exchequer. About the feast of the Ascension, there came as commissioners from the king of England vnto Petercastle, Aimerie earle of Penbrooke, and the lord chamberlaine Hugh Spenser the younger, and other foure personages of good account. And from the king of Scots, there came the bishop of saint Andrews, Thomas Randolph earle of Murray, and other foure of good credit to treat of peace, or at the leastwise of some long truce, and through the good will and pleasure of God, the author of all peace and quietnesse, they concluded vpon a truce, to indure for thirtene yeares, and so about the feast of saint Barnabe the apostle, it was proclaimed in both realmes, but yet so, that they might not traffike together, because of the excommunication wherewith the Scots were as yet intangled, although as some write, about the same time, the interdict wherein the realme of Scotland stood bound, was by pope John released.

The French king, being latelie come to the crowne, sent certeine ambassadores vnto king Edward, to wit, the lord Beouille, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to giue summons vnto him from the French king, to come and doe homage for the lands which he held in France, as for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Ponthieu. And though the lord chamberlaine Hugh Spenser the sonne, and the lord chancelour Robert Baldocke did what they could to procure these ambassadores, not to declare the cause of their coming to the king, yet when they should depart, they admonished the king to come and doe his homage vnto the French king; and vpon this admonition the said Andreas framed a publicke instrument, by vertue whereof, the French king made processe against the king of England, and seized into his hands diuerse townes and castles in Aquitaine, alledging that he did it for the contumacie shewed by the king of England, in refusing to come to doe his homage, being lawfullie summoned, although the king was thoughtlie informed, that the summons was neither lawfull, nor touched him any thing at all.

About the same time, the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, giuing his keepers a drinke that brought them into a sound and heauie sleepe, escaped out of the tower of London where he was prisoner. This escape of the lord Mortimer greatly troubled the king, so that immediatlie vpon the first news, he wrote to all the shiriffes of the realme, that if he chanced to come within their romes, they should cause hue and crie to be raised, so as he might be raised and arrested, but he made such shift, that he got ouer into France, where he was receiued by a lord of Picardie, named monsieur John de Fieules, who had faire lands in England, and therefore the king wrote to him, repprouing him of vnthankfulnesse, considering he

Fabian,
Caxton,

Rich. South
Commis-
sioners
treat of
peace.

Truce
concluded.

Polydor.
Hect. Boet.
Anno Reg.
Spellinges
from the
French king.

The French
king taketh
townes and
castles.

The lord
Mortimer
escapeth
of the tower.

The
her
selfe
The
Mortimer

The
Mortimer

Re.
Lar
king
king

Lic
tice
of th
Acc

Pol,

Em
lent
Fra

he had bene ever readie to pleasure him, and to advance his profits and commodities, and yet notwithstanding he did succour the said lord Mortimer, and other rebels that were fled out of his realme.

1224
A parliament.

The bishop of
Hereford ar-
rested.

Thom de la
More.

Thom. Wall.

In Lent this yere, a parlement was holden at London, in the which diuerse things were intreated, amongst other the chiefeest was, to determine for the sending of some honorable ambassage to the French king, to excuse the king for not comming to him to do his homage, according to the pretended summons. ¶ In the same parlement, Adam bishop of Hereford was arrested, and examined upon points of treason, for aiding, succouring, and maintaining the Mortimers, and other of the rebels. This bishop was reckoned to be wise, subtil, and learned, but otherwise, wilfull, presumptuous, and given to mainteine factions. At the first, he disdeined to make ante answer at all, and finally, when he was in manner forced thereto, he flatlie told the king, that he might not make any answer to such matters as he was charged with, except by the licence and consent of his metropolitane the archbishop of Canturburie, and other his peres. Whereupon, the said archbishop and other bishops made such sute, that he was committed to the keeping of the said archbishop, with him to remaine, till the king had taken order for his further answer.

Within few daies after, when the king called him againe before his presence, to make answer to the matters laid against him, the archbishops of Canturburie, Poike, Dublin, and ten other bishops came with their crosses afore them, and under a colour of the priuilege and liberties of the church, took him a waile, before he had made ante answer, forbidding all men on paine of excommunication, to laie ante hands vpon him. The king greatlie offended with this bold proceeding of the prelates, caused yet an inquest to be impanelled, to inquire of the bishop of Herefords treasons, and vpon the finding of him guiltie, he seized into his hands all the temporalties that belonged to his bishopricke, and spoiled his manours and houses most violentlie, in reuenge of his disoiall dealings.

Re. Tur.
Lands belong-
ing to the
templars.

Moreover, in this parlement, the lands and possessions that belonged sometime to the Templers, and had bene deliuered vnto the knights Hospitallers, otherwise called knights of the Rodes by the king in the scanenth yere of his reigne (according to the decree of the counsell of Vienna) were by authoritie of this parlement assured vnto the said knights, to enjoy to them and their successors for ever. Also it was concluded, that the earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dublin should go ouer as ambassadours into France, to excuse the king for his not comming in person to the French king, to do his homage for the lands he held in France. Moreover, in the same parlement, the king granted, that all the dead bodies of his enemies and rebels that had suffered and hanged still on the gallowes, should be taken downe, and buried in the churchyards next to the places where the same bodies were hanging, and not elsewhere, by such as would take paine to burie them, as by his writs directed vnto the shiriffes of London, and of the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Glocester, Poike, and Buckingham it appeared. And not onelie this libertie was granted at that time for the taking down of those bodies, but (as some write) it was decreed by authoritie in the same parlement, that the bodies of all those that from thenceforth should be hanged for felonies, should incontinentlie be buried, which ordinance hath bene ever since obserued.

Embassadours
sent into
France.

The earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dublin going ouer into France, could not light vpon any good conclusion for the matter about the which they

were sent, because the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Rafe Bassett of Winton, being the kings seneschall in Guien, had ouerthrowne a certeine towne, newlie fortified by the Frenchmen on the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, trusting on the French kings fauour and maintenance, refused to obeie the lawes and ordinances of the countrie of Aquitaine, and seemed to despise and set at naught the authoritie of the said lord Bassett in that countrie, contrarie to all right, good order or reason. Wherefore, the French king took the matter so greeuouslie, that except the lord Bassett might be constrained to come vnto Paris, and there make answer to his offense, he would not hearken to any other satisfaction. And thereupon, when the ambassadours were returned, he sent his vnckle the lord Charles de Blois earle of Anjou, with a mightie armie, against the English subjects into Guien, where entering into Agenois, he took and seized all that countrie into the French kings hands. The earle of Kent being not gotten into those parts, with a great number of other capteins and men of warre sent thither by the king of England, resisted the enemies verie manfully, in so much that vpon their approach to the Rioll, a strong towne in those parts, the earle of Kent as then being within it, did issue forth, and giuing them battell, slue (as some write) fouretene hundred of their men, so that they were glad to lodge at the first somewhat further off the towne.

¶ Whilist this siege remained before the towne of the Rioll, the king of England wrote his letters to the duke of Britaine, as one of the peres of France, declaring the iniurious dealing of the French king, who had sent his vnckle the earle of Anjou with an armie against his people in Agenois, where he had taken manie townes, destroyed his people, and now had besieged his nephew Edmund earle of Kent, within the towne of the Rioll, informing his whole puissance wrongfullie to bereaue him of all the duchie of Guien, and against all reason, and the prerogative of the peres of France, to an euill precedent or example in time to come of the perpetuall feruitude of the said peres. And although saith the king of England, that the French alledge that we haue ben lawfullie summoned to come and do homage, and haue refused so to do, that is not so: for we were neuer in due order required as was contentment, neither could we do homage, by reason of the great injuries and hard dealings practised against vs, from the feast of Easter last, till the date of those his present letters (which was the first of October, in this eighteenth yere of his reigne) and yet, saith he, there was neuer any lawfull processe had against vs before our peres, in the great chamber at Paris, as had bene requisite.

¶ Whereupon he requested the duke of Britaine, that for the preservation and maintenance of the honorable estate of the peres of France, and for iustice sake he would helpe to aid him, either by waie of request, or other convenient meanes, so as the said freid dealings and iniurious wrongs may cease, and the estate of the peereship may be maintained as was requisite. He wrote likewise to the lord John the infant, the lord of Biskie, and to the lady Marie of Biskie gouernesse of the king of Castile and Leon, and to James king of Aragon, requesting them to aid him with men of warre, as well horsemen as footmen, against his aduersarie the French king, that most vniustlie went about to depriue him of his inheritance. But howsoever the matter went, no aid came to the earle of Kent from any part, till at length, the Frenchmen so reinforced the siege, that the towne was deliuered to the earle of Anjou, and a truce taken vpon certeine conditions, that further

The lord
Basset.

Anno Reg. 18.
The earle of
Anjou sent
into Guien.

The earle of
Kent.

Fabian.
The king of
England
writeth to the
duke of Brit-
taine.
Record. Tur.

The lord of
Biskie.

The. Wall.
France take.

The lord de
Saulte sent
into France
in ambassage.

The pope
sendeth am-
bassadors to
the kings of
England and
France.

1 3 2 5

Other embas-
sadors sent o-
uer into
France.

The queene
is sent ouer
into France
to talke with
hir brother
the French
king.

A peace and
concord a-
greed vpon.

Anno Reg. 19.

The prince of
wales is sent
into France.

farther salke might be had, for the conclusion of some peace.

Then were sent ouer other ambassadors, as the lord John de Saulte a Frenchman borne, and one maister John de Schoyich, but the lord Saulte had so strange intertainment for some displeasure which the French king conceiued against him, that if the French queene had not the better intreated for him, he had lost his head; and as for the other, he had also returned home without bringing any thing to passe, of that for the which he was sent. After this, the pope sent the archbishop of Vienna, and the bishop of Orange, to the princes of either realme, to exhort them to some agreement, but they could do no good, and so taking monie of the cleargie for their expenses, they returned. After this, about the twentieth daie after Christmasse, there was a parlement called at London, in the which the king required to haue the aduise of the lords, how he might worke for sauing of the duchie of Guien, soe molested by the French. Wherevpon it was concluded, that the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and John de Britaine earle of Richmond, should go ouer as ambassadors to the French king, who coming into France, after manie argumentations, allegations, and excuses, made on both parts, at length receiued a certaine forme of pacification at the French kings hands, with the which the bishop of Winchester was sent backe to England, the bishop of Norwich, and the earle of Richmond remaining there, till it might be knowen how the king of England would like thereof.

Finallie it was thought good, that the queene should go ouer to hir brother the French king, to confirme that treatie of peace vpon some reasonable conditi- ons. She willingly toke vpon hir the charge, and so with the lord John Crumwell, & other foure knights, without any other great traine, taking sea, she landed in France, where of the king hir brother she was sol- fullie receiued, and finallie she being the mediatrix, it was finallie accorded, that the K. of England should giue to his eldest sonne the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Montien, and that the French king re- ceiving homage of him for the same, he should re- store into his hands the said countie, and the lands in Guien, for the which they were at variance, and for those countries which had bene forraied and spoiled, the earle of Arion should fullie see him satisfied, as right did require.

Vpon the covenants the French king wrote his letters patents into England, and other letters also of safe conduct, as well for the sonne as for the king himselfe, if it should please him to come ouer him- selfe in person. Vpon which choise great deliberation was had, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, diuerse thinking it best that the king should go ouer him- selfe; but the earle of Winchester and his sonne the lord chamberleine, that neither durst go ouer them- selues with the king, nor abide at home in his ab- sence, gaue contrarie counsell, and at length preua- led so, that it was fullie determined that the kings el- dest sonne Edward should go ouer, which turned to their destruction, as it appeared afterward.

Wherevpon the king made a charter of grant vnto his sonne, of the duchie of Guien, and countie of Pontieu, to haue and hold to him & his heires kings of England, with condition, that if he chanced to de- part this life whilest his father liued, those lands should returne to his father againe, so as the French king might not marrie the kings sonne at his plea- sure, nor appoint vnto him any gardians or gouer- nours. This ordinance was made at Douer by the kings charter, with consent of the prelates and other noble men of the realme there present, the morrow after the Patenite of our ladie, and on the thurdaie

following, the kings sonne toke the sea, and with him Walter bishop of Excester and others in competent number, and about the feast of saint Pathe to the apostle, he did homage to his uncle the French king at Bois de Vincennes, under certeine protestations made, as well on the one part as the other.

The summer this yeare proued exceeding hot and drie, so that springs and riuers failed to yeld their accustomed course of waters, by reason whereof great numbers of cattell and beasts, both wild and tame died, through lacke of convenient liquour to asswage their vehement thirst. In the beginning of the next spring, king Edward sent into France vnto his wife and sonne, commanding them, now that they had made an end of their businesse, to returne home with all convenient speed. The queene receiuing the message from hir husband, whether it was so that she was straited by hir brother, vnto whome belike she had complained after what manner she was used at hir husbands hands, being had in no regard with him: or for that she had no mind to returne home, because she was loth to see all things ordered out of frame by the counsell of the Spencers, whereof to heare she was wearie: or whether (as the manner of women is) she was long about to prepare hir selfe forward, she slack- ked all the summer, and sent letters euer to excuse hir tardiance. But yet because she would not run in any suspicion with hir husband, she sent diuerse of hir folkes before hir into England by soft iournies. A la- mentable case, that such diuision should be betwene a king and his queene, being lawfullie married, and hauing issue of their bodies, which ought to haue made that their copulation more comfortable: but (alas) what will not a woman be beaten and allured vnto, if by euill counsell she be once assaulted? And what will she leaue vndone, though neuer so in- convenient to those that should be most deere vnto hir, so hir owne fanse and will be satisfied? And how hardlie is she reuoked from proceeding in an euill action, if she haue once taken a taste of the same? As verie truly is reported by the comedie-writer, saing,

*Male quod mulier incipit nisi effugere id perpetrat,
Id illi morbo, id illi senio est; ea illi misera miseria est:
Si bene facere incipit, eius eam cito adium percipit,
Nimisq; pauca sunt de fesse, male que facere occiperint,
Nimisq; pauca efficiunt, si quid occiperint benefacere;
Mulieri nimio malefacere melius est omni, quam bene.*

But to the purpose. King Edward not a little of- fended with king Charles, by whose meanes he knew that the woman thus lingered abroad, he procured pope John to write his letters vnto the French king, admonishing him to send home his sister and hir sonne vnto hir husband. But when this nothing aua- led, a proclamation was made in the moneth of De- cember, the nineteenth yeare of this kings reigne, that if the queene and hir sonne entred not the land by the octaues of the Epiphantie next ensuing in peaceable wise, they should be taken for enemies to the realme and crowne of England. ¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the queene determined to returne into England forthwith, that she might be reconciled to hir husband.

Others write, and that more truelie, how the being highlie displeased, both with the Spencers and the king hir husband, that suffered himselfe to be misled by their counsels, did appoint indeed to returne into England, not to be reconciled, but to stir the people to some rebellion, whereby the might reuenge hir ma- nifold iniuries. Which (as the profe of the thing shew- ed) seemeth to be most true, for she being a wise wo- man, & considering that with the Spencers had exclud- ed, put out, and remoued all good men, from and be- sides the kings counsell, and placed in their romes such

such of their clients, seruants and frends as pleased them, the might well thinke that there was small hope to be had in hir husband, who heard no man but the said Spencers, which the king hated hir deadlye. Whereupon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the king caused to be seized into his hands, all such lands, as belonged either to his sonne, or to his wiife.

Sir Robert
Walslare.

About the same time, one sir Robert Walslare knight, a right hardie man of his hands, but craftie and subtil (who being taken in the warres which the lordz raised against the king, had bene committed to prison in the castell of Corfe) found means now to kill the constable of that castell most cruellie, and escaping awaie, got ouer to the quene into France, and so the number of them that ran out of the realme vnto hir daile increased. This sir Robert Walslare was a great procurer of the discorde betwixt the king and the lordz, and a chiefe leader, or rather seducer of that noble man Humfrie de Bohune earle of Hereford: and whilist other gaue themselves to seeke a reformation in the decayed state of the commonwealth, he set his mind vpon murders and robberies. Diuerse other about the same time fled out of the realme vnto the quene, and vnto hir sonne the earle of Chester. But in the meane time, Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, which hitherto had remained with the quene in France, stole now from hir, and got ouer into England, opening to the king all the counsell and whole mind of the quene: which thing turned first of all vnto his owne destruction, as shall after appeare.

The bishop of
Excester fled
secretly from
the quene.

Sir Oliver
de Ingham
treuerant of
Galscoine.

About the same time, one sir Oliver de Ingham, a yong, lustie, and valiant knight, was by the kings sonne the duke of Aquitaine (not without his fathers consent) established lord warden of the marches of Guien, the which sir Oliver gathering an armie of hired soldiers, Spaniards, Aragon, and Galscoine, invaded the countrie of Agenois (which the French king held yet in his hands contrarie to covenant) and recovering it from the French, cleerlie reduced it to the English dominion. Whereouer, sir John Murrum, sir Nicholas Kiriell, and sir John Felton, admirals by the kings appointment, with the fleets of the east, south, and west parts, went to the sea, to apprehend such Frenchmen as they might meet withall. They according to their commission bestirred themselves so, that within few daies they took sir Ioseph saile of Portugall, and brought them into England, whereupon the displeasure for increased betwixt the two realmes.

Ships of
Portugall
taken.

The king of England stood not onelie in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remained in France, least they thorough helpe of the French should invade the land, and therefore he commanded the hauens and ports to be suerlie watched, lest some sudden inuasion might happilie be attempted, for it was well vnderstood, that the quene meant not to returne, till she might bring with hir the lord Spertimer, and the other banished men, who in no wise could obtaine any fauour at the kings hands, so long as the Spencers bare rule. ¶ The pope lamenting this matter, sent two bishops into England, to reconcile the king and quene, and also to agree the two kings. These bishops were reuerentlie received, but more than reuerence here they obtained not, and so departed as they came.

Anno. Reg. 20.

King Edward vnderstanding all the quenes drift, at length sought the French kings fauour, and did so much by letters and promise of bribes with him and his counsell, that quene Isabell was destitute in manner of all helpe there, so that she was glad to withdraw into Heinault, by the comfort of John the lord Beaumont, the earle of Heinault his brother,

The lord
Beaumont
of Heinault.

who being then in the court of France, and lamenting quene Isabells case, imagined with himselfe of some marriage that might be had betwixt the yong prince of Wales, and some of the daughters of his brother the earle of Heinault, and thereupon required hir to go into Heinault, and he would be glad to attend hir. She gladlie consenting hereto, went thither with him, where she was most ioufullie receiued with hir sonne, and all other of hir traine.

The quene
of England
with hir son
goeth into
Heinault.
Polydor.

The Spencers (some write) procured hir banishment out of France, and that she was aduised by the earle of Arthois. chafellie to repaire into Heinault. Also I find, that the Spencers deliuered five barrels of silver, the summe amounting vnto five thousand marks, vnto one Arnold of Spaine a brother, appointing him to conueie it ouer into France, to bestowe it vpon such frends as they had there of the French kings counsell, by whose means the king of France did banish his sister out of his realme. But this monie was met with vpon the sea by certaine Zelanders, and taken, together with the said Arnold, and presented to the earle of Heinault, vnder whose dominion the Zelanders in those daies remained, of which god hap the earle and quene Isabell greatly reioiced.

Caxton.

In the time that the quene and hir sonne late in the court of the earle of Heinault, a marriage was concluded betwixt the prince of Wales, and the ladie Philip, daughter to the said earle, vpon certaine conditions, whereof one was, that the said erle should at his proper costs set ouer into England the said prince of Wales, with a crue of foure hundred men of armes. But whether there was any such marriage as then concluded, and that in consideration thereof, the earle of Heinault aided quene Isabell and hir sonne, it may be doubted, because other writers make no such report. Neuerthelesse, certaine it is, that the earls brother sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont, was appointed with certaine bands of men of armes, to the number of foure hundred or five hundred, to passe ouer with the said quene and hir sonne into England, and so thereupon began to make his purueiance for that iourne, which thing when it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spencers, they caused musters to be taken through the realme, and ordeined beacons to be set by, kept and watched, as well in the ballies by the sea side, as within the countries, vpon hills and high grounds, that the same vpon occasion of the enemies arrivall, might be set on fire, to warne the countries adjoining to assemble and resist them.

Fabian.
A marriage
concluded.

Caxton.
Provision
made in Eng
land to resist
the quene.

But quene Isabell and hir sonne, with such others as were with hir in Heinault, feared not their iourne for doubt of all their aduersaries provision, but immediatlie after that they had once made their purueiances, and were readie to depart, they took the sea, namely the quene, hir sonne, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent, sir John de Heinault as foresaid, and the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experience in the warres, and diuerse others, having with them a small companie of Englishmen, with a crue of Heineuilers and Almains, to the number of 2757 armed men, the which sailing forth towards England, landed at length in Suffolke, at an haven called Drwell besides Harwich, the 25 daie of September. Immediatlie after that the quene and hir sonne were come to land, it was wonder to see how fast the people resorted vnto them; and first of all, the earle Sparshall, in whose land the first came on shore, repaired vnto hir, so did the earle of Leicester, and diuerse barons & knights of those parts, with all the prelates in manner of the land, as the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, Dublin, and Elie, the which being ioined with the quene, made

Tho. Walsin.
The quene
with hir son
land in Suff
folke.

Tho. Wals.

The readi-
ness of the
peers to
assist the
queen.

made a great armie. The archbishop of Canturburie and others aided hir with monie.

After that the had refreshed hir people a litte space at saint Edmundsburie, she marched forth to seeke the aduersaries of hir and of the realme, as she byruted it; but they still keeping themselves nere to the kings person, that under the shadow of the wings of his proteccion they might remaine in more safegard, durst not depart from his presence. At the tyme of the quenes landing he was at London, and being sore amazed with the newes, he required aid of the Londoners. They answered, that they would doo all the honour they might unto the king, the quene, and to their sonne the lawfull heire, of the land: but as for strangers & traitors to the realme, they would keepe them out of their gates, and resist them with all their forces: but to go forth of the citie further than that they might returne before sunne-setting, they refused, pretending certeine liberties in that behalfe to them granted in times past, as they alledged.

The king for-
saketh Lon-
don, and goeth
towards the
marches of
Wales.

The king not greatlie liking of this answer, forth-
fied the tower, and leauing within it his yonger son
John of Eltham, and the wife of the lord chamber-
leine Hugh Spenser the yonger that was his nece,
he departed towards the marches of Wales, there to
raise an armie against the quene. Before his depar-
ture from London, he set forth a proclamation, that
euerie man under paine of forfeiting of life & goods,
should resist them that were thus landed, assaile, and
kill them, the quene, his sonne Edward, and his bro-
ther the earle of Kent onelie excepted; and whosoever
could bring the head or dead corps of the lord Spensi-
mer of Wigmore, should haue for his labour a thou-
sand marks. The quenes proclamations on the other
part willed all men to hope for peace, the Spensers
publike enemies of the realme, and the lord chancellor
Robert Baldocke, with their assistants onlie excepted,
through whose meanes the present trouble was
happened to the realme. And it was forbidden, that
no man should take ought from any person, and who
so euer could bring to the quene the head of Hugh
Spenser the yonger, should haue two thousand
pounds of the quenes gift.

The bishop of
Excester left
in charge
with the citie
of London.

The king at his departure from London, left mas-
ter Walter Stapleton the bishop of Excester be-
hind him, to haue the rule of the citie of London.
When shortly after, the quene with hir son, making
towards London, wrote a letter to the maior, and the
citizens, requiring to haue assistance for the putting
downe of the Spensers, not onelie knowne enemies
of theirs, but also common enemies to all the realme
of England. To this letter no answer at the first
was made, wherefore an other was sent, dated at
Baldocke the first daie of October, vnder the names
of Isabell by the grace of God quene of England,
ladie of Ireland, and countesse of Pontieu, and of Ed-
ward eldest sonne to the king of England, duke of
Guien, earle of Chester, of Pontien and of Muttrell.
This letter being directed to the maior and commu-
naltie of London, containing in effect, that the cause
of the landing and entring into the realme at that
time, was onelie for the hono: of the king and wealth
of the realme, meaning hurt to no maner of person,
but to the Spensers, was fastened vpon the crosse in
Cheape, then called the new crosse in Cheape, on the
night before the ninth daie of October. Diuerse co-
pies of the same letter were set by, and fastened vpon
windowes and doores in other places of the citie, and
one of the same copies was tacked vpon the lord ma-
iors gates.

Flavian.
Thom. Walf.

After which letter thus published in the citie, a
great number of artificers, and other that loued not
to sit in rest vpon such occasion of discord offered;
now that things were in boile in other parts of the

realme, assembled in great numbers, & with swapon
in hand came to the lord maior of the citie, whom they
knew to fauor the kings part, & therefore they forced
him through feare of some inuiolent violence, to re-
ceiue an oth to stand to their ordinance, which was to
put to death all those that were aduersaries to the
quene, or had by any meanes procured the hinde-
rance of the cities liberties; vnder pretext of which
oth they ran and toke one of the citizens, called John
Barthall, who because he was verie familiar with
the earle of Gloucester, and therefore suspected to haue
accused the citizens, they strake off his head, and spo-
iled all his goods.

On the same day, being the fourteenth of October,
continuing their rage, they ran to the house of the bi-
shop of Excester, Walter de Stapleton, and setting
fire on the gates, they entred and spoiled him of all
his plate, iewels, monie and goods. And as it chanced
in an infortunate houre for him, the bishop being at
the same tyme returning from the fields, would not
seeme to shrink, although he was admonished of
these outrageous attempts of the people; but sitting
on horsebacke, came to the north doore of St. Pauls,
where forthwith the furious people laid violent hands
on him, they drew him downe, and drew him most out-
ragiously into Cheapestree, where they proclaimed
him an open traitor, a seducer of the king, and a de-
stroyer of their liberties. The bishop had vpon him a
certeine cote of defense, which was called an aketon,
the same therefore being plucked before his backe as
all other his garments, they thore his head from his
shoulders, and to the like death they put two of his
seruants, the one an esquire, and the other a peoman,
The bishops head was set on a pole for a spectacle,
that the remembrance of his death, and the cause
thereof might continue. His bodie was buried
in an old churchyard of the pied friers, without a-
ny manner of crequies of funerall seruice done for
him.

The chiefest cause of the enimitie which the Londo-
ners bare towards this bishop, rose hereof. He being
lord treasurer, procured that the iustices itinerants
did sit in the citie of London, and where manie of the
citizens were found offenders, and iustlie punished,
as well by losing their freedoms, as by paieng their
fines, and suffering corporall punishments, they con-
ceined a great displeasure towards him. Moreover,
it was said, that he had raised a great multitude of
armed men against the quene, and hir son the duke
of Aquitaine, and therefore did the Londoners (as
they affirmed) seeke to prevent his proceedings.
¶ The morrow after that they had thus beheaded the
bishop of Excester, they toke by chance sir John Wel-
ston constable of the tower, and from him they toke
the keyes of the same tower, and so entering the
tower, they set all the prisoners at libertie, and in like
case all those that were imprisoned in maner through
the land were permitted to go at large, and all the
banished men and outlawes were likewise restored
home.

The Londoners hauing the tower thus at their
commandement, remoued all the officers therein
placed by the king, and put other in their comes, in
the name of the lord John de Eltham the kings son,
whom they named warden of the citie and land. And
yet they ceased not to commit manie robberies & o-
ther outrageous & most insolent parts. In the meane
time, the king being come to Wyssow, left that citie
in the keeping of the earle of Winchester. And with
the earles of Gloucester and Arundell, and the lord
chancellor sir Robert Baldocke, he sailed ouer into
Wales, there to raise a power of Welshmen in de-
fence of himselfe against the quene and hir adhe-
rents, which he had good hope to find amongst the
Welsh.

The lord
maior was
to take the
city.

John Bar-
thall was
drawn to
death.

The bishop
of Excester
was drawn.

The king
sailed into
Wales.

An. Reg. 20, 21.

Polydor.
His fauour
towards the
Welshmen.D
ied
nigh.Bar.
an
d.The queene
following the
king cometh
to Drenford.
Tho. de la
More.The bishop
of Hereford
maketh an
oration to
the queenes
armie.bishop
: cester
ied,The queene
goeth to
Glocester.The lord
Berkeley.The queene
cometh to
Bristol.The earle of
Winchester
executed.Sir Thomas
Blunt, lord
steward to
the king, re-
uolunteth to
the queene.The king
saileth into
wales.

Welshmen, because he had euer vsed them gentlie, and shewed no rigor towards them for their riotous misgouernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might easilie escape ouer into Ireland, and get into some mounteine-countrie, marshy-ground, or other streit, where his enemies should not come at him.

But now to speake of the queene, yee most vnderstand, that after she had receiued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholie at hir deuotion, she being glad thereof, turned hir iournie toward Wales, to follow the king, and comming to Drenford, staid there a while, and still came people to hir from all sides. Where Adam de Doleton the bishop of Hereford, which latelie before had bene sore fined by the king, for that he was accused to stirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yee haue heard) made a pible oration to the armie, declaring that the queene and hir sonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to persecute the Spensers, & reforme the state of the realme. And sith then that they now were come in maner to an end of the tyrannye of most naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe daillie thereof, he exhorted them with patient minds to beare the small trauell that remained in pursuit of the enemies; and as for reuward, they might looke for all things by the victorie, and the queenes liberalitie, whose loue was such towards the common-wealth, as the onelie applied all hir endeouours and doings to the aduancement thereof.

These words spoken, the queene accompanied with a great power, departed from Drenford, and went straight vnto Glocester, and sent before hir vnto Bristol the earle of Kent, the kings brother, sir John of Pennegeth, with other, to take the earle of Winchester. They did their endeour with such diligence, that the towne men, compounding to be saued harmlesse in bodie and goods, deliuered the towne and castell vnto the queene, & to hir sonne the prince. In the meane time, there came to the queene at Glocester, the lord Percie, the lord Wake, and diuerse other, as well from the north parts, as south of the marches of Wales, so that hir armie hugelie increased.

From Glocester she passed by Berkley, and restored the castell of Berkley (which the earle of Glocester, Hugh Spenser the younger had held) vnto the lord Thomas Berkley, heire to the lord Spaurice Berkley latelie before deceased in prison, within the castell of Wallingford, together with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkley belonging. From thence she went to Bristol, and the morrow after hir thither comming, being the euen of the apostles Simon and Jude, through the instant calling vpon of the people, the earle of Winchester was hanged forth in his cote armor vnto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and sent to Winchester, whereof he was earle.

The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remained in great care. Wherevpon sir Thomas Blunt, an ancient knight, and lord steward of the kings house, toke his seruants, with Wittels, horses, and armour in great plentie, and came to the queene, of whom, and likewise of hir sonne he was iustly receiued, and diuerse of them with he brought with him were retined; and the other had letters of protection, and were sent awayne in longin making. The king with the earle of Glocester, and the lord chancellor, taking the sea, meant to haue gone either into the Ile of Man, or else vnto Ireland, but being tossed with contrarie winds for the space of a weeke together, at length he landed in Glamorgan shire, and got

him to the abbete and castell of Peith, there secretly remaining vpon trust of the Welshmens promises. Hugoline Spenser, the sonne of the earle of Glocester, defended the castell of Kerlie, against the power of the queene and of hir sonne till easter following, and then compounding for the safetie of his owne life, and all theirs within that castell, and likewise for the inuoleng of their goods, he yelded it to the hands of the men of warre that held siege before it in the queenes name, and of hir sonne.

But now touching the king, whilst he was thus abroad, and no man wist where he was become, proclamations were made in the queenes armie daillie, in the which he was summoned to returne, and to take the rule of the reime into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land assembled in counsell at Hereford, whither the queene was come from Bristol, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made wardens of England, by common decre, vnto whom all men, as to the lord wardens of the realme, made fealtie, in receiuing an oth of allegiance to be faithfull and loiall to him. After this, they made the bishop of Norwich lord chancellor, and the bishop of Winchester lord treasurer.

The queene remained about a moneths space at Hereford, and in the meane while sent the lord Henrie erle of Leicester, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Ricc ap Howell, that was latelie deliuered out of the tower where he was prisoner, into Wales, to see if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in those parts, all those of them hauing lands thereabouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They used such diligence in that charge, that finally with large gifts bestowed on the Welshmen, they came to vnderstand where the king was, and so on the day of saint Edmund the archbishop, being the sixteenth of November, they toke him in the monasterie of Peith, nere to the castell of Laturstan, together with Hugh Spenser the sonne called earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading the kings marshall, not caring for other the kings seruants, whom they suffered to escape.

The king was deliuered to the earle of Leicester, who conueied him by Spommouth and Leadburie, to Killingworth castell, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor, and Simon de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there presented to the queene, where on the foure & twentieth of November, the said earle was hanged and hanged on a paire of gallows of fiftie fot in heighth. Then was his head striken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and his bodie diuided in quarters. His head was sent to London, and set vpon the bridge with other, & his quarters were sent to foure seuerall parts of the realme, and there pight vpon poles, to be seene of the people. He was hanged in his owne cote armour, about the which there were letters embzodered plaine to be read, containing a parcell of the 52 psalme, as followeth.

A counsell at
Hereford.The prince
of wales
made lord
warden of the
realme.A new chan-
celloz and
treasuroz.The king is
brought to
Killingworth.Hugh Spens-
er the younger
executed.

*Vid gloriaris in malitia potens?
Iniquitatem tota die, iniustitiam cogitavit
lingua tua, sicut nouacula acuta fecisti dolum,
Dilexisti malitiam super bonitatem, iniustitiam
magis quam loqui iustitiam,
Dilexisti omnia verba demerisonis lingua do-
losa,
Propterea Deus destruat te in sinem, euellat te
& emigrare te faciat de tabernaculo tuo, & ra-
dicem*

- dicam tuam de terra viventium,*
 6 *Videbunt iusti & timebunt, & super eum ride-*
bunt, & dicent,
 7 *Ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adiutorem su-*
um, sed speravit in multitudine diuitiarum sua-
rum, & prauuluit in vanitate sua.

- 1 **W** Hy boastest thou that thou canst do mischief?
 2 Thy toong imagineth wickednesse, & with lies thou cuttest like a sharpe rasor,
 3 Thou hast loued vngratiousnesse more than goodnesse, and to talke of lies more than righteounesse,
 4 Thou hast loued to speake all words that may doo hurt o thou false toong,
 5 Therefore shall God destroe thee for euer, he shall take thee, and plucke thee out of thy dwelling, and roote thee out of the land of the liuing,
 6 The righteous also shall see this, and feare, and shall laugh him to scorne,
 7 Lo this is the man that tooke not God for his strength, but trusted vnto the multitude of his riches, & strengthened himselfe in his wickednesse.

Simon de Reading executed.

Caxton.

The earle of Arundell taken.

Th. Walsing. Execution.

The fauour in which the lord Spertimer was with the queene.

Robert Waldoche ended his life.

1327

¶ parliament.

On the same daie was Simon de Reading byatone and hanged on the same gallowes, but ten foot lower than the other. This Reading being marshall of the kings house, had vsed the queene very vncourteouslie, giuing hir manie reprochfull words, which now were remembred, and therefore may serue for an example, how dangerous a thing it is to speake euill of the higher powers. The common fame went, that after this Hugh Spenser the sonne was taken, he would receiue no sustenance, wherefore he was the soner put to death, or else had he bene conueied to London, there to haue suffered. John earle of Arundell was taken on St. Hughes day, in the parts about Shrewsburie, and the same day seuen night before the execution of the earle of Gloucester, Hugh Spenser the younger, as well the said earle, who had bene euer a great friend to both the Spensers, as also John Daniell, and Thomas de Spilshelbeure were put to death at Hereford, by procurement of the lord Spertimer of Walsingham, that hated them extreamly, by reason whereof they were not like to speed much better, for what he willed the same was done, and without him the queene in all these matters did nothing.

The chancellor Robert de Waldoche being committed to the custodie of Adam de Loxleton bishop of Hereford, remained at Hereford in safe keeping till Candlemasse next, and then the bishop being at London, appointed him to be brought vp, where not without the bishops consent (as was thought) he was taken out of his house by violence, and laid in Fleetgate, where shortly after thorough inward sorow and extream greife of mind he ended his life. Thus the queene and hir companie hauing compassed their business in so hapie maner as they could wish, the with hir sonne and a great companie of lords and gentlemen repaired vnto Wallingford, where they kept Christmasse together with great joy and triumph, the king in the meane while remaining (as ye haue heard) at Killingworth, in a kind of honorable estate, although he was prisoner. ¶ After Christmasse, the queene with hir son and such lords as were then with them, remoued to London, where at their coming thither, which was before the feast of the Epiphanye, they were receiued with great joy, triumph, and large gifts, and so brought to Westminster, where the morrow after the same feast, the parlement which before

hand had bene summoned began, in which it was concluded and fullie agreed by all the states (for none durst speake to the contrarie) that for diuerse articles which were put vp against the king, he was not worthy longer to reigne, and therefore should be deposed, and withall they willed to haue his sonne Edward duke of Aquitaine to reigne in his place. This ordinance was openlie pronounced in the great hall at Westminster by one of the lords, on the feast day of saint Hilarie being tuesday, to the which all the people consented. The archbishop of Canturburie taking his theame, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, made a sermon, exhorting the people to prate to God to bestow of his grace vpon the new king. And so when the sermon was ended, euery man departed to his lodging. But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceiued that his mother took the matter heauilie in appearance, for that hir husband should be thus depriued of the crowne, he protested that he would neuer take it on him, without his fathers consent, and so there vpon it was concluded, that certeine solemne messengers should go to Killingworth to moue the king to make resignation of his crowne and title of the kingdome vnto his sonne.

There were sent on this message (as some write) thre or (as other haue) two bishops, two earles, two abbats, two or (as Tho. de la More and Walsingham haue) foure barons, and for euery countie, citie, and burrough, and likewise for the cinque ports, certeine knights and burgeises. The bishops that were sent were these (as T. de la More noteth) John de Stratford bishop of Winchester, Adam de Loxleton bishop of Hereford, and Henrie bishop of Lincoln. The two earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaster and Warwike: the two barons, Kose and Courteney: beside these (as he saith) there were two abbats, two priors, two iustices, two friers of the order of preachers, two of the Carmelites, two knights for the commons on the north side of Trent, and two for the other on the south side of the same riuer: two citizens for London, two burgeises for the cinque ports, so as in all there went of this message (as Southwell saith) thre and twentie or rather foure and twentie persons of one degree and other.

None of the frier minors went, because they would not be the bringers of so heauie tidings, although they had euer borne them great god will. The bishops of Winchester and Lincoln went before, and coming to Killingworth, associated with them the earle of Leicester, of some called the earle of Lancaster, that had the king in keeping. And hauing secret conference with the king, they sought to fraigne his mind, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused to do, the people in respect of the euill will which they had conceiued against him, would not saile but proceeded to the election of some other, that should happilie not touch him in lineage. And although this was the onlie meane to bring the land in quiet, they willed him to consider how much he was bound in conscience to take that waie that should be so beneficiall to the whole realme.

The king being troubled with heate such displeased newes, was brought into a marvellous agone, but in the end, for the quiet of the realme and want of further damage to himselfe, he determined to follow their advice, and so when the other countenances were there, and the lord bishop of Hereford had declared the cause wherefore he was sent, the king in presence of them all pronounced his resignation of the crown and title of the kingdome, and so came to himselfe, he answered that he had to that he was taken into this miserie through his owne consent, and therefore he

The king deposed by a parliament.

The archbishop of Canturburie preaching.

Thom. de la More.

Thom. Wals.

Rich. Scul.

The king's
answer.to be
by an
men.the
dome
th.de la
Wall.

Polydor.

Merimouth.

Thom. de la
More.Thom. de la
More.

a. Scul.

he was contented patientlie to suffer it, but yet it could not be said but greave him, that he had in such wise runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithstanding he gaue the lords most heartie thanks, that they had so forgotten their receiued injuries, and ceased not to beare so much good will towards his sonne Edward, as to wish that he might reigne ouer them: Wherefore to satisfie them, with otherwise it might not be, he viterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole administration thereof. And lastlie he besought the lords now in his miserie to forgiue him such offenses as he had committed against them. Ah lamentable ruine from roialtie to miserable calamitie, procured by them the selfe that should haue bene the pillars of the kings estate, and not the hooked engins to pull him downe from his throne! So that here we see it versed by trial, that

*— miser atq; infelix est etiam rex,
Nec quonquam (mihi crede) facit diadema beatum.*

The ambassadours with this answer returning to London, declared the same vnto all the states, in order as they had receiued it, whereupon great top was made of all men, to consider that they might now by course of law proceed to the choosing of a new king. And so thereupon the nine and twentieth day of Januarie in session of parlement then at Westminster assembled, was the third king Edward, sonne to king Edward the second, chosen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the same parlement, first as before is said) confirmed by his fathers resignation: and the first day of his reigne they agreed to be the five and twentieth of Januarie: in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the five & twentieth day of March, but by the common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327. ¶ On the same daie sir William Trussell procurator for the whole parlement did renounce the old king in name of the whole parlement, with all homages and fealties due to him, so that the same five and twentieth day of Januarie hath bene reputed and taken for the first day of the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, so that whatsoever chanced before that day, is ascribed to be done during the reigne of his father.

But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the second, I find that after he was deposed of his kingle honour and title, he remained for a time at Killingworth, in custodie of the earle of Leicester. But within a while the queene was informed by the bishop of Hereford, (whose hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leicester fauoured his husband too much, and more than stood with the suertie of his sonnes state, whereupon he was appointed to the keeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkeley, and John Spattreurs, who receiuing him of the earle of Leicester the third of Aprill, conueied him from Killingworth vnto the castell of Berkeley, situate not farre off from the river of Seuerne, almost the midwaie betwixt Gloucester and Bristol.

But so much as the lord Berkeley used him more courteouslie than his aduersaries wished him to doe, he was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Courney appointed in his stead, who together with the lord Spattreurs conueied him secretlie (for feare least he should be taken from them by force) from one strong place to another, as to the castell of Cozse, and such like, still remouing with him in the night season, till at length they thought it should not be knowen whether they had conueied him. And so at length they brought him backe againe in secret manner vnto the castell of Berkeley, where whilest he remained (as some write) the queene would send vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and

other such things, but she would not once come nere to visit him, bearing him in hand that she durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extreemlie. Howbeit, the with the rest of his confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their deuise for his dispatch, though by painted words she pretended a kind of remorse to him in this his distresse, & would seeme to be faultlesse in the sight of the world; for

Proditor ille dicit verbis dum verbera cadit.

But as he thus continued in prison, closelie kept; so that none of his friends might haue access vnto him, as in such cases it often happeneth, when men be in miserie, some will euer pitte their state, there were diuerse of the nobilitie (of whom the earle of Kent was chiefe) began to deuise means by secret conference had together, how they might rescue him to libertie, discommending greatlie both queene Isabella, and such other as were appointed gouernours to the yong king, for his fathers streit imprisonment. The queene and other the gouernours understanding this conspiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durst not yet in that new and greene world go about to punish it, but rather thought good to take a waie from them the occasion of accomplishing their purpose. And hereupon the queene and the bishop of Hereford wrote sharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt so gentlie with him, and kept him no stricter, but suffered him to haue such libertie, that he aduertised some of his friends abroad how and in what manner he was used, and withall the bishop of Hereford vnder a philosophical forme of words signified to them by his letters, that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obscuritie ran thus:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:

To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

Which riddle or doubtfull kind of speech, as it might be taken in two contrarie senses, onelie by placing the point in orthographie called *Coma*, they construed in the worse sense, putting the *Coma* after *Timere*, and so presuming of this commandement as they toke it from the bishop, they lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abhominable stinck thereof: but he bearing it out stronglie, as a man of a tough nature, continued still in life, so as it seemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purging either vp or downe auoided the force of such poison as had bene ministred to him sundrie times before, of purpose so to rid him.

Whereupon when they sawe that such practises would not serue their turne, they came suddenly one night into the chamber where he late in bed fast asleep, and with heauie featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust vp into his bodie an hot spit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers instrument of iron made verie hot, the which passing vp into his intrailles, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceived. His crie did moue manie within the castell and towne of Berkeley to compassion, plainelie hearing him utter a wailfull noise, as the tormentors were about to murder him, so that diuerse being awaked therewith (as they themselves confessed) prayed heartilie to God to receiue his soule, when they understood by his crie what the matter ment.

The queene, the bishop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the lord Spattreurs, and Thomas Courney, who sieng vnto parcels, thre yeares after being knowen, taken, &c.

The earle of
Kent, conspi-
reth to deliue
his brother.

Tho. Wall.

Thom. de la
More.

Ed. Edward
the second
murdered.

Isabella, and

The fond opinion of the ignorant people.

The nature & disposition of king Edward the second.

and brought toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the chiefe owners, as the bishop and other. John Patrevers, repenting himselfe, laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentie. Thus was king Edward murdered, in the yeare 1327, on the 22 of September. The same went that by this Edward the second, after his death manie miracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceived as before had bene of earle Thomas of Lancaster, namely amongst the common people. He was knowne to be of a good and

courteous nature, though not of most pregnant wit. And albeit in his youth he fell into certeine light crimes, and after by the companie and counsell of euill men, was induced vnto more heinous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the same by repentance, and patientlie suffered manie reproches, and finally death it selfe (as before ye haue heard) after a most cruell manner. He had suerlie good cause to repent his former trade of liuing, for by his indiscreet and wanton misgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his reigne (by iudgement of law) to the number of 28 barons and knights, ouer and besides such as were slaine in Scotlands by his infortunate conduct.

All these mischeues and manie more happened not onlie to him, but also to the whole state of the realme, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent discretion to make choise of sage and discret counsellors, receiving those into his fauour, that abused the same to their priuate gaine and aduantage, not respecting the aduancement of the common-wealth, so they themselves might attaine to riches and honour, for which they onelie sought, in somuch that by their courteous rapine, spoile, and immoderate ambition, the hearts of the common people & nobilitie were quite estranged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to haue shewed to their soueraigne, going about by force to wrest him to follow their wils, and to seeke the destruction of them whome he commonly fauoured, wherein suerlie they were worthe of blame, and to tast (as manie of them did) the deserved punishment for their disobedient and dissolall demeanours. For it was not the waie which they toke to helpe the disfigured state of the common-wealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodnesse had not bene the greater it must needs haue come to passe, as to those that shall well consider the pittifull tragedie of this kings time it may well appeare.

This issue.

But now to proceed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate prince. He had issue by his wife quene Isabell two sonnes, Edward which was made king whilist he was yet aliue, and John which died young: also two daughters, Elianor which died before she came to yeares able for marriage; and Jane which was after giuen in marriage vnto David king of Scotland. He was indifferentlie tall of stature, strong of bodie, and healthfull, neither wanted there in him stoutnesse of stomach, if his euill counsellors had bene remoued, that he might haue shewed it in honorable exploits, which being kept backe by them,

he could not do. So that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trained vp in youth with good and honest companie. ¶ It is said that he was learned, in somuch that there remaine verses, which (as some haue written) he made whilist he was in prison. Certeine it is he fauored learning, as by the erection of Oxall colledge in Oxford, & S. Maries hall, which were of his foundation, it may well be gathered.

Learned men we find recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings time these as follow. John Duns that subtill logician, borne (as Leland hath gathered) in a village in Northumberland called Emblune, three miles distant from Alntwike, although other hold the contrarie, the Scots claiming him for their countryman, and the Irishmen for theirs; Robert Walsingham a Carmelite frier that writ diuerse treatises, John Wilton an Augustine frier, Walter Wintborne, Rafe Locksley, Nicholas Stanford, William Whitley, Thomas Joice, Walter Joice, William Gainsburgh, Robert Basson borne not farre from Nottingham, a Carmelite frier of Scarburgh, the same whome king Edward toke with him into Scotland to write some remembrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scots, he was constrained by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrary tune; John Wozminger a Suffolke man borne, William Rishanger a monke of S. Albons an historiographer, Rafe Baldoche bishop of London wrote also an historie, which was intituled *Historia Anglica*; Richard Bliton a Lincolnshire man borne a Carmelite frier, John Walsingham borne either in Walsingham or Runham (as Bale supposeth) a Carmelite frier also, and wrote diuerse treatises; Thomas Chabham a canon of Salisbury and a doctor of diuinitie, Robert Plimpton borne in Devonshire a regular canon, Thomas Calfesford a monke of Pomfret, William Spansfield, John Canon, Robert Grime, William Abettelle of Wenerley, Geoffrey of Coznewall, John Gattisden, Rafe bald Anglicus, Stephan Eiton or Eton, John Goldstone borne in Woxheshire, John Winchelsey, Nicholas de Lyza a Jew by birth of those that had their habitations in England, who wrote verie manie treatises, to his great commendation for his singular knowledge and zeale, which he shewed in disputing the Rabines that still sought to keepe the Jewish nation in blindness and vaine hope, in looking for another Messias; Rafe Aton an excellent diuine, John Dumbleton a logician, Thomas Langford borne in Maldon in Essex a logician, Albert Pickenham a Carmelite frier of Lin in Northfolke, Nicholas Okeham a graic frier, William Ockham a frier minor that wrote diuerse treatises, and namely against John Duns, and likewise against John the thre and twentieth pope of that name in fauour of the emperour Letwes of Bauier, Richard Walsingford, Thomas Haleswood a canon of Leeds in Kent wrote a chronicle called *Chronicon compendiarium*, Robert Barre, Robert Perescutator borne in Woxheshire a blacke frier and a philosopher or rather a magician, Richard Welgrane a Carmelite, Winkley a minorite; and others.

Oxall & S. Maries hall in Oxford.

Ex centuria 4. Bale.

See in Scotland.

13

Conceit appoi

Thus far infortunat Edward the second.

Edward

The les of the confid



Edward the third, who came to the crowne by the resignation of his father Edward the second.

Edward the third of that name, the sonne of Edward the second, and of Isabell the onelie daughter of Philip le Beau, & sister to Charles the first king of France, began his reigne as king of England, his father yet living, the 25 daie of Januarie, after the creation 5293, in the peare of our lord 1327, after the account of them that begin the peare at Christmasse, 867 after the coming of the Saxons, 260 after the conquest, the 13 peare of the reigne of Lewes the fourth then emperor, the seventh of Charles the first king of France, the second of Andronicus Junior emperor of the east almost ended, and about the end of the 22 of Robert le Bruce king of Scotland. He was crowned at Westminster on the day of the Purification of our lady next ensuing, by the hands of Walter the archbishop of Cantuarburie.

Governours appointed,

And because he was but fourteene peares of age, so that to governe of himselfe he was not sufficient, it was decreed that twelve of the greatest lords within the realme should haue the rule and government till he came to more perfect peares. The names of which lords were as followeth. The archbishop of Cantuarburie, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Winchester and of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Brotherton earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstocke earle of Kent, John earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percy, the lord Eliu de Ingtham, & the lord John Roos. These were sworn of the kings counsell, and charged with the government as they would make answer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the queene, and the lord Roger Mortimer took the whole rule so into their hands, that both the king and his said counsellors were governed onelie by them in all matters both high and low. Nevertheless, although they had taken the regiment upon them, yet could they not foresee the tumults and byroz that presentlie upon the yong kings inheriting did intue: but needs it must come to passe that is left written where children weare the crowne, & beare the scepter in hand,

Pauperi terra sapissime sunt ibi guerra.

The franchises of the cite of London confirmed.

He confirmed the liberties and franchises of the cite of London, and granted that the maior of the same cite for the time being might sit in all places of iudgement within the liberties thereof for cheefe iustice, above all other, the kings person onelie excepted; and that everie alderman that had bene maior should be iustice of peace through all the cite of London and countie of Middlesex; and everie alderman that had not bene maior, should be iustice of peace within his owne ward. He granted also to the citizens, that they should not be constrained to go forth

of the cite to anie warres in defense of the land, and that the franchises of the cite should not be seized from thenceforth into the kings hands for anie cause, but onelie for treason and rebellion shewed by the whole cite. Also Southwarke was appointed to be vnder the rule of the cite, and the maior of London to be bailiffe of Southwarke, and to ordeine such a substitute in the same borough as pleased him.

In the first peare of this kings reigne, we find in records belonging to the abbey of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, that the inhabitants of that towne raised a fore commotion against the abbat & monks of the same abbey, and that at severall times, as first on the wednesdaie next after the feast of the conversion of S. Paule, in the said first peare of this kings reigne, one Robert Forston, Richard Daiton, and a great number of other, assembling themselves together in warlike order and arate, assaulted the said abbey, brake downe the gates, windowes, and doores, entered the house by force, and assailing certeine monks and servants that belonged to the abbat, did beat, wound, and euill intreat them, brake open a number of chests, coffers, and forsets, took out chalices of gold and silver, books, vestments, and other ornaments of the church, beside a great quantitie of rich plate, and other furniture of household, apparell, armour, and other things, beside five hundred pounds in readie coine, & also three thousand florens of gold.

All these things they took and caried awaie, together with diuerse charters, writings, & miniments, as three charters of Knute sometime king of England, foure charters of king Hardiknute, one charter of king Edward the confessor, two charters of king Henrie the first, & other two charters of king Henrie the third, which charters concerned as well the foundation of the same abbey, as the grants and confirmations of the possessions and liberties belonging thereto. Also they took awaie certeine writings obligatorie, in the which diuerse persons were bound for the paiement of great summes of monie, and deliuerie of certeine wines unto the hands of the said abbat. Whereupon they took awaie with them ten severall bulls, concerning certeine exemptions and immunities granted to the abbats and monks of Burie by sundrie bishops of Rome.

Furthermore, not herewith contented, they took Peter Clopton prior of the said abbey, and other monks forth of the house, and leading them unto a place called the Leaden hall, there imprisoned them, till the thursdaie next before the feast of the Purification of our lady, and that daie bringing them backe againe into the chapter-house, detained them still as prisoners, till they had sealed a writing, containing that the abbat and convent were bound in ten thousand pounds to be paid to Oliver Kempe and others by them named. And further, they were constrained

In h. g.

to

to seale a letter of release for all actions, quarrels, debts, transgressions, suits and demands, which the abbat might in any wise claime or prosecute against the said Oliver Kempe and others in the same letters named.

For these wrongs and other, as for that they would not permit the abbats bailiffes and officers to keepe their ordinarie courts as they were accustomed to do, as well thre daies in the weeke for the market, to wit, mondaie, wednesdaie and fridaie, as the Portman mote euerie tuesdaie thre weeks, and further prohibit them from gathering such tols, customes, and yearelie rents, as were due to the abbat for certeine tenements in the towne, which were let to farme, the abbat brought his action against the said Morton, Draiton, and others, and hauing it tried by an inquest, on the fridaie next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine, in a sessions holden at Burie by John Stonore, Walter Friskney, Robert Habershope, & John Bouffer, by vertue of the kings writ of oier and determiner to them directed, the offenders were condemned in 4000 pounds, so that the said Richard Draiton, and others there present in the court, were committed to prison in custodie of the shiriffe Robert Walkesare, who was commanded also to apprehend the other that were not yet arrested, if within his bailiwike they might be found, and to haue their bodies before the said iustices at Burie asoforsaid, on thurdaie in Whitsonweke next ensuing.

Beside this, there was an other inditement and action of trespassse found there the same daie against the said Richard Draiton and others, for a like disorder and riot by them committed, on the thursday next after the feast of the Purification of our ladie, in the same first yeare of this king, at what time they did not onelie breake into the abbeie, and beat the abbats men, but also toke the abbat himselfe, being then at home, with certeine of his monks, keeping both him and them as prisoners, till the next daie that they were constrained to seale certeine writings. And amongst other, a charter, in which it was contained, that the abbat and his conuent did grant unto the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, to be a corporation of themselves, and to haue a common seale with a gild of merchants and aldermen: also they were compelled to seale another charter, wherein was contained a grant to the said inhabitants, that they should haue the custodie of the towne gates, and likewise the wardship of all pupils and orphans within the same towne, beside diuerse other liberties.

Moreover, they were in like manner constrained to seale thre seuerall obligations, in which the abbat and conuent were bound to the said inhabitants, as to a communalitie of a corporation, in seauen thousand pounds, as in two thousand by one obligation, and in two thousand by an other, and in three thousand by the third obligation: and further they were bound to seale a letter of release of all trespassses, and other things that might be demanded against the said inhabitants, with a generall acquittance of all debts. Beside this, the said riotous persons toke at the same time forth of the abbeie great riches, as well in plate, armor, books, & apparell, as in other things. They also brake downe two houses or messuages, that belonged to the abbeie, and situate within the towne of Burie: they also destroyed his fish-ponds, and toke out such store of fish as they found in the same: they cut downe also thre scope ashes there growing on the soile that belonged to the said abbat, and did make other great outrages and enormities, so that it was found by the inquest, that the abbat was damaged to the value of other forty thousand

pounds.

These riots may seeme greuous and verie strange, but yet the same were not so heinoussly taken, as an other which the said inhabitants of Burie attempted against the said abbeie in manner of a plaine commotion, upon saint Lukes day in the same yeare, at what time (as by the records of that abbeie it should appeare) both the abbat and his house were in the kings speciall protection, and the said inhabitants prohibited by his letters to attempt any iniurie against him or his conuent. But neuerthelesse we find that not onelie the inhabitants of Burie, but also a great number of other misgouerned persons, that resorted to them from places there about, armed and furnished with horse, armor and weapons, after the manner of warre, came and assaulted the abbeie gates, set fire on them, and burned them with diuerse other houses nere adjoining, that belonged to the abbeie, and continued in that their riotous enterprise all that day and the night following.

The same night also they burnt a manor of the abbats called Holdernesle barne, with two other manors called the Almoners barne, and Haberdone, also the granges that stood without the south gate, and the manour of Westlie, in which places they burned in cozne & graine, to the value of a thousand pounds. The next daie they entered into the abbeie court, and burnt all the houses on the north side, as stables, brewhouses, bakehouses, garners, and other such necessarie houses and convenient rooms of offices; and on the other side the court, they burnt certeine houses belonging to the Almonrie. On the next daie they burned the mote hall, and Wadford hall, with the new hall, and diuerse chambers and sollers to the same halles annexed, with the chapell of saint Laurence at the end of the hospitall hall. Also the manor of Eldhall, the manor of Hoisinger, with all the cozne and graine within and about the same.

The next day they burnt the soller of the Sollerer, with a chapell there: also the kitchin, the larder, and a part of the farmarie. On the thurdaie they burnt the residue of the farmarie, and the lodging called the blacke lodging, with a chapell of S. Andrew therein. In executing of all these riotous disorders, one Geseffrie Poxeman was an aider, who with diuerse other persons unknowne, departed forth of the towne of Burie, and by the assent of the other his complices he burnt the manor of Foznham. The same day also he burnt the manor of Foznham. The same day also other of their companie, as William the sonne of James Pekeston, Rafe Grubbe, Richard Kerte, and a great number of other persons unknowne, by the assent and abbetment of the other that committed the said disorders, burnt two manors belonging also to the said abbeie in great Werton, with all the cozne and graine there found.

Upon knowledge had of these great riots, and perillous commotions, there was a commission directed from the king, unto Thomas earle of Northfolke, high marshall of England, to Thomas Bardulfe, Robert Sparlie, Peter Medall, John Howard, and John Walkesare, authorizing them with the power of the countesse of Suffolke and Northfolke, to apprehend, trie and punish such lewd disordered persons, and rebellious malefactors, which had committed such felonious enterprises, to the breach of the kings peace, and dangerous disquieting of his subjects; but the said commissioners proceeded not according to the effect of their commission in trial of any felonies by the same persons committed and done, but onelie caused them to be indicted of trespassse: albeit Robert Walkesare, and John Clauer, with their associates iustices of peace, in their sessions holden at Clueden the tuesdaie next after the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, in the said first yeare of this king

The second riot.

The manor of Holdernesle barne.

The manor of Westlie burnt.

The manor of Foznham burnt.

The people decreed word in motion

Edward the third proceeded in such wise against the said malefactors, that John de Barton cordwainer, Robert Forton, and a great number of other were indicted of felonie, for the misdemeanours afore mentioned, and the indictments so found were after sent and presented unto John Stonore, Walter de Friskene, Robert Spalberthorpe, and John Bousler, who by vertue of the kings commission of oier and determiner to them directed, sat at S. Edmunds burie the wednesdaie next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgin; and then and there sent forth precepts to the shiriffe, commanding him to apprehend the said Barton, Forton, and others, that were indicted of the foresaid felonies, and also to returne a sufficient iurie to trie upon their arreignment the said malefactors by order of law, the fridaie next after the said feast of S. Lucie. Hereupon Alan de Latoner, and Robert Walling, with seauentene others, being arreigned, were found guiltie, and suffered death according to the order appointed for felons.

One Adam Spiniot stood mute, and refused to be tried by his countie, and so was pressed to death, as the law in such case appointeth. Diuerse other were saved by their wokes, according vnto the order of clerkes conuict, as Alexander Wyd person of Hoge set, John Kugham person of little Wilmetham, John Barton cordwainer, and diuerse other. Some were respited, as one woman named Julian Warbo, who being big belied was respited, till she were deliuered of child. Benedict Sio and Robert Russell were respited, and committed to the safe keeping of the shiriffe, as triers or appeachers (as we terme them) of other offenders: and because there was not anie as yet attached by their appeales, they were commanded againe to prison. One Robert de Creswell was saved by the kings letters of speciall pardon, which he had there ready to shew. As for Robert Forton, Adam Cokefield, and a great number of other, whome the shiriffe was commanded to apprehend, he returned that he could not heare of them within the precinct of his bailiffeweke, whereupon erigents were awarded against them, and the shiriffe was commanded, that if he might come to attach them, he should not faile but so to do, and to haue their bodies there at Burie before the said iustices, the thursdaie in Whitfunweke, next ensuing.

Diuerse also were arreigned at the same time of the said felonies, and thereof acquitted, as Michaell Scabaille, Kase Smeremonger, and others. Indeede those that were found guiltie, and suffered, were the chiefe authors and procurors of the commotion, bearing others in hand, that the abbat had in his custodie a certeine charter, wherein the king should grant to the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, certeine liberties, whereby it might appeare that they were free, and discharged from the payment of diuerse customs and exactions, whereupon the ignorant multitude easilie giuing credit to such furnished tales, were the sooner induced to attempt such disorders as before are mentioned. ¶ Thus haue ye heard all in effect that was done in this first yeare of king Edward the third his reigne, by and against those offenders. But because we will not interrupt matters of other yeares with that which followed further of this businesse, we haue thought good to put the whole that we intend to write thereof here in this place.

Ye shall therefore vnderstand, that diuerse of those, against whome erigents were awarded, came in, and yelded their bodies to the shiriffes prison, before they were called on the first countie daie. Albeit a great manie there were that came not, and so were outlawed. Robert Forton got the kings pardon, and so purchasing forth a supercedeas, the suit thereupon

against him was staied. The shiriffe therefore in Whitfunweke, in the second yeare of this kings reigne, made his returne touching Benedict Sio, Robert Russell, & Julian Warbo, so that he deliuered them vnto the bailiffes of the libertie of the abbat of Burie, by reason of an ancient priuilege, which the abbat claimed to belong to his house. The bailiffes confessed they had receiued the said prisoners, but forsomuch as they had bene arreigned at a Portmante mote, which was vsed to be kept euerie three weeks, and vpon their arreignment were found guiltie of certeine other felonies by them committed within the towne of Burie, and thereupon were put to execution, Adam Finchman the kings attornie there toke it verie euill, & laid it grauenously to the charge of the abbats officers, for their hastie and presumptuous proceeding against the said prisoners, namelic, because the said Sio and Russell were respited, to the end that by their vtterance, many heinous offences might haue bene brought to light.

On the same daie, that is to wit, the thursdaie in Whitfunweke, the foresaid Robert Forton, and diuerse other came in, and were attached by the shiriffe to answer the abbat to his action of trespassse, which he brought against them, and putting the matter to the triall of an inquest, they were condemned in sixtie thousand pounds, to be leuted of their goods and chattels, vnto the vse of the abbat, and in the meane time they were committed to prison. But first they made suit that they might be put to their fines for their offenses committed against the kings peace, and their request in that behalfe was granted, so that vpon putting in sufficient suerties for their good behauiour, their fines were assessed, as some at more and some at lesse, as the case was thought for to require.

Thus rested the matter a long season after, vntill the fifth yeare of this kings reigne, in which the thursdaie next after the feast of the blessed Trinitie, the B. being himselfe in person at S. Edmundsburie afore said, a small agreement and concord was concluded betwixt the said abbat and his conuent on the one partie, and Richard Draiton and others of the inhabitants of that towne on the other partie, before the right reuerend father in God John bishop of Winchester and chancelor of England, and the kings iustices John Stonore and John Cantbridge sitting there at the same tyme, by the kings commandement. The effect of which agreement was as followeth.

The articles of agreement betweene the monks of Burie and the inhabitants of Burie.

First, wheras the said abbat had recovered by iudgement before the said John Stonore and other his associates iustices of oier and determiner in the said towne of Burie, the summe of seuen score thousand pounds for trespassses to him and his house committed and done by the said Richard Draiton, and other the inhabitants of Burie: now at the desire of the said king, and for other good respects him mouing, he pardoned and released vnto the said Richard Draiton, and to other the inhabitants of Burie, to their heires, executors, and assigns the summe of 12333 pounds, eight shillings eight pence, of the said tall summe of 14000 pounds.

¶ A. liij. And

Priuilege.

Portmante mote.

The abbats officers blamed.

A condemnation.

An agreement.

The common people often deceived by lawe makers.

Rob. Forton person.

And further the said abbat and convent granted and agreed for them and their successors, that if the said Richard Wratton, & other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, or any of them, their heires, executors or assignes, should paie to the said abbat & convent, or their successors within twentie yeares next insuing the date of that present agreement, 2000 marks, that is to saie, 1000 marks yearelie at the feasts of S. Michael & Easter, by even portions: that then the said Richard & other the inhabitants of the towne of Burie should be acquitted & discharged of 4000 marks, parcel of 17666 pounds, thirtene shillings foure pence residue behind for ever.

Moreover, whereas the said abbat and convent, & the said abbat by himselfe, since the 19 yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second unto that present time, had sealed certeine charters, deeds, & writings, as well with the proper seale of the abbat, as with the common seale of the abbat & convent, if the said Richard and the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie did restore unto the said abbat & convent all the same writings, or take such order, that neither the abbat nor convent be impleaded, or in any wise hindered, indamaged nor molested by force of the same: and further if neither the said Richard, nor any the inhabitants of the said towne, nor their heires, executors, nor assignes, shall go about to reverse the iudgements against them, at the suit of the said abbat, nor shall seeke to impeach the executions of the same iudgements by any false or forged acquitances or releases, nor implead nor molest any of the iurie, by whom they were convicted, that then they and their heires, executors & assignes shall be acquitted & discharged of ten thousand pounds parcel of the said 17666 pounds, 13 shillings foure pence.

And furthermore, if the said Richard and other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, do not hereafter maliciouslie rise against the said abbat or convent, nor seeke to vex them by any conspiracie, confederacie, or by some other secret uniuersall cause, nor likewise euill intreat any man by reason of the inditement found against them, nor yet claime to haue any corporation of themselves within that towne, that then the said Richard, & the said inhabitants, their heires, successors & assignes, shall remaine acquitted and discharged of all the residue of the said 17666 pounds, thirtene shillings foure pence for ever. And the said abbat and convent do grant for them & their successors, that their intention is not, that if any singular person of his owne private malice, shall rise against the said abbat and convent, their successors, monks, bailiffes, or seruants, to do them, or any of them iniurie or dispacure: that those which be not partakers of the offense, shall be in any wise punished for the same, so that the offenders be not maintained by any of the same towne, but that the inhabitants

there, do assist the abbat and convent their successors, bailiffes, seruants & officers, that the same offenders may be punished, according to their demerits, as reason and law shall allow.

This was the effect of the agreement at length had and made betwixt the abbat and monks of Burie on the one part, & the inhabitants of that towne on the other part, and for the more confirmation thereof, it pleased the king to put his seale to the charter containing the same agreement. ¶ But how soeuer it chanced, it should appeare by such records as came to the hands of master John Fox, as he alledgeth in the first tome of his booke of acts and monuments, this agreement was but soilie kept: for diuerse of the former offenders, bearing grudge towards the abbat for breaking promise with them at London, did confederat themselves together, and priuie in the night coming to the manour of Oxenington where the abbat then did lie, burst open the gates, and entering by force, first bound all his seruants, and after they had robbed the house, they took the abbat, and spauing him, secretly conueied him to London, and there removing him from street to street unknowne, had him ouer the Thames into Kent, and at length transported him ouer into Wilt in Wabanc, where they kept him for a time in much penurie, shalldome and miserie, untill at length the matter being understood, they were all excommunicate, first by the archbishop, & after by the pope. At the last, his friends having knowledge where he was, they found means to deliver him out of the hands of those thieues, and finally brought him home with procession, and so he was restored to his house againe.

Thus much touching those troubles betwixt the towne of Burie & the abbat and monks there, and now we will returne to other generall matters touching the publike state of the realme. ¶ And first you shall vnderstand, that in the beginning of this kings reigne the land trulie seemed to be blessed of God for the earth became fruitful, the aire temperate, and the sea calme and quiet. This king though he was as yet vnder the gouernement of other, neuertheless he began within a short time to shew tokens of great forwardnesse, framing his mind unto graue deuises, and first he prepared to make a loinie against the Scottisshmen, the which in his fathers time had done so manie displeasures to the Englishmen, and now vpon confidence of his minority, ceased not to invade the borders of his realme. And namely the verie selfe night that followed the day of this kings coronation, they had thought by scaling to haue stolne the castell of Roxham: but Robert Spencers capteine of that place, vnderstanding of their enterpryse aforehand by a Scottisshman of the garison there, so well provided for their coming, that where firste of them boldie entred vpon the wall, he slue nine or ten of them, and took five.

This was thought an euill token, that they should still be put to the losse in this kings time, as they had so had successe in the verie beginning of his reigne: but they continuing in their malicious purposes, about saint Margarets tide invaded the land with three armies, the earle of Surrey hauing the leading of one of the same armies, and James Douglas of another, and the third was guided by the earle of Mar. King Edward aduertised hereof, assembled not onelie a great poiser of Englishmen, but also required John lord Beaumont de Heimaull, whome he had lately sent home right honorable rewarded for his good assistance, to come againe into England, with certeine bands of men at armes, and he should receiue wages and good intertainment for

Thomson comes to pull before the agreement made in the first year of the kings reigne as a done in memory thereof, and is thereupon might be destroyed.

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Ea

Rich Soth
Rob. Sp
ners capte
of Roxham
castell

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part
Ea

The Scott
invade Eng
land.

The lord
Beaumont
of Heimaull

Caxton.

It shal be
knowen of Eng-
lish archers
and the Hen-
riches.
Caxton.

Froissart.

Caxton.
Froissart.

Stanop
parke.
Caxton.

Prime in de-
rision of the
Englishmen.

with
Hag-
aprim
tham

Froissart.
The lord
Douglas.

Scots
Eng

lord
mont
marth.

for them. The lord Beaumont, as one that loved
dards of armes, was glad to accomplish king Ed-
wards request: and so thereupon with seauen hun-
dred men at armes, or five hundred (as Froissart
saith) came ouer into England againe, to serue a-
gainst the Scots.

The generall assemblie of the armie was appoin-
ted to be at Porke, and thither came the said lord
Beaumont with his people, and was tofullie recei-
ued of the king and his lords. Here whyles not one-
lie the Scottish ambassadours (which had bene sent
to treat of peace, were heard to tell their message)
but also whyles the counsell toke some leisure in de-
bating the matter how to guide their enterprise,
which they had now in hand: vpon Trinitie fundate,
it chanced that there arose contention within the ci-
tie of Porke, betwixt the English archers, and the
strangers, which the lord Beaumont of Heinault had
brought with him, in somuch that fighting together
there were slaine to the number of foure score per-
sons of those archers, which were buried within the
church of saint Clement in Fosgate. Some write
that there were slaine to the number of thre hun-
dred Englishmen: yet because the Henriches came
to aid the king, their peace was cried vpon paine of
life. And further, it was found by an inquest of the ci-
tie, that the quarrell was begun by the Englishmen,
the which (as some write) were of the Lincolneshire
men, of those that sometime belonged to the Spen-
sers, and to the earle of Arundell, so that there was
cause, whie they bare euill will to the Henriches
which had aided (as yee haue heard) to bring the said
earle and Spensers to their confusion.

In this meane time the Scots being entred into
England, had done much hurt, and were come as
farre as Stanop parke in Wilredale: and though
they had sent their ambassadours to treat with the
king and his counsell for peace, yet no conclusion fol-
lowed of their talke. At the same time, because the
English souldiours of this armie were cloathed all
in cotes and hoods embroidered with floures and
branches verie semelie, and used to nourish their
beards: the Scots in derision thereof made a rime,
which they fastened vpon the church doores of saint
Peter toward Stangate, containing this that fol-
loweth.

Long beards, hartlesse, Painted hoods, witlesse,
Gaie cotes, gracelesse, Make England thirlesse.

The king when he saw it was but a vaine thing
to staie anie longer in communication with the am-
bassadours about peace, departed from Porke with
his puissant armie, and getting knowledge how the
Scots were closette lodged in the woods of Stan-
op parke, he came and stopped all the passages, so it
was thought that he should haue had them at his
pleasure, but through treason (as was after reported)
of the lord Roger Mortimer, after that the Scots
had bene kept within their lodgings for the space of
fifene daies, till they were almost famished, they did
not onelie find a waie out, but about two hundred of
them under the leading of the lord William Dou-
glas, assailing that part of the English campe where
the kings tent stood, in the night season, missed not
much of either taking the king or sleieng him: and
hauing done hurt enough otherwise, as in the Sco-
tish chronicle is also touchd, they followed their com-
panie, and with them returned into Scotland with-
out impeachment.

It is said, that Henrie earle of Lancaster, and
John the lord Beaumont of Heinault would gladlie
haue passed ouer the water of Wille, to haue assal-
ted the Scots, but the earle of March through coun-
sell of the lord Mortimer, pretending to haue right to
the leading of the fore ward, and to the giuing of the

first onset, would not suffer them. Howsoeuer it was
the king missed his purpose, and right penfule there-
fore, brake vp his field, and returned vnto London.
¶ Walter bishop of Canturburie departed this life
in Nouember, and then Simon Peperham was ad-
uanced to the gouernement of that see. The lord
Beaumont of Heinault was honorable rewarded
for his paines and trauell, and then licenced to re-
turne into his countrie, where he had not bene long,
but that through his means then (as some write) the
marriage was concluded betwene king Edward,
and the ladie Philip daughter to William earle of
Heinault, and neece to the said lord Beaumont, who
had the charge to see hir brought ouer thither into
England about Christmasse: where in the citie of
Porke vpon the euen of the Conuersion of saint
Paul, being fundate, in the latter end of the first
yeare of his reigne, king Edward solemnlie mari-
ed hir.

In the second yeare of his reigne, about the feast
of Pentecost, king Edward held a parliament at
Northampton, at the which parliament by euill and
naughtie counsell, wherof the lord Roger Mortimer
and the queene mother bare the blame, the king con-
cluded with the Scottish king both an impossible
and a dishonorable peace. For first, he released to the
Scots their fealtie and homage. Also he deliuered
vnto them certeine old ancient writings, sealed with
the seales of the king of Scots, and of diuerse lords
of the land both spirituall and temporall: amongst
the which was that indenture, which they called Rag-
man, with manie other charters and patents, by the
which the kings of Scotland were bound as feodari-
es vnto the crowne of England; at which season al-
so there were deliuered certeine iewels, which before
time had bene twome from the Scots by the kings
of England; and among other, the blacke crossier or
rod is speciallie named.

And not onelie the king by his sinister counsell
lost such right and title as he had to the realme of
Scotland, so farre as by the same counsell might be
denied, but also the lords and barons, and other men
of England that had anie lands or rents within
Scotland, lost their right in like manner, except they
would dwell vpon the same lands, and become liege
men to the king of Scotland. Here vpon was there
also a marriage concluded betwixt Dauid Bruce the
sonne of Robert Bruce king of Scotland, and the
ladie Jane siller to king Edward, which of diuerse
writers is surmised Ione of the tower, and the
Scots surnamed hir halfe in derision, Ione Wake-
peace. This marriage was solemnised at Werwicke
vpon the daie of Marie Magdalen. The queene with
the bishops of Elie and Norwich, the earle Warren,
the lord Mortimer, and diuerse other barons of the
land, and a great multitude of other people were pre-
sent at that marriage, which was celebrat with all
the honour that might be.

After the quindene of saint Michaele, king Ed-
ward held a parliament at Salisburie, in which the
lord Roger Mortimer was created earle of March,
the lord John of Eltham the kings brother was
made earle of Cornwall, and the lord James Butler
of Ireland earle of Ormond, who about the same
time had married the earle of Herefords daughter.
But the earle of March toke the most part of the rule
of all things pertaining either to the king or realme
vnto his owne hands: so that the whole gouernment
rested in a manner betwixt the queene mother and
him. The other of the counsell that were first appoin-
ted, were in manner displaced; for they bare no rule
to speake of at all, which caused no small grudge to
arise against the queene and the said earle of March,
who maintained such poirts, and kept among them
such

The lord
Beaumont re-
turned home.
Polydor.

Fabian.
1 3 2 8

Anno Reg. 1.
A parliament
at North-
ampton.

A dishonora-
ble peace.

Ragman.

Fabian.
Caxton.
The blacke
crossie.

A marriage
concluded.

Ione Wake-
peace.

Ri. Southwell.

Tho. Walsln.
Adam Meri-
muth.
Polydor.
Creations
of earles.

The earle of
March ruleth
all things at
his pleasure.

Caxton.

The erle of
Lancaster.Robert Hol-
land name.The archbis-
hop of Can-
turburie was
the chiefe pro-
curor of the
agreement &
reconciliation
of the erle
(as Meri-
muth saith.)Adam Meri-
muth.1329
Anno Reg. 3.Tho. Walg.
Rt. Southwell.
Additions
to Meri.Thom. Dun-
hed a frier.

Thom. Walg.

1330

Anno Reg. 4.

such retinue of servants, that their provision was wonderfull, which they caused to be taken by, namely for the quene, at the kings price, to the sore opprobrium of the people, which took it displeasingly enough.

There was like to have growen great variance betwixt the quene and Henrie erle of Lancaster, by reason that one sir Thomas Withers, a knight pertaining to the said erle of Lancaster, had slain Robert Holland, who had betrayed sometime Thomas erle of Lancaster, and was after committed to prison by erle Henries means, but the quene had caused him to be set at libertie, and admitted him as one of his counsell. The quene would have had sir Thomas Withers punished for the murder, but erle Henrie caused him to be kept out of the waite, so that for these causes and other, Henrie the erle of Lancaster went about to make a rebellion, and the quene having knowledge thereof, sought to apprehend him: but by the mediation of the earles Sparthall and Kent, the matter was taken by, and erle Henrie had the kings peace granted him for the summe of eleven thousand pounds, which he should have paid, but he neuer paid that fine, though it was so assented at the time of the agreement.

There were diuerse lords and great men that were confederat with him, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Fouke Fitz Warren, sir Thomas Rosselin, sir William Trussell, and other, to the number of an hundred knights.

In the third yeare of his reigne, about the Ascension tide, king Edward went ouer into France, and comming to the French king Philip de Valois, as then being at Amiens, did there his homage vnto him for the duchie of Guen (as in the French historie appeareth). The same yeare Simon the archbishop of Canturburie held a synod at London, wherein all those were excommunicated that were guiltie to the death of Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, that had bene put to death by the Londoners, as in the last kings time ye haue heard. This bishop of Excester founded Excester college in Oxford, & Harts hall. But now to the purpose.

The king about the beginning, or (as other saie) about the middle of Lent, held a parlement at Winchester, during the which, Edmund of Woodstock erle of Kent the kings uncle was arrested the morrow after saint Gregories day, and being arraigned vpon certeine confessions and letters found about him, he was found guiltie of treason. There were diuerse in trouble about the same matter, for the erle vpon his open confession before sundrie lords of the realme, declared that not onelie by commandement from the pope, but also by the setting on of diuerse nobles of this land (whome he named) he was persuaded to endeavour himselfe by all waies and means possible how to deliuer his brother king Edward the second out of prison, and to restore him to the crowne, whome one Thomas Dunhed, a frier of the order of preachers in London, affirmed for certeine to be alive, hauing (as he himselfe said) called by a spirit to vnderstand the truth thereof, and so that by counsell of the said frier, and of thre other friers of the same order, he had purposed to worke some meane how to deliuer him, and to restore him againe to the kings doine. Among the letters that were found about him, disclosing a great part of his practise, some there were, which he had written and directed vnto his brother the said king Edward, as by some writers it should appeare.

The bishop of London and certeine other great personages, whome he had accused, were permitted to go at libertie, vnder suerties taken for their good demeanour and faith comming. But Robert de Tonton, and the frier that had raised the spirit for to

know whether the kings father were liuing or not, were committed to prison, wherein the frier remained till he died. The erle himselfe was had out of the castell gate at Winchester, and there lost his head the 19 day of March, this felie (as was thought) thorough the malice of the quene mother, and of the erle of March: whose pride and high presumption the said erle of Kent might not well abide. His death was the lesse lamented, because of the presumptuous gouernement of his servants and retinue, which he kept about him, for that they riding abroad, would take by things at their pleasure, not paying nor agreeing with the partie to whome such things belonged, in so much that by their means, who ought to haue done their uttermost for the enlargement of his honour, he grew in greater obloquie and reproch: a folow fault in servants so to abuse their lords names to their priuat profit, to whome they cannot be so trustie. But such are to be warned, that by the same wherein they offend, they shall be punished, even with servants faithlesse to plague their vntrustinesse, for

Qui violare fidem fecit, & violetur eadem.

The young quene Philip was brought to bed at Woodstocke the 15 day of June of his first sonne, the which at the fontstone was named Edward, and in processe of time came to great proofe of famous chualrie, as in this booke shall more plainelie appeare. He was commonlie named when he came to ripe yeares prince Edward, & also surnamed the Blacke prince. The sixteenth day of Julie chanced a great eclipse of the sunne, and for the space of two moneths before, and thre moneths after, there fell exceeding great raine, so that through the great intemperance of weather, corne could not ripen, by reason wherof, in many places they began not haruest till Michalmas, & in some places they inned not their wheat till Allhallontide, nor their pease till saint Andrews tide.

On Christmasse euen, about the bryake of day, a marvellous sore and terrible wind came forth of the west, which overthrow houses and buildings, ouerturned trees by the roots, and did much hurt in diuerse places. This yeare shortly after Easter, the king with the bishop of Winchester, and the lord William Spontacate, hauing not past fifteene houres in their companie, passed the sea, apparelled in clothes like to merchants, he left his brother the erle of Cornewall his deputie & gardian of the realme till his returne. Whereouer, he caused it to be proclaimed in London, that he went ouer on pilgrimage, and for none other purpose. He returned before the later end of April, and then was there holden a turnie at Dertfort.

The mondaie after saint Matthews day in September, the king held a solempne iusts in Cheapside, betwixt the great crosse and Soperlane, he with 12 as chalengers answering all defendants that came. This solempne iusts and turnie continued thre daies. The quene with manie ladies being present at the same, fell beside a stage, but yet as god hap would they had no hurt by that fall, to the relieving of manie that saw them in such danger, and yet so luckilie to escape without harme. Also in a parlement holden at Spotingham about saint Lukes tide, sir Roger Spontacate the erle of March was apprehended the seuenteenth day of October within the castell of Spotingham, where the king with the two quenes, his mother and his wife, and diuerse other were as then lodged. And though the heies of the castell were dailie and nightlie in the custodie of the said erle of March, and that his power was such, as it was doubted how he might be arrested (for he had, as some writers affirme, at that present in retinue nine score knights, beside esquires, gentlemen and peomen) yet at length by the kings helpe, the lord William Spontacate, the lord Humfre de Bohun, and his brother sir

The erle of
Kent began
died.Sundrie
servants
being their
maister was
disfauour.The Black
prince was.Crossed.
In eclipse.

Late heard

It might
sound.Footnoted
N. Truce.

the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Robert Clifford, the lord William Clinton, the lord John Bevil of Hornbie, and diuerse other, which had accused the said earle of March for the murder of king Edward the second, found means by intelligence had with sir William de Glend constable of the castell of Nottingham, to take the said earle of March with his sonne the lord Roger or Geoffrey Mortimer, and sir Simon Beresford, with other.

Sir Hugh Trumpington or Currington (as some copies haue) that was one of his chiefe friends with certeine other were slaine, as they were about to resist against the lord Montacute, and his compaignie in taking of the said earle. The manner of his taking I passe over, because of the diuersitie in report thereof by sundrie writers. From Nottingham he was sent by to London with his sonne the lord Roger or Geoffrey de Mortimer, sir Simon Beresford, and the other prisoners, where they were committed to prison in the tower. Shortly after was a parliament called at Westminster, cheselle (as was thought) for reformation of things disordered through the misgouernance of the earle of March. But whosoever was glad of soie for the trouble of the said earle, suerlie the queene mother toke it most heauilie about all other, as the that loued him moze (as the same went) than stood well with his honour. For as some write, he was found to be with child by him. They kept as it were house together, for the earle to haue his prouision the better cheape, laid his penie with his, so that his takers serued him as well as they did his both of vittels & carriages. Of which misbriage (all regard to honour and estimation neglected) euerie subiect spake shame. For their manner of dealing, tending to such euill purposes as they continually thought upon, could not be secret from the eyes of the people. And their offense herein was so much the moze heinous, because they were persons of an extraordinary degree, and were the moze notable marked of the multitude of common people,

Maister Fox

Hoodi.

The earle of March attainted.

Adam Meremuth.
The earle of March executed.

*nam lux altissima fari
oculum nil esse finit, latebrarum per omnes
intrat, & obtrusus explorat fama recessus.*

But now in this parliament holden at Westminster he was attainted of high treason expressed in five articles, as in effect followeth.

1 First, he was charged that he had procured Edward of Carnaruan the kings father to be murdered in most heinous and tyrannous manner within the castell of Berkleie.

2 Secondlie, that the Scots at Stanop parke through his means escaped.

3 Thirdblie, that he receiued at the hands of the lord James Douglas, at that time generall of the Scots, great summes of monie to execute that treason, and further to conclude the peace upon such dishonorable covenants as was accorded with the Scots at the parliament of Northampton.

4 Fourthlie, that he had got into his hands a great part of the kings treasure, and had wasted and consumed it.

5 Fiftlie, that he had impropried unto him diuers wards that belonged unto the king: and had bene moze pituie with queene Isabell the kings mother, than stood either with Gods law, or the kings pleasure.

These articles with other being proued against him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the parliament to suffer death, and according therunto, upon saint Andrewes euen next ensuing, he was at London drawne and hanged, at the common place of execution, called in those daies The elmes, & now Tisborne, as in some booke we find. His bodie remained two daies and two nights on the gallowses, and after

taken downe was deliuered to the friers minors, who buried him in their church the morrow after he was deliuered to them, with great pompe and funeral requies, although afterwards he was taken up and carried unto Wigmore, whereof he was lord. He came not to his answer in iudgement, no moze than any other of the nobilitie had done, since the death of Thomas earle of Lancaster.

Sir Simon de Beresford knight that had bene one of the kings iustices, was drawne also and hanged at London, upon St. Lucies daie. In this parliament holden at Westminster, the king toke into his hand, by abuse of the states there assembled, all the possessions, lands and reuenues that belonged to the queene his mother, the hauing assigned to hir a thousand pounds by yeare, for the maintenance of hir estate, being appointed to remaine in a certeine place, and not to go elsewhere abroad: yet the king to comfort hir, would lightlie euerie yeare once come to visit hir. After that the erle of March was executed (as yee haue heard) diuerse noble men that were departed the realme, because they could not abide the pride and presumption of the said earle, now returned: as the sonne and heire of the earle of Arundell, the lord Thomas Wake, the L. Henrie Beaumont, sir Thomas de Roselin, sir Fouke Fitz Warren, sir Griffin de la Pole, and diuerse other.

In the fifth yeare of R. Edwards reigne, Edward Baliol came forth of France into England, and obtained such fauour through the assistance of the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord David of Strabogie earle of Athole, the lord Geoffrey de Howhaie, the lord Walter Cummin, and others, that king Edward granted him licence to make his prouision in England to passe into Scotland, with an armie of men to attempt the recouerie of his right to the crowne of Scotland, with condition that if he recovered it, he should acknowledge to hold it of the king of England as superiour lord of Scotland. The coming awate of Edward Baliol out of France is diuerslie reported by writers: some saie, that he was aided by the French king, whose sister he had married: and other saie, that he being in prison in France, for the escape of an Englishman, one John Barnabie esquier, which had slaine a Frenchman by chance of quarrelling in the towne of Dampierre, where the same Barnabie dwelled with the said Edward Baliol, so it came to passe that the lord Henrie Beaumont hauing occasion of businesse with the French king, that fauoured him well, came ouer to France, and there vnderstanding of Baliols imprisonment, procured his deliuerance, and brought him ouer into England, and caused him to remaine in secret wise at the manor of Sandhall upon Duse in Northeshire with the ladie Mescie, till he had purchased the kings grant for him to make his prouision of men of war and ships within the English dominions.

In the first yeare of king Edwards reigne, Keig-nold earle of Gelderland married the ladie Elianor sister to this king Edward the third, who gaue unto the said earle with hir for hir portion, fiftene thousand pounds sterling. Isabell the kings daughter was borne also this yeare at Woodstoke. After that Edward Baliol had prepared and made readie his purueances for his iourne, and that his men of warre were assembled and come together, being in all not past fife hundred men of armes, and about two thousand archers, and other footmen, he toke the sea at Hauenspurgh in Northeshire, and from thence directing his course northward, he arrived at length in Scotland, where he atchiuing great victories (as in the Scottish chronicle yee may read moze at large) was finally crowned king of that realme.

It may seme a wonder to manie, that the king of

Sir Simon Beresford executed.

Some booke haue 3 thousand pounds.

Ad. Merem.

I 3 3 I
Anno Reg. 5.
Edward Baliol cometh into England

Caxton.

John Barnabie.

The lord Beaumont.

I 3 3 2
Anno Reg. 6.
Croden.
The earle of Gelderland.

Edward Baliol crowned k. of Scotland.

The cause
that moved
Edward to
Edward
Balioll.

Rich. South.
Edward Balioll
chased
out of Scot-
land.

1333

Anno Reg. 7.

Berwick
besieged.

The historie
of English-
men at Har-
lodon hill.

Berwick de-
livered.

The lord Ri-
chard Talbot

The lord in-
charge of Ire-
land cometh
into Scot-
land.

of England would permit Edward Balioll to make his p[ro]vision thus in England, and to suffer his people to aid him against his brother in law king David that had married his sister (as before ye have heard.) Indeed at the first he was not verie readie to grant their suit that moved it, but at length he was contented to dissemble the matter, in hope that if Edward Balioll had god successe, he should then recover that againe, which by the conclusion of peace during his minority, he had through euill counsell resigned out of his hands. The Scots neuertheless in December chased their new king Edward Balioll out of Scotland, so that he was faine to retire into England, and celebrated the feast of the Nativite at Carleill, in the house of the friers minors, and the morrow after being S. Stephens day, he went into Westmerland, where of the lord Clifford he was right honorable received, to whome he then granted Douglasdale in Scotland, which had bene granted to the said lord Cliffords grandfather in the daies of king Edward the first, if he might at any time recover the realme of Scotland out of his aduersaries hands.

After this, he went and late a time with the ladie of Gines, that was his kinswoman. Finally about the tenth day of March, having assembled a power of Englishmen and Scottishmen, he entred Scotland, and besieged the towne of Berwike, during the which siege, manie enterprises were attempted by the parties: and amongst other, the Scots entred England by Carleill, doing much mischief in Gillingham, by burning, killing, robbing and spoiling. The king advertised hereof, thought himselfe discharged of the agreement concluded betwixt him and David Bruce, the sonne of Robert Bruce that had married his sister, & therefore took it to be lawfull for him to aid his cosen Edward Balioll the lawfull k. of Scots. And here with assembling an armie, came to the siege of Berwike, together with his brother John of Gloucestre earle of Cornwall, and other noble men, seeking by all meanes possible how to win the towne: and finallye discomfited an armie of Scots, which came to the rescue thereof upon Halidon hill, in slaing of them what in the fight and chase, seven earles, nine hundred knights and baronets, foure hundred squiers, and upon 32 thousand of the common people: and of Englishmen were slaine but 15 persons, as our English writers make mention. The Scottish writers confesse, that the Scottishmen lost the number of 14 thousand.

On the morrow following, being S. Margarets day, the towne of Berwike was rendered unto king Edward with the castell, as in the Scottish chronicle ye may read, with more matter touching the siege and battell aforesaid, and therefore here in few words, I passe it over. King Edward having thus sped his businesse, left a power of men with Edward Balioll, under the conduct of the lord Richard Talbot, and returned himselfe backe into England, appointing the lord Percie to be gouernour of the towne of Berwike, and sir Thomas Grey knight his lieutenant. The lord John Darcie lord chiefe iustice of Ireland, leaving the lord Thomas Bourgh his depute in that countie, passed over with an armie into Scotland, to aid the king, who (as ye have heard) was there the same time in person. And so by the king on one side, and by the Irishmen on an other, Scotland was subdued, and restored unto Balioll, who the morrow after the octaves of the Nativite of our ladie, held a parliament at saint Johns towne, in the which he revoked and made void all acts, which the late king of Scots Robert Bruce had made or made: and further ordeined, that all such lands and possessions as the said Bruce had given to any manner of person,

should be taken from them, and restored to the former and true inheritour.

In this yeare about the twelfth of October, Simon Speham archbishop of Canturburie, departed this life, in whose place succeeded John Streteford, being removed from the see of Winchester, whereof he was bishop, before that he was thus called to the see of Canturburie. After Candlemas the king of England repaired towards Yorke, there to hold a parliament, to the which (beginning on the monday in the second weeke in Lent) when Edward Balioll doubting to be surprised by his aduersaries, could not come, yet he sent the lord Henrie de Beaumont, and the lord William de Montacute, to make excuse for him. The king of England passing further into the north parts, held his Whitsuntide at Berwike upon Tyne, with great roialtie: and shortly after, Edward Balioll king of Scots came thither, and upon the nineteenth daie of June made his homage unto the king of England, and swore unto him fealtie in the presence of a great number of Nobles and gentlemen there assembled, as to his superiour and chiefe lord of the realme of Scotland, binding himselfe by that oth, to hold the same realme of the king of England, his heires and successors for ever. He also gave and granted unto the king of England at that time five counties next adjoining unto the borders of England, as Berwike and Rochburgh, Weples, and Dunfries, the townes of Haddington and Gedworth with the castell, the forrests of Silkirk, Etherke, and Gedworth, so as all these portions should be clerelie separated and put apart from the crowne of Scotland, and annexed unto the crowne of England for ever. And these things were confirmed and robozated with oth, scepter, and with nesse sufficient.

Which things done in due order, as was requisite, the king of England returned home, and the kings went backe into Scotland. And then were all such lords restored againe to their lands and possessions in Scotland, which in the daies of Edward the second had bene expelled from the same: and now they did their homage unto the king of Scotland for those lands as appertained. ¶ Immediately after, the king of England called a counsell of his lords spirittual and temporall at Potingham, commanding them to meet him there about the thirtieth daie of Julie, there to consult with him of weightie causes concerning the state of the realme. This yeare on saint Clements daie at night, which fell on the three and twentieth of November, through a marvellous inundation & rising of the sea all along by the coasts of this realme, but especiallie about the Thames, the sea bankes or walles were broken and borne downe with violence of the water, and infinite numbers of beasts and cattell drowned, fruitfull grounds and pastures were made salt marshes, so as there was no hope that in long time they should recover againe their former fruitfulness.

In this meane time the French king was appointed to have made a viage against the Saracens, enemies of our faith, and had sent to the king of England, requiring him of his companie in that iourne. But the king of England being otherwise occupied with the affaires of Scotland, made no direct answer therunto, so that the French king perceiving that the king of England was not in all things well pleased with him, thought god before he set forward on that iourne to understand his meaning, and thereupon sent emissaries unto him other ambassadors. These ambassadors arrived here in England and had audience, but nothing they concluded in effect, save that the king promised to send his ambassadours over into France, to have further communication

Adam M.
much.

1333

Anno Reg.
Adam M.
much.

A parliament
at Yorke.

Edward Balioll
doubt he
might be
king of En-
land for
land.

Numbers
of the
the

Ambassadors
from the
French king

in the matter touching such points of variance as depended betwixt them.

Although Edward Balioll by the puissance of the king of Englands assistance had got the most part of the realme of Scotland into his hands, yet diuerse castles were holden against him, and the Scots baliell slipped from him, and by open rebellion molested him diuerse waies. The king of England aduertised thereof called a parlement at London, wherein he toke order for his iourne into Scotland, had a tenth and a sixtieth granted him, and so about Alhallontide he came to Newcastle vpon Tyne, with his armie, and remained there till the feast of Saint Katharine, and then entering into Scotland, came to Rockesburgh, where he repaired the castell which had bene aforetime destroyed. After the third daie of Christmasse was past, the king of England entred into the forrest, beating it vp and downe, but the Scots would not come within his reach: whereupon he sent the king of Scots that was there present with him, and the earles of Marwike and Drenford, and certeine other barons and knights with their retinues vnto Carleill, to keepe and defend those west parts of the realme from the Scots.

In their iourne thitherwards, they went by Pelys to apprehend certeine Scots, whome they heard to be lodged and abiding thereabouts, but when they found them not, they wasted the countrie, and turned streight to Carleill, where after the Epiphanie there assembled an armie forth of the countie of Lancaster, Westmerland, and Cumberland, by the kings appointment, which armie together with the king of Scots and the other lords there found, entred Scotland, and did much hurt in the countrie of Galloway, destroying towne and all that they found abroad, but the people were fled and withdrone out of their waie. And when they had taken their pleasure, the king of Scots returned backe to Carleill. This yere there fell great abundance of raine, and thereupon ensued morren of beasts: also corne so failed this yere, that a quarter of wheat was sold at fortie shillings.

Finallie, when the king had finished his businesse in Scotland, as to his seeming good with his pleasure, he returned into England, and shortly after he sent the archbishop of Canturburie, sir Philip de Spontacate, and Geoffrey Scrope vnto the French king, to conclude a firme amitie & league with him. These lords comming into France, were not at the first admitted to the French kings presence, till they shewed themselves halfe grieved with that strange dealing: for then finallie were they brought vnto him, who gentlie receiued them, and caused the matter to be intreated of about the which they were sent, in furthering thereof, such diligence was vsed, that finallie a conclusion of peace and concord was agreed, and so farre passed, that proclamation thereof should haue bene made in Paris, and in the countrie thereabout the next day: but scarce were the English ambassadours returned vnto their lodgings, when they were sent for backe againe, and further informed, that the French king minded to haue the said king of Scotland comprised in the same league, so that he might be restored vnto his kingdome, and the Balioll put out. The English ambassadours answered, that their commission extended not so farre, and therefore they could not conclude any thing therein. Whereupon all the former communication was reuoked, and cleerlie made void, so that the English ambassadours returned home into England without any thing concluded.

About the feast of the Ascension, the king held a parlement at Poerke, ordaining for his iourne into Scotland, and also deuising by authoritie thereof di-

uerse profitable statutes for the common wealthe. About midsummer, he came with his armie vnto Newcastle vpon Tyne, whither came to him from Carleill the king of Scots, and there order was taken, that the king of England, and his brother the earle of Cornuwall, the earles of Marwike, Lancaster, Lincoln, and Hereford, with all their retinues, and the earle of Gulkerland, that had married the kings sister, and with a faire companie was come to serue the king in these warres, should passe to Carleill, and on the twelue of Julie enter Scotland. The king of Scots, the earles of Surrie, and Arundell, and the lord Henrie Percie, a baron of great might and power, being all of kin vnto the king of Scots, with their retinues should go to Berwike, and there enter the same day aboue mentioned, and as it was appointed, so it was put in practise. For both kings on the same day entering Scotland in severall parts passed forward without resistance at their pleasures, wasting and burning all the countie, both on this side, and beyond the Scottish sea. The Welshmen spared neither religious persons nor their houses, making no more accompt of them than of others: the mariners of Newcastle also burnt a great part of the towne of Dundee.

The earle of Hamure about the same time comming into England, to serue the king in his warres, toke vpon him to passe into Scotland with a band of an hundred men of armes, beside seauen or eight knights which he brought ouer with him, and certeine Englishmen to be his guides from Berwike, but he was assailed before he could get to Cdenburgh, by the earles of Spurrey and Dunbarre, and the lord William Dowglas: so that notwithstanding the strangers bare themselves verie manfullie, yet oppressed with multitude, they were forced to giue place, but yet still fighting and defending themselves till they came to Cdenburgh, and there taking the hill where the ruines of the castell stood, kept the same all the night following. But the next day they despairing of all succours, and hauing neither meat nor drinke, at length yielded themselves, whom the earle of Spurrey receiuing right courteously, shewed them such fauour, that without ransom he was contented they should returne into their countie: and for more suertie, he conueied the said earle of Hamure (whome the Scottish books call earle of Gelderland) and his companie backe to the borders: but in his returne, shortly after, the same earle of Spurrey that toke himselfe for gouernour of Scotland, was encountred by the Englishmen that late in garison within Rockesburgh, and by them taken prisoner. The lord William Dowglas being there also with him escaped, but James Dowglas brother to the said lord William Dowglas, was at that bickering slaine with diuerse other.

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, diuerse of the Scottish nobilitie came and submitted themselves to the king, namely the earle of Atholl and others, but earle Patrike of Dunbarre, and the earle of Ross, the lord Andrew de Spurrey, the lord William Dowglas, and the lord William de Beth, and manie other would not come in, but assembling themselves together, did all the mischief they could vnto those that had receiued the kings peace. The earle of Atholl in the winter season, besieging the castell of Kilburnie beyond the Scottish sea was set vpon by the earles of Dunbarre and Ross, so that they slue him there in field, for his men fled from him (though some traitorous practise as was thought) and left him and a few other in all the danger. The king of England being returned forth of Scotland, remained for the most part of the winter in the north parts, and held his Christmasse at Newcastle vpon Tyne,

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1336

Anno Reg. 10.

A truce granted to the Scots.

The stoutness of Scots hindered the conclusion of the peace.

An armie sent into Scotland. S. Johns towne fortified.

Adam Merimouth.

The A. goeth into Scotland.

Aberden burnt. Tho. Walsin. Sir Thomas Rosselin slain.

The earle of Cornewall.

The lord Douglas.

Strueling castell built rather repaired.

Time, and after the Epiphanye having assembled an armie readie to passe into Scotland, to reuenge the earle of Athols death, which he took verie displeasingly, there came in the meane time ambassadoz both from the pope and the French king, and found the king of England at Bertolke, readie with his armie to set forwarde into Scotland. But these ambassadoz did so much by intreatie with the two kings of England and Scotland, that about the feast of the Purification, a truce was agreed vpon to indure till midlent.

Then was a parlement to be holden at London, and herewith articles were owtane, and certeine petitions put forth, vpon the which if the parties in the meane time could agree, the peace accordingly might be established, if not, then the warre to be prosecuted as before. The chiefest article and petition which the Scots proponed, as desirous to be therein resolved, was to understand which of the two that claimed the crowne of Scotland, to wit, Edward Balliol, and David Bruce, had most right thereto. But when in the parlement time the lord Maurice de Spurrey sene sir Geoffrey de Rosse a Scottish knight, that was thriffe of Aire and Lenarke, being of the Balliols side, for that in time of open warre the same sir Geoffrey had slaine his brother, vpon respect of this presumptuous part, and by reason of such stoutnesse as the Scots otherwile shewed, no conclusion of peace could be brought to effect.

Before the feast of the Ascension, the king of England sent forward the king of Scots, the earles of Lancaster, Warwike, Oxford, and Arnegos, and diuerse lords and capteins with an armie, the which after Whitsonside entering into Scotland, passed ouer the Scottish sea, and comming to saint Johns towne (which the Scots had burnt, despairing to defend it against the English power) they set in hand to fortifie it, compassing it with deepe ditches and a strong rampier of earth. About the same time the king called a parlement at Northampton, where leauing the prelates and other to treat of such matters as were proponed, he himselfe rode northwards, and comming to Bertolke, took with him a small band of men of armes, and setting forward, halted forth till he came to saint Johns towne, where he found the king of Scots, and other his nobles greatlie wondering at his comming thither so vnlooked for. After he had rested there a litle, he took with him part of the armie, and passed forward ouer the mounteines of Scotland euen vnto Elgen in Spurrey and Inuernes, further by manie miles than euer his grandfather had gone.

In his returne he burnt the towne of Aberdeen, in reuenge of the death of a right valiant knight called sir Thomas Rosselin, that comming thither by sea took land there, and was slaine by the enimies: he burnt diuerse other townes and places in this boiage, spoiling and wasting the countries where he came, not finding anie to resist him. About Lammas the earle of Cornewall with the power of Northeshire and Northumberland, and the lord Anthony Lucie with the Cumberland and Westmerland men entered Scotland, and destroyed the west parts, as Carlisle, and other which obeyed not the Balliol. The lord William Douglas still coasted the Englishmen, doing to them what damage he might. At length this armie laden with preies and spoile returned home, but the earle of Cornewall with his owne retinue came through to saint Johns towne, where he found the king being returned thither fro his tourne which he had made beyond the mounteins. The king staid not long there, but leauing the king of Scots with his companie in that towne, he went to Strueling, where, on the plot of ground vpon which the destroyed

castell had stood, he built an other fortresse, called a Pisle. And now, because he had spent a great deale of treasure in those warres of Scotland, he summoned a parlement to be holden at Nottingham, in which there was granted to him a tenth of the cleargie, and likewise of the citizens and burgeses of good townes, and a fifthenth of other that dwelt south of cities and boroughes.

About the latter end of October, John of Elgham earle of Cornewall the kings brother departed this life at saint Johns towne in Scotland: his bodie was afterwards conueied to Westminster, there buried with all solemne funerals. The Scottish writers affirme that he was slaine by his brother king Edward for the crueltie he had used in the west parts of Scotland, in sleaing such as for safegard of their liues fled into churches. Moreover, in December there deceased at S. Johns towne aforesaid, Hugh de Fresnes, that in right of the countesse of Lincoln was intituled earle of Lincoln. He died of the sir, or (as was said) through excessive cold, which in those quarters in that cold time of the yeare sore afflicted the English people. In the meane time, about the feast of saint Luke the euangelist, the king went with an armie into Scotland toward the castell of Bothuille, and comming thither repaired the same, which by the Scots had lately before bene destroyed. The baron Stafford at the same time comming towards the king with a power of men, took Douglas Dale in his waie, taking in the same a great preie of cattell and other things.

Before Christmaste the king returned into England, but the king of Scots remained all the winter in saint Johns towne with a sober companie. When the king had settled the state of Scotland vnder the gouernement of the Balliol, those Scottishmen which took part with the Balliol, ordered as it were in recompense of king Edwards friendship a statute, whereby they bound themselves to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England, that they should aid and assist him against all other princes: and whensoever it chanced that either he or any king of England being rightful inheritor, had any wars against any prince, either within the land or without, the Scottishmen of their owne proper costs and expences should find thre hundred bowmen, a thousand footmen well and sufficientlie armed for the warre, the which thirtene hundred men the Scots should wage for a whole yeare: and if the king of England ended not his warres within the yeare, then he to giue wages to the said number of thirtene hundred Scots, as he doth to other of his soldiers and men of warre. There be that write, that the king of England should not onlie fortifie saint Johns towne about this time, as before is mentioned, but also saint Andzels, Cotoper, Aberdine, Dunfermeling, with certeine other castels, leauing garisons of men in the same. But for so much as ye may read sufficientlie of those troubles, in Scotland, and of the returne of king David south of France, and how his realme was recovered out of the Balliols hands in the Scottish chronicles: we need not here to make anie long discourse thereof.

The queene was deliuered of hir second sonne at Hatfield, who was therfore named William of Hatfield, who liued but a short time, departing this world when he was but young. The king being returned home out of Scotland, sought by all waies possible how to recouer monie, both to supplie his charges for the Scottish wars, and also to furnishe the other wars which he meant to take in hand against the French king: he got so much into his hands (as it is reported by writers) that it was verie scant and hard to come by throughout the whole realme: by reason of which scarcitie

The burial of John of Elgham

The burial of Hugh de Fresnes

Walter G. b. Thom. W.

The baron Stafford

A statute by which Scots bound themselves to the king of England

Polyd.

Commenced by Edward 3

Th. Wals. Cronica

The king sought by all waies possible

Great cheap-
ness of wares
and scarcity
of monie.

scarcitie and want of monie, or upon some other ne-
cessarie cause, vittels, and other chaffer and merchan-
dise were exceeding cheape: for at London a quar-
ter of wheat was sold for two shillings, a fat ore for
three shillings eight pence, a fat sheepe for six pence or
eight pence, halfe a dozen of pigeons for one penie, a
fat goose for two pence, a pig for one penie, and so all
other victualls after the like rate.

This yere was the warre proclaimed betwixt
England and France, wherby the procurement
of the lord Robert D'Artois, a Frenchman, as then
banished out of France, upon occasion of a claime
by him made unto the earldome of Artois. This lord
Robert after he was banished France, fled over into
to king Edward, who gladly received him, and
made him earle of Richmond. All the goods of the
Italians were by the kings commandement this
yere confiscate to his use, and so likewise were the
goods of the monks of the Cluniack and Cisterce-
an orders. This yere also a comet, or blasing
starre appeared, with long and terrible flames pas-
sing from it. In the eleuenth yere of his reigne,
the king held a parlement at Westminster, about
the time of Lent, during the which, of the earldome
of Cornwall he made a duchie, and gaue it unto his
eldest sonne Edward, that was then earle of Che-
ster, whom also (as some write) he created at the same
time prince of Wales.

Moreover in reward of service there were six no-
ble men at this parlement advanced to the honour
and title of earles, as the lord Henrie sonne to the
earle of Lancaster was created earle of Derby, or
after some writers, earle of Leicester; William Bo-
hun was created earle of Northampton, William
Montacute earle of Salisbury, Hugh Audley
earle of Gloucester, William Clinton earle of Dun-
kingdon, and Robert Wifford earle of Suffolk. This
creation was on the second sundae in Lent, and the
same day were twentie knights made, whose names
for brevnesse we do here omit. In this parlement
it was enacted, that no man should weare any man-
ner of silke in gowne, cote, or doublet; except he
might dispense of god and sufficient rent an hundred
pounds by yere, which act was not long observed.
For the nature of man is such, that of it owne cor-
rupt & evil inclination, it withstandeth good things,
and sheweth rather to follow whatsoever is forbidden;
yea though the same be sharke naught and offensive
to law and conscience: which preposterous and o-
uerthwart disposition the poet noteth well, saying,

*aliquid cupido
Mens alind suadet: video meliora, probosq;
Deteriora sequor.*

It was also ordeined by the aduise of this parle-
ment, that Henrie of Lancaster newlie created erle
of Derby should go ouer into Gascoine, there to re-
maine as the kings lieutenant. But Richard South-
well saith, that the earle of Salisbury, and not the
earle of Derby was appointed to go into Gascoine
at that time, and the earle of Warwick into Scot-
land. Moreover in this parlement it was enacted that
no wool of the English growth should go forth of the
land, but be here wrought and made in cloath: and
further an act was ordeined for receiuing of stran-
gers that were clothworkers, and order taken, that
fit and convenient places should be assigned forth to
them where to inhabit, with manie priuileges and
liberties, and that they should haue wages and sti-
pends allowed them, till they were so settled as they
might gaine commodiouslie by their occupation
and science: but now to returne againe to other
matters.

The Scots this yere toke the castell of Bothwell
by surrender, so as the Englishmen that were with

in it, departed with their liues and goods saued. Di-
uerse other castles and fortresses were taken by the
Scots in this, and in other parts, but the countrie of
Galloway was by them speciallie sore afflicted, be-
cause the people there held with their lord Edward
Balliol. Whereupon it was agreed in this last parle-
ment, that the earle of Warwick being appointed to
go thither, should haue with him the power beyond
Trent northwards. But when about the Ascension
tide the Scots had besieged the castell of Strickling,
the king of England in person hastid thitherwards,
of whose approach the Scots no sooner understood, but
that straightwaies they brake by their siege, and de-
parted thence: the king therefore returned backe in-
to the south parts. About the same time sir Eustace
de Sparwell knight, lord of Carlanerocke, revolted
from Edward Balliol unto David le Bruce his
foe, and so that part daile increased, and also the
warre continued, with damage inough unto both
parts.

In the beginning of September the earle of
Warwicke with an armie entred Scotland by Ber-
wicke, and the lord Thomas de Wake, and the lord
Clifford, with the bishop of Carleill accompanied
with the Westmerland and Cumberland men, en-
tered by Carleill, and within two daies after met with
the earle of Warwick, as before it was appointed,
and so joining together, they passed forwards, spoil-
ing and wasting Leudale, Dofetdale, and Fide-
dale. The lord Anthonie Lucie with a part of the ar-
mie entred into Galloway, and after he had wasted
that countrie, he returned to the armie, which by rea-
son of the exceeding great weat that fell in that sea-
son, they could not keepe on their iourne into Dou-
gladale, and to Aire, as they had appointed: but ha-
ving remained in Scotland twelue daies, they re-
turned altogether unto Carleill. Edward Balliol
was not with them in this iourne, but remained
still in England.

The Scots in reuenge hereof made diuerse rodes
into England, withdrawing still with their prey and
hotties, before the English power could assemble to
giue them battell. About Alhallontide, the Scots be-
sieged the castell of Edenburgh, but the bishop of
Carleill, the lord Randall Dacres of Gillelland, with
the power of the countie of Cumberland and of
Westmerland, and the king of Scots Edward Ba-
lioll, with the lord Anthonie Lucie, and such compa-
nie as they brought from Berwicke, meeting at Roc-
keburgh, marched forth unto Edenburgh, and cha-
sing the Scots from the siege, toke order for the safe
keeping of the castell from thenceforth, and returned
into England. In this meane time things happened
so well to the purpose of king Edward, that by prac-
tise he alienated the hearts of the Flemings from
the obedience of their earle, being altogether an ear-
nest friend to the French king. He therefore under-
standing the minds of his people, sought to winne
them by some gentle treatie, and so did euen at the
first, concluding an agreement with them of Gaunt,
which were fullie at a point to haue entred into
league with the king of England, as with him whose
friendship by reason of the traffike of merchandize,
(and namelie of the English wools) they knew to be
more necessarie for their countrie than the French
kings.

Although by the helpe of the bishop of Tournie the
earle of Flanders caused them to stae from conclu-
ding or joining in anie such bonds of amitie with the
king of England for that time, yet he doubted the ar-
riual of some power out of England, and thereupon
appointed his bassard brother Guie of Rycken-
burgh, and certeine other noble men and captains,
with a crue of men of warre to lie in the Ile of
L.I.I. Cadant,

The earle of
warwicke
inuaeth
Scotland.

The castell of
Edenburgh
besieged.

The siege is
raised.

The K. practi-
sith with
Flemings.

The bishop of
Tournie.

La. Ma. ir.

se decreas-
he earle of
newall.

e decreas-
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ter Gif-
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In act for re-
straint of traf-
ficking ouer
seas.
Adam Meri-
couth.

Rich. South.
The castell of
Bothwell
taken.

354

The Ile of
Cabant.An armie sent
by sea into
Flanders.Four thousand
and four
la. Meir.

Froissard.

Two cardinals
come into
England.Additions
to Meri.

1339

Ri. Southwell.
The castell of
Dunbar be-
sieged.
Anno Reg. 12.

A parliament.

Croxden.
A subsidie.The cardinals
returne.

Cabant, to defend the passage there, and to see that no English ships should come or go that waite by the seas: whereof the king of England being aduertised, sent thither the earle of Derby, the lord Leues Beauchampe, the lord Reginald Cobham, also the lord William sonne to the earle of Warwick, the lord Walter de Spannie an Hannenier, and other lords, knights, and capteins, with a power of five hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, the which comming to the foresaid Ile of Cabant, found the Flemings, about five thousand in number, readie arranged on the towne dikes and lands, in purpose to defend the entrie, which they did a certeine space right ballantlie: but in the end they were discomfited, and three thousand of them slaine in the streets, hauens, and houses. Sir Guie the bastard of Flanders was taken with diuerse other knights and gentlemen, the towne was burnt, and the goods with the prisoners were carried into England. This chanced on a sundae the daie before the feast of saint Martine in Nouember. Where the lord Walter de Spannie might haue had 11 thousand pounds sterling for the ranfome of the said sir Guie, and other prisoners, the king bought them of him in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne for eight thousand pounds sterling, as by records in the tower it appeareth.

About the feast of saint Martine in winter, there came vnto London two cardinals, sent by the pope to treat for a peace betwixt the kings of England, and France. The archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Chichester, Couentrie, & the commoners of the citie of London met them on Wynters hill. The duke of Cornewall with the earle of Surrie, and manie other of the nobilitie received them a mile without the citie. The king himselfe received them at the lesser hall doore of his palace at Westmynster, and brought them into the painted chamber, where they declared their message: whereupon the king caused a parlement to be summoned at London, to begin the morrow after Candlemasse day. The king held his Christmasse at Wyndesore, and within the octaues of the same feast he took his iourne towards Scotland, or rather (as other haue) he sent thither the earles of Salisburie, Gloucester, Derby, and Anegos, with three barons, the lords Percie, Mewill, and Stafford, the which with twentie thousand men besieged the castell of Dunbar.

This siege began even in the beginning of the twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne, and continued for the space of nineteene weeks, with small gaine and lesse honour to the Englishmen, in so much that the same waie by vnder a colour of a truce, when there was no hope of winning the place, and that the noble men that laie there at siege, basted to make an end, that they might attend the king in his iourne ouer into Brabant. The morrow after Candlemasse day the parlement began, in which there was a grant made to the king by the laitie of the one halfe of their wolle through the whole realme for the next summer, which he receiued, and likewise he leuied of the cleargie the whole, causing them to paie nine marks of euerie sacke of the best woll. But after the rate of the one halfe he took in whose hands so ever it was found, aswell merchants as others. After this, he took a fifthenth of all the communaltie of his realme in woll, the price of euerie stone containing foureteen pounds rated at two shillings. The one and twentieth of March the two cardinals took the sea at Douer, and in their companie went ouer the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Durham to treat of a peace, if by any good means the two kings might be made friends. But as it appeared, their trauelell was in vaine, for although they abode together for a time on the frontiers, doing their best indueor,

yet their trauelell nothing auailed, as by that which followeth is most manifest.

The Flemings that fauoured king Edward, were put in such comfort by the late victorie obtained by the Englishmen in the Ile of Cabant, that falling to their former practise, one Jaques or Jacob van Arteueld an hounmaker of the towne of Cant, was chosen amongst them to be as it were the defender of the people, and namelie of the weauers, and other clothworkers. At first he, his authoritie grew so hugelie amongst all the whole number of the commons in Flanders, that he might do more with them than their earle; and yet the earle to reconcile the people to his fauour, ceased not to be all courtous means towards them that he could devise, as releasing prisoners and duties of monie, pardoning offenses, forfeitures, and other such like, but all would not auail him. The king of England had so wonn them by the means of the said Jaques van Arteueld, that in the end John archbishop of Canturburie, & Richard the bishop of Durham, came into Flanders as ambassadors from king Edward, and traueled to earnestlie to draw the Flemings vnto an amitie with their master king Edward, that finally a league was concluded betwixt the countie of Flanders, and the said king at Cant, in the presence of the earle of Gelderland, as then being there. The chiefe authors of this league were the said Jaques van Arteueld, and a noble man of Flanders, called Siger de Curtrey.

But this Siger being immediatlie after apprehended by the earle of Flanders, was put to death, which act procured the earle so much hatred of the people, that shortly after comming to Bruges, and attempting to force the towne to his will, he was forced himselfe to flee from thence, for otherwise he had bene either taken or slaine; the commons of the towne & namelie the fullers, of whom he had slaine some there in the streets, rose so fast vpon him. Hereupon fleeing home to his house, he took his wife, and a sonne which he had, and fled with them into France, so forsaking his countie which was now gouerned by Jaques van Arteueld, as though he had bene immediatlie lord thereof. After this, the earle returned home againe, as it were with the French kings commission, to persuaue the Flemings to renounce the league concluded with the king of England: but he could bring nothing to passe, but was still in danger to haue bene arrested and staied of his stone subiects, both at Cant and in other places, but namelie at Dirmue, where if he had not made the more hast alwaie, he had bene taken by them of Bruges. Amongst other of his stuffe which he left behind him in that hastie departure, his signet was forgotten, and not missed till he came to saint Omers, whither he fled for his safegard.

Thus ye may perceiue that Flanders rested vpon king Edwards commandement, who to establish amitie also with the duke of Brabant, and other princes of the empire, about the middle of Julie sailed ouer vnto Antwerpe, with his wife queene Whilp, his sonne the prince of Wales, and a great number of other of the pères and barons of his realme, where he was most ioyfullie receiued of the duke of Brabant, and other lords of the empire. There was sent to the emperour to procure his frendship, from the king of England, the marques of Salike with certeine noble men of England, and also certeine of the duke of Gelderland his counsell, the which marques was made at that time an earle, & the earle of Gelderland was made duke. This duke of Gelderland named Reginald had married the ladie Isabell sister of king Edward, and therefore in fauour of the king his brother in law, traueled most earnestlie to procure

James of
Jacob Arte-
ueld, a houn-
maker of
Cant.His authori-
tie among the
commons.A league be-
twixt Eng-
land & Flan-
ders.
la. Meir.Siger de
Curtrey.The fall of
Cant.The earle of
Flanders
fleeth into
France.He returned
home.

Dirmue.

He choseth
flaith.Flanders
solicite the
detention of
la. Edward.la. Edward
saileth to
Antwerpe.Froissard.
The marques
of Salike
land.The earle of
Gelderland
married Isabell.

ch. 5

fille

wong

procure him all the friends within the empire that he could make.

Edwards confederates.

The princes and lords then, with whom king Edward was allied and confederated at that time, find to be these; the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the archbishop of Cullen, the marquisse of Salike, sir Arnold de Baquchen, and the lord of Clakenburgh, who all promised to besse the French king in the king of Englands quarrell, and to serue him with notable numbers of men, where and when soeuer it should please him to appoint. The alliance of the earle of Heineault first procured the king of England all these friends, vnto the which earle he had sent ouer the bishop of Lincolne and other in ambassage, immediatlie after that he had resolved to make warres against France, by the counsell and aduise of sir Robert Dartois, as in the French historie more plainlie appeareth. In this meane season was quene Philip brought to bed at Antwerpe of hir third sonne, which was named Lionel. The king of England earnestlie followed his businesse, and had manie treaties with his friends and confederats, till at length he made sure to him the friendship of all those townes & countries, which lie betwixt France and the river of Rhene: onelie the cities of Tourne and Cambrie held of the French kings part, though Cambrie belonged to the empire.

Lionel that was after duke of Clarence boorne.

Additions to Adam Meri-muth. A parliament at Southampton. A subsidie by on twell. The cleargie granted a tenth.

Stratraine.

1339 Anno Reg. 13.

The French king invade the coasts of this land. Bournemouth burnt.

The earle of Devonshire.

Rich. South. William Cowling.

In this twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne at a counsell holden at Southampton by the duke of Cornetwall, lord warden of England in absence of the king his brother, and by manie of the prelates and barons of the realme, there was granted to the king a subsidie in twell, to the great burthen of the commons: but for so much as the cleargie of the land was not present at that counsell, it was ordeined that they should be called, and so they assembled in a conuocation at London the first day of October, in which the cleargie granted to the king a tenth for the third yeare then to come, ouer and besides the two tenths before granted, and that the tenth of this present yeare should be paid in shorter time than it was appointed: but they flatlie denied to grant their twell, which neuertheless the laitie paid, and that to their great hinderance, for it rose double to a fiftene. From the beginning of October, to the beginning of December this yeare, fell such abundance of raine that it hindered greatlie the husbandmen in sowing of their winter corne: and in the beginning of December came such a vehement frost continuing the space of twelue weeks, that it destroyed by all the seed almost that was sowne, by reason whereof small store of winter corne came to profe in the summer following: but though there was no plentie, yet all kinds of graine were sold at a reasonable price, through want of monie.

The Frenchmen by sea fore troubled the sea coasts of this realme, speciallie where the champion countries stretch towards the sea coasts. At Hastings in the feast of Corpus Christi, they burnt certeine fishermen houses, and slue some of the inhabitants. Also in the hauens about Denonshire and Cornetwall, and towards Wistow, they toke and burnt certeine ships, killing the mariners that came to their hands, and in the Whittun-wake they landed at Plinmouth, and burnt the more part of the towne: but Hugh Courtne earle of Denonshire, a man almost fourscore yeares of age, and other knights and men of the countrie came against these Frenchmen, slaying such as came into their hands to the number of five hundred, as was esteemed, and chased the residue. The Scots also about the same time did much hurt and great mischief to the Englishmen both by sea and land.

In the beginning of Iulie the lord William Dot-

glas, with a number of men of warre, returned from France home into England, and to him upon his returne the castell of Colmper was deliuered, with all the countrie thereabouts. After this, comming to the siege of St. Johns towne, which the gouernour the earle of Purrey, the erle of March, Patrike de Dunbarre, and other of the Scottish lords had besieged, at length it was surrendered by sir Thomas Withed capiteine there of the English garison, departing in safetie home into England. Thre daies before the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, there chanced in the night season such a mightie and sudden inundation of water at Newcastle upon Tyne, that it bare downe a peece of the towne wall, sir perches in length, nere to a place called Walknot, where a hundred and twentie temporall men with diuerse preests and manie women were drowned and lamentable perished.

Hest. Boetius.

A flood.

But now to returne to the king, which all this while remained in Brabant. We haue heard how the citie of Cambrie held with the French king: wherefore the R. of England assembling together a mightie strong armie aswell of Englishmen as of the low countries of Dutchland, ment to besiege it, but first he sent the archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Lincolne and Durham vnto Arras, as commissioners from him to meet there with the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Langres and Beauuais, appointed to come thither as commissioners from the French king, to treat with the Englishmen of a peace, but they could not agree vpon any conclusion, whereupon king Edward, comming forward with his power, approached to Cambrie, and planted his siege round about it. But the bishop, not meaning to deliuer the citie vnto king Edward nor vnto any other that should demand it to the behoofe of the emperor Ludouike of Baviere, as then excommunicated of the pope, had receiued into the towne five thousand Frenchmen, with the French kings eldest sonne, the duke of Brabantie latelie returned out of Guien, and the lord Theobald Marquis, with certeine companies of Sansons, so that the citie was so defended, that the king of England perceiuing he should but lose time, letted his siege, and entred into France, pitching his field at a place called Flamini-guerie.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace.

They cannot agree. Cambrie besieged.

La. Meir.

The king letteth his siege and entred into France. Flamini-guerie.

Fabian, Thom. Walf.

Southampton burnt.

Two English ships taken.

The French kings armie.

Iacob. Meir.

In the meane time had the French king not onelie made himselfe strong by land, but also by sea, hauing sent forth a strong nauie of ships and gallees towards the coasts of England, which arriving at Southampton the mondays after Michaelmas day, toke and spoiled the towne, and the morrow after set fire vpon it in five places, so that a great part of it was burnt. Also thirtene sailles of the French fleet met with five English ships, and after a long fight which continued nine houres, toke two of those five being tall and goodlie ships; the one called the Edward, and the other the Christopher; the other three being smaller vessels, as two of them barcks and the other a caruell escaped by their swiftnesse of sailing. There was slaine in that fight vpon both parts about the number of six hundred men.

The French king himselfe hearing that the king of England would invade his realme, made his general assemble of his armie at Bertranne; and when he heard that he was entred France, he remoued towards him with his whole power, being at the point of an hundred thousand men, as in the French chronicle you may read more at large. The king of England had not past threescore thousand in his armie at the most: but whilst he late there vpon the borders of France, his people did much hurt, making roades abroad beyond the water of Soine, burning

A. l. y. and

Towres
burnt by the
Englishmen
in France.
The towne of
Gaulle burnt.

The earle of
Heinault.

The armies
approch nere
together.

Froisard.

Robert king
of Sicill dis-
suadeth the
French king
to fight with
the king of
England.

The armies
retire without
battell.

3 counsell at
Wynche.

and spoiling abbeies, to towns, and villages, as E.ignit, saint Benoit, Ribemont in Thieralle, saint Govan, sparle, and Cressie. Also the lord Beaumont of Heinault burnt the towne of Gaule, though his daughter was as then within the same towne wife unto Leves earle of Blois: his brother William earle of Heinault was latelic befoze deceased, leaving the earldome to his sonne named also William, who continued with the king of England so long as he laie before Cambrie, & kept him within the bounds of the empire, as though his allegiance had bound him to no lesse, but after the said king was passed the river of Elcault, otherwise called the Schell, and in Latine scaldis, which divideth the empire from the kingdome of France, he would no longer serve the king of England, but departed from him for feare to offend the French king, accounting that the matter pertained not now to the empire, but to the private quarrell and businesse of the king of England: notwithstanding his uncle the said sir John like a faithfull gentleman continued still in king Edward his service.

The two armies of England and France approched within foure miles together, so that euerie man thought that there would sure haue bene battell betwixt them, as there had bene in dede, if the French king had bene willing: yet some saie, that he of himselfe was disposed thereto: but his counsellors advised him to the contrarie, by reason of certeine signs and tokens which they misliked, as the starting of an hare amongst them, and such like. Also it was said that Robert king of Naples being then come into France, whose knowledge in astronomie was knowne to be great, dissuaded the French king by his letters, that in no wise he should fight with the king of England, for he had understanding by art of the beaueilie influences and disposition of the heuies aboue, that if the French king fought with this Edward king of England, he should assuredly be put to the worse. Whether this was the cause, or anie other, sure it is that the Frenchmen had no mind to fight, so that these two mightie armies departed in fume without battell, and the king of England returned into Flanders, soze in dede that he had not with him halfe the number that the French king had, yet in trust of the valiance of his souldiours, chosen out of the pickedst men through England and all the low countrie on this side the Rhene, he went herelle to haue encountered his enemies, if they had come forward.

At his coming backe into Brabant, there was a counsell called at Brussels, where were present all those lordes of the empire which had bene with him in that iourne, as the dukes of Brabant, Gelderland, and Gulike, the marques of Blankbourgh, the earle of Bergen, the lord Beaumont of Heinault otherwise called sir John de Heinault, the lord of Walkeirbourgh, and manie others. Whither came also Jaques Arteueld cheefe gouernour of Flanders. Here in counsell taken how the king of England might best mainteine the wars which he had begun thus against the French king, he was advised that he should in his wife require them of Flanders to aid him, and in his owne selfe to besiege the French king, and to go with host against the said French king, and if they would thus doe, then should he promise them to restore and deliuer into their hands the towne of Lille, Douwaie, and Bethon. The king of England, according to this aduise to him giuen, made suit request to the Flemings, who thereupon desired time to consult together, what they might doe therein, and finally they declared for answer, that they would graunt so do, but yet where as they were bound by faith and oth, and in the summe of two millions of florens in the popes

chamber, not to make nor moue any warre against the king of France, whosoever he were, on paine to lose that summe, and beside to run in the sentence of cursing, they besought him, that it might stand with his pleasure, to take upon him the title and armes of France, as the same appertained to him of right, and then would they obey him as rightfull la. of France, and require of him acquittances in discharge of their bonds, and he to pardon them thereof, as rightfull king of France.

The king of England, though he had iust cause to claime the crowne of France, in right of his mother queene Isabell, yet to take upon him the name and armes of that realme, before he had made conquest of any part thereof, he thought it good not with much reason: but yet after he had caused the matter to be thoroughlie debated amongst them of his counsell, as well to satisfie the Flemings, as for other respects, he saie it should be the best waie that might be taken to the aduancement of his purpose. Then he answered the Flemings, that if they would sweare, and scale to this accord, and promise to mainteine his waie, he would be contented to fulfill their desire, and also he promised to get for them againe the towne of Lille, Douwaie, and Bethune. Hereupon was a day assigned to meet at Cant: the king came thither, and the most part of the said lordes, and all the counsellors of the good towne & places in Flanders were there assembled, and so all the foresaid matters were rehearsed, sworne, and sealed, and the armes of France were then quartered with those of England, and from thenceforth he took upon him the name of king of France, in all his writings, proclamations, and commandements. This is noted by Christopher Okland, where speaking of the mingling of the French and English armes, he saith amongst other things;

— ut heret.

*Legitimus regni Celtarum insignia gentis
Ille suis immiscet atrox, quod amantulus orbis
Carabus i. uita ad superas migraverat oras, &c.*

With then that we be come to this place, it shall not be uncomely to rehearse somewhat of the right title wherby king Edward did thus claime the crowne of France, hauing of purpose omitted to speake thereof, till now that he intituled himselfe with the name, & took upon him to beare the armes also of France, upon occasion before expressed. It is well knowne that Philip le Beau king of France had issue by his wife queene Jone three sons, Leues surnamed Butine, Philip le Long, and Charles le Beau: also two daughters, the one dieng in his fancie, and the other named Isabell liued, and was married unto Edward the second of that name king of England, who begot of his this Edward the third, that made this claime. The three sounes of the foresaid Philip le Beau reigned ech after other, as kings of France. First after Philip the father, succeeded his eldest sonne Leues Butine, who had issue by his first wife spargaret, daughter to Robert duke of Burgogne, a daughter named Jone, the which was anon giuen in marriage unto Leues earle of Cyren: but she liuing not long, died without issue. His father the said Leues Butine married after the decesse of his first wife, an other wife named Clemence, daughter to Charles spartell, the father of R. Robert of Sicill, whom he left great with child when he died: the child being borne promised a son, & was named John, but liued not manie daies after. Then Philip the Long was admitted unto the crowne of France, though manie stood in opinion that Jone the daughter of Leues Butine, which yet was aliue, ought to haue inherited the kingdome after his father: and namely Doo duke of Burgogne, uncle to the said Jone, was most earnest in that matter, in fa-

The most
of the Flemings
to haue the
of England
take upon him
the title to
crowne of
France.

The king
answered the
Flemings.

These towne
had bene re-
gaged to the
king of Fria
for monie.

The queene
ring of the
armes of
England &
France.

In Angl. p. 10
sub Edward.

Polydor.

The issue of
Philip le
Beau.

Leues le
Beau.

Philip le
Long.

Hen. Marl.
Polydor.

A subsidie.

Charles le
Beau.

honor of his nece. But might ouercame right, so that he was constrained to be quiet. Philip le Long, after he had reigned five yeares, died also, and left no issue behind him. Then lastlie Charles le Beau took upon him the kingdome, and the seventh yeare after died, his wife big bellied, which shortly after brought forth a maiden named Blanch, that freightwaies hasting to follow hir father, liued no while in this world. By this means then the blood totall in the heires male of Philip le Beau was ertinguished in his sonne the foresaid Charles le Beau, whereof the contention toke beginning about the right to the crowne of France, betwixt the Frenchmen and Englishmen, which hanged as yet undecided till these our daies. For king Edward auerred that the kingdome of France appertained unto him as lawfull heire, because that he alone was remaining of the kings stocke, and touched his mothers father Philip le Beau, in the next degree of consanguinitie, as he that was borne of his daughter Isabell.

King Edward signified his right to the crowne of France.

Therefore immediatlie after the deceasse of the said Charles le Beau, by ambassadours sent unto the perces of France, he published to them his right, requiring that they would admit him king according thereunto: but his ambassadours could neuer be quietlie heard, and therefore returned home without anie towardlie answer, which moued him in the end to attempt the recouerie of his lawfull inheritance by force, sixth by law he could not preuaile, and now by abuse of his friends to take upon him both the title and armes of France, to signifie to the world what right he had to the same. After that this league therefore was concluded with them of Flanders, and that king Edward had taken upon him the name of king of France with the armes; the duke of Gelderland and Jaques van Arteueld went unto all the good towncs and iurisdicions of Flanders, to receiue their oths of fidelitie unto king Edward, persuaading with the people, that the supreme rule belonged unto him, saying to the towncs their ancient lawes and liberties, and to their earle his right of proprietie.

Is. Mair.
King Edward took upon him the title & armes of the K. of France.
The Flemings swore fealtie to the King of England.

About the latter end of this thirteenth yeare of his Edwards reigne, the mariners and sea-men of the cinque ports, getting them aboard into a number of small ships and balingers, well trimmed and appointed for the purpose, passed over to Bullongne, where they took land one day in a thicke foggie weather, and setting on the Basc towne, they burnt nineteene gallees, foure great ships, and to the number of twentie smaller vessels, together with their tackle and furniture. They set fire also on the houses that stood nere to the water side, and namelie they burnt one great house, wherein laye such a number of oares, sailes, armour, and crossebowes, as might haue sufficed to furnish so manie men as could be well aboard in nineteene gallees. There were manie slaine on both parts in atchiuing this enterprize, but more of the Frenchmen than of the Englishmen. About the same time the queene of England was deliuered of hir fourth soun in the towne of Gaunt, the which was named John, first created earle of Richmond, and after duke of Lancaster. He was borne about Christmasse, in the thirteenth yere of king Edwards reigne.

John of Gaunt borne.

1340
anno reg. 14.

When king Edward had finished his businesse, with the Flemings at Gaunt, he left his wife queene Philip there still in that towne, and returned himselfe unto Antwerpe, and shortly after about the feast of Candlemasse took the sea, and came backe into England, to provide for monie to mainteine his begun warres. And hereupon about the time of Lent following, he called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which he asked of his commons towards his charges, for the recouerie of his right in

Parlement.

France, the first part of their moueable goods, the customes of wools for two yeares to be paid aforehand, and the ninth sheafe of euerie mans cozne. At length it was agreed, that the king should haue for euerie sacke of wools fortie shillings, and for euerie last of leather fortie shillings, and for other merchandize after the rate, to begin at the feast of Easter, in this fouretenth yeare of the kings reigne, and to indure till the feast of Pentecost then next following, and from that feast till the feast of Pentecost, then next ensuing into one yeare: for which the king granted, that from the feast of Pentecost, which was then to come into one yeare, he nor his heires should not demand, asseesse, nor take, nor suffer to be asseessed or taken, more custome of a sacke of wools of any Englishman, but halfe a marke, and upon the wools fells and leather the old former custome.

Beside this, the citizens and burgeses of cities and god towncs, granted to giue the ninth part of all their goods; and the forren merchants and other not liuing of gaine, nor of breeding cattell, nor of sheepe, should giue the fiftenth part of all their goods lawfullie to the value: for the which he granted that as well now in time of warre as of peace, all merchants, denizens and forreiners (those excepted that were of the enemies countries) might without let safelie come into the realme of England with their goods and merchandize, and safelie tarie, and likewise retorne, paie the customs, subsidies, and profits, reasonable thereof due, so alwaies that the franchises and free customs granted by him or his predecessours reasonable to the citie of London, and other cities, burroughes, and towncs, might alwaies to them be saued. Moreover, there was granted unto him the ninth sheafe, the ninth fleece, and ninth lambe, to be taken by two yeares next coming. And for the leuies thereof, the lords of euerie shire through the land, were appointed to answer him, euerie one for the circuit within the which he dwelled. And because the king must needs occupie much monie per the receipt of this subsidie could come to his hands, he borrowed in the meane time manie notable summes of diuerse cities, and particular persons of this land, amongst the which he borrowed of the citie of London 20000 marks, to be paid againe of the monie coming of the foresaid subsidie.

The citie of London leuied the king monie.

In the meane while, now that king Edward was come backe into England, the warres were hotlie pursued against his friends, that had their lands nere to the borders of France, and namelie against sir John de Heinauld lord Beaumont, for the French men burned all his lands of Chimale, except the fortresses, and took from thence a great preie. All the frontiers were full of men of warre, lodged within towncs in garrison, as at Tournie, Portaigne, S. Amond, Dowaie, Cambzie, and in other smaller fortresses. These men of warre late not idle, but were doing oftentimes in Flanders, and sometime other where, neither was the countrie of Heinauld spared, though the earle (as we haue heard) did not onlie refuse to serue the king of England against France, but also when the same king entred France, he resorted to the French king, and serued him; yet by the suggestion of the bishop of Cambzie, who complained of the Hainauters, for the damages which they had done him, the French garrisons of the frontiers thereabouts were commanded to make a road into that countrie, which they did, burning the towne of Aiper, and brought from thence a great botie. The earle of Heinauld soe moued therewith to haue his lands spoiled and burnt, desired the French king, and joining with his uncle the lord Beaumont, entred with an armie into Thierasse, took & destroyed

The frontiers of France full of men of warre.

The towne of Aiper burnt.

The earle of Heinauld desired the French king.

A. Lily. Aubentan,

Cownes
burne in
Chieraffe.

Flanders in-
terdicted.

Ad. Merim.

Adam Me-
rimuth.
Iac. Meir.

The earles of
Salisbury &
Suffolke ta-
ken.

The countie
of Heinaut
invaded.

Gaguin.

A great naue
prepared by
the French
king.

The king of
England ta-
keth the sea.

Polydor.
Iac. Meir.

The king of
England set-
teth upon his
enemies.

Additions to
Triuct.

Aubenton, with Hahobert, Fontaine, Daubecuille,
and diuerse other.

In this meane time the French king procured the
pope to pronounce his curse against the Flemings
for their rebellion, and to suspend all diuine seruice
that ought to be said in anie hallowed place, so that
there were no priests to be found that would take up-
on them to saie any diuine seruice: whereupon the
Flemings sent ouer into England certeine messen-
gers to giue notice to king Edward how they were
intreated, but he sent them word that he would bring
at his comming ouer vnto them, priests that should
saie masses and other seruice, whether the pope would
or not, for he had priuilege so to do. ¶ In April, Will-
liam Melton archbishop of Yorke departed this life,
after whome variance rose in the election of a new
gouernour to that church, so that two were elected,
William la Zouch, and William Billelshie: but at
length William la Zouch took place, being the 43
archbishop that had sit in that seat. ¶ The earles of
Salisbury and Suffolke, which were left in Flan-
ders by king Edward to helpe the Flemings, shor-
tie after Ester, or (as other haue) in the time of Lent,
were discomfited by the garrison of Lille, and taken
prisoners as they would haue passed by that towne,
to haue ioined with Jaques Arteveld, meaning to
besiege Tournie, but now by the taking of those two
earles that enterprise was broken. The duke of Bor-
mandie with a great armie entered into Heinaut,
burning and wasting the countie, euen to the gates
of Valenciennes and Duesnop. And thus were they
occupied in those parts, whilest the king of England
prepared himselfe with all diligence to returne into
Flanders.

The French king being aduertised, that the king
of England meant shortly to returne into Flan-
ders with a great power, in purpose to invade the
realme of France on that side, assembled a naue of
four hundred ships vnder the leading of three expert
capteins of the warres by sea, as sir Hugh Kiriell, sir
Peter Babuchet, and a Geneuwaie named Barbe-
poir, appointing them to the coasts of Flanders to
defend the king of England from landing there, if by
any meanes they might. These three capteins or ad-
merals came and late with their ships in the haven of
Sluise, for that it was supposed the king of England
would arrive there, as his meaning was indeed,
whereupon when his men, ships, and provisions were
once readie in the moneth of June, he took the sea
with two hundred saile, and directing his course to-
wards Flanders, there came vnto him the lord Ro-
bert Hoptey, with the north naue of England, so
that then he had in all about three hundred saile, or
(as other saie) two hundred and three score.

The French naue laie betwixt Sluise and Blanc-
bergh, so that when the king of England approached,
either part descried other, & therewith prepared them
to battell. The king of England staid, till the sunne
which at the first was in his face, came somewhat
westward, and so had it vpon his backe, that it should
not hinder the sight of his people, and so therewith
did set vpon his enemies with great manhood, who
likewise were stoutly encountered him, by reason
whereof ensued a foie and deadlie fight betwixt them.
The naues on both sides were diuided into three bat-
tels. On the English part, the earles of Gloucester,
Northampton and Huntingdon, who was admerall
of the fleet that belonged to the cinque ports, and the
lord Robert Hoptey admerall of the northerne naue
had the guiding of the fore ward, bearing themselves
right valiantlie, so that at length the Englishmen
hauing the aduantage, not onlie of the sunne, but al-
so of the wind and tide, so fortunallie, that the French
fleet was driuen into the freights of the haven, in

such wise that neither the souldiers nor mariners
could helpe themselves, in somuch that both heauen,
sea, and wind, seemed all to haue conspired against
the Frenchmen. And herewith manie ships of Flan-
ders ioining themselves with the English fleet, in the
end the Frenchmen were vanquished, slaine and ta-
ken, their ships being also either taken, holged, or
broken.

When night was come vpon them, there were
thirtie French ships, that yet had not entred the bat-
tell, the which sought by couert of the night to haue
sloine awaie, and one of the in being a mightie great
vessel, called the James of Wepe, would haue taken
awate with hir a ship of Sandwich that belonged to
the prio: of Canturburie: but by the helpe of the earle
of Huntingdon, after they had fought all the night
till the next morning, the Englishmen at length pre-
vailed, and taking that great huge ship of Wepe,
found in hir aboue four hundred dead bodies. To
conclude, verie few of the French ships escaped, ex-
cept some of their smaller vessels, and certeine gal-
lies with their admerall Barbanoir, who in the begin-
ning of the battell got forth of the haven, aduising
the other capteins to do the like, thereby to auoid the
danger which they would haue imbraced. There died in
this battell fought (as some write) on midsummer
daie, in the yeare aforesaid, of Frenchmen to the
number of 30000, of Englishmen about 4000, or (as
other haue that liued in those daies) not past 400, a-
mongst whom there were foure knights of great no-
bilitie, as sir Thomas Donhermere, sir Thomas La-
timer, sir John Boteler, and sir Thomas Moynings.

It is said also, that the king himselfe was hurt in
the thigh. The two English ships that had bene ta-
ken the yeare before, the Edward and the Christopher,
were recovered at this time, amongst other of the
French ships that were taken there. ¶ Sir Peter
Babuchet was hanged vpon a crosse pole fastened to
a mast of one of the ships. Thorough the willfulnesse of
this man, the Frenchmen receiued this losse (as the
French chronicles report) bicause he kept the naue
so long within the haven, till they were so inclosed by
the Englishmen, that a great number of the French-
men could neuer come to strike stroke, nor to bte the
shot of their artillerie, but to the hurt of their fellows.
Howsoeuer it was, the Englishmen got a famous
victorie, to the great comfort of themselves, and dis-
comfort of their aduersaries. ¶ The king of Eng-
land, after he had thus vanquished his enemies, re-
mained on the sea by the space of three daies, and then
comming on land, went to Gant, where he was re-
ceiued of the queene with great ioy and gladnesse.

In this meane while the duke of Bormandie
besieged the castell of Thine Leuesques, nere to
Cambrie, which was taken by sir Walter of Span-
nie, a lord of Heinaut, at the first beginning of the
warres, and euer since till that time kept to the king
of England his fide. The earle of Heinaut, who had
bene of late both in England with king Edward,
and also in Almaine with the emperor, to purchase
their assistance for the defense of his countie a-
gainst the inuasions of the Frenchmen, was now
returned home, and meaning to rescue such as were
besieged in Thine, sent for succours into Flanders,
and into Almaine, and in the meane time leuening
such power as he could make with his owne coun-
trie, came therewith to Valenciennes, whither forth-
with resorted vnto him the earle of Fiamre with
two hundred speares, the duke of Wabant with sir
hundred, the duke of Gelberland, the earle of Wer-
gen, the lord of Walkenburgh, and diuerse other, the
which together with the earle of Heinaut went and
lodged alongst by the river of Lessault ouer against
the French host, which kept siege (as ye haue heard)
vnder

The battle
of the Eng-
lish men at
the battell of
Sluise.

Additions to
Triuct & Me-
rimuth.

The James
of Wepe.

Sir
Latimer.

Barbanoir,
Gaguin,
Auesburie,
Tho. Wall,
Adam Merimuth.

Froissard,
Iac. Meir,
R. Southw.,
The name
of the
Rich. South.

The
determi-
nation of
his co.

Rich. South
The king of
France
Froissard

The river
of Lessault
the Duke

An. Reg. 14.

under the conduct of the duke of Poimandrie be-
fore Duine Leuelques, that is situate upon the same
river.

There came also to the aid of the earle of Heinault
Jaques Arteueld, with his thre scoze thousand Fle-
mings. Now it was thought that they would haue
fought yet they had departed in sunder, but they did
not. For after it was knowne how the king of Eng-
land was arrived in Flanders, and had discomfited
the French fleet, the duke of Brabant and others
thought good to breake up their enterpryse for that
time, and to resort unto the king of England, to un-
derstand what his purpose was to do. Whether were
the Frenchmen hable to giue battell, so that after
the captaine of Duine Leuelques, sir Richard Lim-
sin bright an Englishman, and two elquiers, be-
thyn to the erle of Hamure, John and Thieric, had
left their fortresse void, and were come over the ri-
uer by boats unto the earle of Heinaults campe, the
armies on both sides brake up and departed, the
Frenchmen into France, and the other to Valenci-
ennes, and from thence the princes and great lords
drew to Gaunt, to welcome the king of England
into the countrey, of whome they were right foillie
receiued: and after they had communed togither of
their affaires, it was appointed by the king, that they
should meet him at Willeford in Brabant at a daie
prescribed, where he would be ready to consult with
them about his proceedings in his warres against
his auerfaries the Frenchmen.

The assemble
of the princes
at Willeford.

The confederat
betwixt the k.
of England &
his confederats

At the day appointed, there came to Willeford the
dukes of Brabant, and Gelderland, the earle of Hei-
nault, Gulike, Hamure, Blackenheim, Bergen,
sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earle of
Walkenburgh, and Jaques Arteueld, with the other
rulers of Flanders, and manie others. Here it was
ordained, that the countreies of Flanders, Brabant,
and Heinault, should be so united and knit in one
corporation, that nothing should be done amongst
them in publick affaires, but by common consent,
and if any warres were moued against anye of
them, then should the other be ready to aid them, a-
gainst whome anye such warre was moued: and if
upon anye occasion anye discorde rose betwixt them
for anye matter, they should make an end of it a-
mongst themselves; and if they could not, then should
they stand to the iudgement and arbitrement of the
king of England, unto whome they bound them-
selves by oth to keepe this ordinance and agree-
ment.

Forward,
Courne fur-
nished with a
strong power
of men.

The French king being informed that the king
of England ment to laie siege unto Courne, as it
was indeed deuised at this counsell holden at Wille-
ford, toke order for the furnishing thereof with men,
munition, and vittells in most defensible wise. There
were sent to that towne the best men of warre in all
France, as the earle of Cleves constable of France,
the young earle of Guines his sonne, the earle of
Fois, and his brethren, the earle Amere de Parbon,
with manie other, having with them foure thousand
souldiers. Sir Godmar du Foie was there before as
captaine of the towne, so that it was provided of all
things necessarie. Holobert, the king of England
(according as it was appointed at the counsell hol-
den at Willeford, about the feast of S. Martyn) de-
parted from Gaunt, and came to Courne, having
with him seauen earles of his owne countrey, as
Darbie, Burgoyne, Hereford, Huntingdon, Pow-
ampton, Gloucester, and Arundell, eight prelates, eight
and thentie baronets, two hundred knights, foure
thousand men of armes, and nine thousand archers,
besides other footmen. He lodged at the gate called
saint Martin, in the wall that is toward Wille and
Polwaie.

Courne be-
sieged.

Anon after came the dukes of Brabant and Gel-
derland, the earle of Gulike, the marquesse of Blan-
queburgh, the marquesse of Poule, the earls of Wer-
gen, Schaumes, and Heinault: also Jaques Arteueld,
who brought with him about fortie thousand Fle-
mings. So that there was at this siege to the num-
ber of six scoze thousand men, as some writers as-
sume. There was also an other armie of Flemings,
as of the townes of Ypres, Doppingue, Furnes,
Castell, of the Chateleinie, & of Bergis, being to the
number of fortie thousand, appointed to make warre
against the Frenchmen that kept saint Omers, and
other townes there on the frontiers of Arthois, which
armie was led by the earle of Richmond, otherwise
called the lord Robert Dartois, and by sir Henric de
Flanders, the which approaching one day to saint O-
mers, were sharplie fought with; for within saint O-
mers at that time late a strong power of French-
men with the duke of Burgoyne, the earle of Armi-
nacke and others.

The Flemings were not willing to serue, for nei-
ther had they any trust in their captaine the said earle
of Richmond, neither would they willingly haue
passed out of their owne confines, but onlie to defend
the same from the invasion of their enemies: yet
through much persuation, for ward they went, dis-
cided into sundrie battels contrarie to their manner.
The enemies perceiuing some aduantage, issued forth
upon them, and assailed them verie stoutlie, in so much
that the earle of Arminacke setting upon them of
Ypres, ouerthrew them, and chased them vnto a
towne called Arques, which they had a little before
set on fire and burned. An other compantie of French-
men, skirmishing with them of Franks, Furnes,
and Bergis, put them also to the worse. Contrarily,
those Frenchmen that encountered with the lord
Robert Dartois, and them of Buges whome he led,
sustained great losse, and were beaten backe into the
citie: the duke of Burgoyne himselfe being in his
small danger for a time, so sharpe the bickering was
betwixt them, and the event so variable. Wherefore
it is notable and little said in this behalfe, that
— incerti fallax fiducia Marti.

There be that write, that this fight continued from
thre of the clocke till euentide, and that the earle of
Richmond was twice put to flight, for his people did
leauie him in the plaine field: but at length by the as-
saile of sir Thomas Wylhed, whome the king of Eng-
land had appointed to attend the said earle, with ma-
nie Englishmen and archers, he assembled his peo-
ple eassones togither againe, and setting on his en-
emies, now when it was almost night, nere to the
gates of saint Omers, he finally ouercame them,
where were slaine of the French part sixtene barons
and fourescore knights, beside a great number of o-
ther people. Diuerse also were slaine on the earle of
Richmonds part at this last encounter, and among
other an English knight, that bare armes eschequered
bluer and gules.

Finally, as the earle of Richmond returned to-
wards his campe, which laie in the vale of Castell, he
met with certen Arteuelds and Frenchmen, which
had bene chasing the other Flemings, and thence it
was late in the euening, that one could not take
good view of an other, yet heere they fought againe,
and so diuerse of the Frenchmen were taken and
killed, and amongst other that were caught, was a
knight of Burgoyne, named sir William de Wille.
But when the earle of Richmond and those that were
with him came to the place where the campe lay, they
found that all the residue of the Flemings were fled
and gone. And when the said earle came to Castell,
the people were ready to haue slaine him. The re-
uer malice towards him being now much increased
with

The great
number of peo-
ple at the siege
of Courne.
La. Meir.

The earle of
Richmond.

The French-
men set vpon
the Flemings.

The variable
fortune of
fights.

Additions to
Adam Meri-
muth.

Sil. Ital. lib. 6.

Sir Thomas
Wylhed.

The earle of
Richmond, in
danger to be
slaine.

with the euill successe of this passed enterpryse, so that he was glad to get him thence, and to repaire vnto king Edward, that laie yet at the siege before Tournie, during which siege manie proper feats of armes were done betwixt those within and them without: for few daies passed without the atching of some enterpryse.

The great armye raised by the French king.

Also the French king, hauing made his assemble at Arras, and got thither a mightie host, as well out of the empire as of his owne subiects, came and lodged at the bridge of Bouuins, thre leagues from Tournie. There were with him the king of Bohem, the duke of Lozaine, the bishop of Spentz, the earles of Bar, mount Belliard, & Sauoie, also the dukes of Burgogne and Burbone, with a great number of other earles and lords, so that the greatest puissance of all France was iudged to be there with the king. Whiles he laie incamped thus at Bouuins, and the king of England at Tournie, manie exploits were atchued betwixt their people, who laie not idle, but still rode abroad and oftentimes met, and then that part which was weakest paid for the others charges, so that manie were slaine & taken on both sides as well of the nobilitie as other. Also diuerse towne were sacked and burned on the frontiers of France, during this siege at Tournie, namelie at the pursuit of the earle of Heinnault, as Seclin, S. Amond, My ches, Landas, and other.

The ladie Jane de Walois sister to the French king, and mother to the earle of Heinnault, travelling still betwixt the parties to bring them vnto some accord, it was granted that either partie should send certeine sufficient persons to intreat of the matter, which should meet at a little chappell, standing in the fields called Clplotin, and hereto also was a truce granted for thre daies.

A truce accorded.

For the English part were appointed the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincolne, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Gultike, and sir John de Heinnault lord Beaumont. For the French part, the king of Bohem, Charles erle of Anson brother to the French king, the bishop of Liege, the earle of Flanders, and the earle of Arminacke: and the ladie of Walois was still among them as a mediatrix, by whose meanes cheslelie they at length did agree vpon a truce to endure for a peare betwene all parties and their men, and also betwene them that were in Scotland, in Gascoigne, and Poitou.

The Flemings released of debts, and of the interdiction.

Polydor.

Restitution of townes to the king of England. Gaguin.

The siege raised from Tournie.

It was agreed also by these commissioners, that there should other commissioners of either part foure or five meet at Arras at a daie appointed, and thither also should the pope send his legats, to treat of a perpetuall peace and full agreement to be made betwixt the two kings of England and France. There was also consideration had of the Flemings, so that they were released of all such summes of monie as they were by any bonds indangered to paye by forfeiture, or otherwise, for any matter before that time vnto the crowne of France. Also they were released of the interdiction and curse of the church, and then also was their earle restored home. It was further accorded, that the French king should restore vnto the king of England certeine townes and places in Guien, which in the beginning of these warres the earle of Anson had taken from the Englishmen, as Denne in Agenois, and others. Also whereas the French king had seized the countie of Pontien into his hands, which was the dowry of quene Isabell, the mother of king Edward, he should also restore the same vnto king Edward, to hold it as he did before. Whereupon was the siege raised from Tournie, after it had continued there the space of ten weekes and foure daies. They within stood in great danger for lacke of vittels to haue bene constrained to the sur-

rendering of the towne, if this truce had not bene concluded, which caused the French king the sooner to agree, in like case as the lacke of monie caused the king of England to take his truce, which otherwise (as was thought) he would not haue done: so that by the violent constraint of necessitie they were forced thus to do, against which there is no trieng of maiesties, nor struggling to make it stope and obvie: for

A necessitate omnia in seruitutem rediguntur.

After he had raised his siege he went to Cant, and thither came also the earle of Flanders being now restored home to his countrie, and made the king of England great cheare, feasting and banquetting him right princelie, together with the quene. Finally, after that king Edward had refreshed himselfe a while at Cant, he toke a vertie few with him, and came into Zealand; and there taking the seas to passe ouer into England, he was soze tossed by force of outrageous stormes of wind and weather. Yet at length after thre daies and thre nights sailing, in the night of the feast of saint Andrew, he came on land at the towne of London about cocke-croving, and with him the earle of Portsmouth, the lord Walter de Spennie, the lord John Darcie, the sonne of the lord John Beauchampe, Giles Beauchampe, with two chapleins that were his secretaries, sir William Killestie, and sir Philip Weston, beside a few others.

After his arrivall he sent for the bishop of Chichester that was lord chancellor, for the bishop of Conuertie and Lichfield being lord treasurer, and for such of the iudges as were then in London. The lord chancellor, and the lord treasurer, he straightwaies discharged of their offices, threatening to send them into Flanders, there to remaine as pledges for monie that he there owght, or if they refused to go thither, then to keepe them prisoners in the towne. But when the bishop of Chichester declared to him the danger of the canon established against such as imprisoned bishops, he suffered them to depart: but the iudges, to wit, John de Stonore, Richard de Willoughbte, William de Sherehall, and also Nicholas or (as other haue) Spathe de la Beech, who was before gardian of his sonne, and lieutenant of the towne: also John de Wulstie, and William de Pole merchants; and the chiefe clerkes of the chancerie, John de saint Maule, Michaell de Wath, Henrie de Streteford, and Robert de Chikewell; and of the eschequer, John de Thorpe, and manie other, were committed to diuerse prisons, but yet because they were committed but onelie vpon commandement, they were within a while after deliuered.

The lord Wake was also committed, but shortly after, he was deliuered to his great honoz, as Walsingham writeth. Robert de Bourchier was made lord chancellor, and Richard de Sadington lord treasurer: all the shiriffes of shires, and other officers also were removed, and other put in their places, and iustices appointed in euerie shire, to inquire vpon the defaults of collectors and other officers, so that few or none escaped unpunished, howeuer they had demeaned themselves, so straitlie those iustices proceeded in their commissions. The king indeed was soze offended with those whom he had put in trust to leuie monie, and to keepe conueied ouer to him into the low countrie, because that for want thereof in time of need, he was constrained to take truce with his aduersarie the French king, and leaue off his enterpryse, which he was in good forwardnesse to haue gone through withall, if he had not bene disappointed of treasure which he had commanded to be sent ouer vnto him, which was not done but kept backe in whom soeuer the fault rested.

There were some of his secretaries, namelie, sir William Killestie, which stirred him to take no small

The earle of Flanders feasted the king of England, la. Meur.

The king goeth into Zealand.

Continuation of Truce.

Auebury.

Judges and other officers committed to the tower.

How officers made in place of other that were displaced.

At this time to come.

the archb. of Canturburic.

1347 The archb. of Canturburic.

Anno Reg. 15. A letter sent to the deane of Baules.

The archb. of Canturburic refused to come to the court.

In all displeasure against the archbishop of Canturburic, who thereupon withdrew him into the priory of Christes church at Canturburic, and there remaining for a season, wrote his mind to the king, exhorting him not to give too light credit unto such as should counsel him to have those in contempt that were faithful and true to him, for in so doing, he might haply lose the love and good will of his people. Nevertheless, he wished that he should trye out in whose hands the wools and monie remained, which were taken by to his use, and that upon a full accounts had at their hands, it might appeare who were in fault, that he had not monie brought to him, whilst he laye at siege before Tourne, as he had appointed; and that when the truth was knowne, they that were in fault might be worthily punished. And as for his owne cause, he signified, that he was ready to be tried by his peeres, saving alwaies the state of holie church, and of his order, &c. Further, he besought the king, not to thinke evill of him, and of other good men, till the truth might be tried, for otherwise, if judgement should be pronounced, without admitting the partie to come to his answer, as well the guiltlesse as the guiltie might be condemned.

The king nevertheless still offended towards the archbishop, caused Adam bishop of Winchester to indite a letter against him, directed from the king to the deane and chapter of Baules, openlie to be published by them: the effect whereof was, to burthen the archbishop with unthankfulness, and forgetting of his bounden duetie towards his soveraigne lord and loving master, namely, in that where he promised the king to see him throughlie furnished with monie, towards the maintenance of his warres: when it came to passe, none would be had, which turned not onelie to the hinderance of the kings whole proceedings, but also to his great discredit, and causing him to run greatlie in debt by interest, through borrowing of monie, for the payment of the wages of his men of warre, when through the archbishops negligence, who had the cheefe rule of the land, the collectors and other officers slackted their duetie, whereby there was no monie sent over, according to that was appointed: and whereas now, since his coming over, he had sent to the archbishop to come unto him, that by his information, he might the better learne who they were that neglected their duetie, he disobedientlie refused to come, pretending some feare of bodily harme, through the malice of some that were about the king. Whereupon, when Wase lord Stafford, lord steward of the kings house, was sent with a safe conduct, for him to come in all safetie to the court, he flatlie made answer that he would not come, except in full parlement.

Another other misdemeanour was the archbishop charged with towards the king in that letter, as maliciouslie slandering the king for unjust oppression of the people, confounding the cleargie, and greaving the church with exactions, levies of monie, tolles and tallages: Therefore, sith he went about to slander the kings roiall authoritie, to defame his servants; to stirre rebellion among the people; and to withdraie the devotion and love of the earles, lords, and great men of the land from the king: his highnesse declared, that he meant to provide for the integritie & preservation of his god name (whereof it is said, *trulix* *Dukius est* *are pretiosum nomen* *salvare*) and to meet with the archbishops malice: And hereupon with diverse things were hearkned to the archbishops reproch, which he should do, & more, and suffer to be done, by his evill and sinister counsell; whilst he had the rule of the realme in his hands: under the king, wherein he had shewed himselfe not onelie an acceptor

of gifts, but also of persons, in gratifying diverse that nothing had deserved sundrie waies forth, and presuming to do rashlie manie other things to the detriment of the kings roiall state, and hurt of his regall dignitie, and to no small damage of the people, abusing the authoritie and office to him committed, so that if he persisted in his obstinate wilfulness, and rebellious contumacie, the king by those his letters signified, that he meant to declare it more apparentlie in due time and place, and therefore commanded the said deane and chapter of Baules, to publish all those things openlie, in places where they thought convenient, according to their wisdom given to them by God, so as he might have cause to commend therein their careful diligence. This letter was dated at Westminster the tenth of Februarie, in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne over England, and second over France.

Where the Londoners would not permit the kings justices to sit within the citie of London, contrarie to their liberties, the king appointed them to sit in the tower; and when they would not make anie answer there, a great tumult was raised by the commons of the citie, so that the justices being in some perill (as they thought) feigned themselves to sit there till towards Easter. Whereupon, when the king could not get the names of them that raised the tumult, no otherwise but that they were certeine light persons of the common people, he at length pardoned the offense. After this, those justices neither sat in the tower, nor elsewhere, of all that yeare.

In the quindene of Easter, the king held a parlement at London, in the which, the prelates, earls, barons, and commons, presented manie petitions; as to have the great charter of liberties, and the charter of forests duly observed, and that they which brake the same should be discharged of their offices, if they were the kings officers, and that the high officers of the king should be elected and chosen by their peeres in parlement. The king withstood these petitions a certeine time, yet at length he granted to some of them; but as concerning the election of his officers, he in no wise would consent, but yet he was contented that they should receive an oath in parlement, to do justice to all men in their offices, &c. Upon which article and others, a statute was made and confirmed with the kings seale.

In the meane while, the French king had with his wives woone Lewes of Bavaria, that named himselfe emperor, from further favouring the king of England; in so much that, under a colourable pretense of finding himselfe greaved, for that the king of England had without his knowledg taken truce with the French king, he revoked the dignitie of being vicar in the empire, from the king of England, but yet signified to him, that where the French king had at his request put the matter in controuersie betwixt him and the king of England into his hands, to make an end thereof, if it so pleased the king of England, that he should treat as an indifferent arbitrator betwixt them, he promised to do his endeavour, so as he doubted not, but that by his means he should come to a good agreement in his cause, if he would follow his advice. And to receive answer hereof, he sent his letters by one Eberhard a chapeline of his, the reader of the letters herewith to S. Augustins order, requesting the king of England to advertise him by the same messenger, of his whole mind in that behalf.

The king for answer signified againe by his letters to the emperor, that for the zeale which he had answer, to make an accord betwixt him and his adversarie Philippe of Valois, that named himselfe French king, he could not but much commend him, and for his part

A parlement; Adam Merie much.

The emperor's woone frs the king of Englands friends.

The emperor's offereth to be a meane to conclude a peace.

The kings letters to the emperor; that for the zeale which he had answer.

he had euer wished, that some reasonable agreement might be had betwixt them: but with his right to the realme of France was cleare and manifest inough, he purposed not to commit it by writing into the doubtful iudgement or arbitrement of anie. And as concerning the agreement which the emperor had made with the French king, because (as he alledged) it was lawfull for him so to do, with without the emperors knowledge he had taken truce with the same French king, he said, if the circumstances were well considered, that matter could not minister any cause to moue him to such agreement: for if the emperor remembred, he had giuen to him libertie at all times to treat of peace, without making the emperor priuie thereto (so that without his assent, he concluded not vpon any finall peace) which he protested that he neuer meant to do, till he might haue his prouident aduise, counsell, and assent thereto. And as concerning the renouing of the vicarship of the empire from him, he toke it done out of time; for it was promised, that no such renouation should be made, till he had obtained the whole realme of France, or at the least, the more part thereof. ¶ These in effect were the points of the kings letters of answer vnto the emperor. Dated at London the thirtieth of Iulie, in the second yeare of his reigne ouer France, and sixteenth ouer England.

The decease of the lord Geoffrey de Scrope, & of the bishop of Lincoln. The queene brought to bed.

This yeare, about midsummer, or somewhat before, at Cant in Flanders, died the lord Geoffrey Scrope the kings iustice, and Henrie bishop of Lincoln, two cheefe counsellors to the king. The queene after hir retorne into England, was this yeare brought to bed in the towre of London of a daughter named Blanch, that died young, and was buried at Westminister. ¶ In this meane while, during the warres betwixt France and England, the French king in fauour of David king of Scotland, had sent men of warre into Scotland, vnder the conduct of sir Arnold Dandeghen, who was after one of the marshals of France, and the lord of Carrentiers, with other, by whose comfort and helpe, the Scots that toke part with king David, did indeuor themselves to recover out of the Englishmens hands, such castles and fortrells as they held within Scotland, as in the Scottish historie ye shall find mentioned, and how about this time, their king the foresaid David returned south of France into Scotland by the French kings helpe, who having long before concluded a league with him, thought by his friendship to trouble the king of England so at home, that he should not be at great leisure to invade him in France.

The commissioners that met at Arras.

But now to tell you what chanced of the meeting appointed at Arras. For the commissioners that shuld there treat of the peace, when the day assigned of their meeting was come, there arrived for the king of England the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Dunelm, the earle of Warwike, the erle of Richmond, sir Robert Dartois, sir John of Betnauld, other wise called lord Beaumont, and sir Henrie of Flanders. For the French king, there came the earle of Artois, the duke of Burbon, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauuons, and the bishop of Amers. The pope sent thither two cardinals, Paples and Clermont; these commissioners were in treatie sixtie daies, during the which, manie matters were put forth and argued, but none concluded: for the Englishmen demanded largelie, and the Frenchmen would depart with nothing, sauing with the countie of Pontien, the which was giuen with queene Isabell in marriage to the king of England. So the treatie brake, the commissioners departed, and nothing done, but onelie that the truce was prolonged for two yeares further.

Thus were the wars partlie appeased in some part

of France, but yet was the truce but slenderlie kept in other parts, by reason of the duke of Britaine. For whereas contention arose betwixt one Charles de Blois, and John earle of Mountfort, about the right to the duchie of Britaine, as in the historie of France maie more plainelie appeare; the earle of Mountfort, thinking that he had wrong offered him at the French kings hands, who fauoured his aduersarie Charles de Blois, alied himselfe with the king of England. And (as some write) after he had wonne diuerse cities and towne within Britaine, he came ouer into England, and by doing homage to king Edward, acknowledged to hold it of him, as of the soueraign lord thereof, so that he would promise to defend him and that duchie against his aduersaries: which the king promised him to do. After this, the French king made such warres against this earle of Mountfort, that he was at length taken prisoner in the towne of Chaunis, and committed to safe keeping within the castell of Loure at Paris. But his wife being a stout woman, and of a manlie courage, stood by in the quarrell of hir husband, and presented a young sonne which she had by him, vnto such capitains and men of warre as serued hir husband, requiring them not to be dismayd with the infortunate chance of hir husbands taking; but rather like men of god stomachs, to stand in defense of his right, with whatsoeuer happened to him, the same remained in that young gentleman his sonne: meaning that although the enemies should deale tyrannicallie with him, & without regard of his noblenesse practise his ouerthrow; yet there was hope in hir son, as increase of yeares should minister strength and courage, both to be reuenged on his fathers enemies, and to ad an enlargement of glorie and renowne to his present honor by practises of his prowesse: which to be singular the same symmetrie or goodlie proportion of his person and his tolle countenance seemed to testifie; for

*Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis:
Est in iuuenis, est in equis patrum
Pirum; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquile columbam.*

Mr. lib. 2. c. 4.

This countesse of Mountfort was sister vnto the earle of Flanders, and named Margaret, and not Claudia (as some write.) She was verie diligent in hir businesse, and spared no travell to aduance hir cause, so that she did not onelie the parts of the men of warre, but also of the people of Britaine, the which fauoured hir husband, and lamented the mishap of his taking. She first furnished such cities, towne, castles, and fortrells as hir husband had in possession, with men, munition and vittels, as Kenes, Wimaunt, Guerland, Wainbont, and others. This done, she sent ouer into England, sir Emerie de Clifton, a noble man of Britaine, to require the king of England of succors, with condition, that if it pleased him, hir sonne John should marrie one of his daughters. ¶ The king of England glad to haue such an entrie into France, as by Britaine, thought not to refuse the offer, & thereupon granted to aid the countesse: & with with raising a power, sent the same ouer into Britaine, vnder the conduct of the lord Walter of Spynie, and others: the which at length, after they had continued long vpon the sea, by reason of contrarie winde, arrived in Britaine, in which meane time, a great armie of Frenchmen were sent into Britaine, and had besieged the citie of Harfleur, and finally wonne it by surrender: & were now before the towne of Wainbont, which with strict siege, and busie running of the walles, they were nere at point to haue taken, and the countesse of Mountfort with her selfe, & the few countes of England had not arrived there, even at such time as the Frenchmen were in talke with them within, about the surrender. But after that the Eng-

This truce was prolonged about the least of the de-collation of St. John, to endure till midsummer next following, as the aduention to Ad. Merimurh bath.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

The countesse of the countesse of Britaine.

lyst that was sene to appoich, the treatie was sone broken off, for they withyn had no lust then to talke anie further of the matter.

The english
succour arrived
in good time.

Archers.

The lord of Hannie, and the Englishmen arriving at Hanibout thus in time of imminent danger, wherein the countesse, and the other withyn that towne were pressittie beset, greatlie recomforted the said countesse, as she well shewed by hir cherefull countenance in receiuing them. Shortly after their arriuall, a certeine number of the English archers, issuing forth, beat the Frenchmen from an engine which they had reared against the walles, and set fire vpon the same engine. To conclude, the Frenchmen liked the Englishmen so well, that shortly after being wearie of their companie, they raised their siege to get themselves further from them: and in an other part of the countrie indentured themselves to win townes and castels as they did indeed, hauing their armie diuided into two parts, the lord Charles de Blois gouerning the one part, and a Spaniard called the lord Lewes de Spaine the other (which was the same that thus departed from the siege of Hanibout, after the arriuall of the Englishmen) and then winning the townes of Dinant and Guerand, passed into the countrie of Britaine Bissonant, and there not farre from Quimpercozentine, were discomfited by the Englishmen, who followed them thither. Of six thousand Genowais, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, which the lord Lewes de Spaine had there with him, there escaped but a few awaie. A nephew which he had there with him named Alfonse was slaine, howbeit he himselfe escaped, though not without sore hurts.

Charles de
Blois.
Lewes de
Spaine.

Britaine
Bissonant.

Comund of
Langley that
was after
duke of York
to bozne.
Fabian.
Bills and
tymie at
Dunstable.

Hanibout
besieged.

1342

Anno Reg. 16.
The countess
of Richmond
cometh ouer
into England.
An armie sent
into Britaine

Additions to
Adam Meri-
muth, and
Nic. Truer.

This yeare, the first of June queene Philip was deliuered of a sonne at the towne of Langley, the which was named Comund, and surnamed Langley of the place where he was thus bozne. Also about the same time was a great infesse kept by king Edward at the towne of Dunstable, with other counterfeited feates of warre, at the request of diuerse yong lords and gentlemen, whereat both the king and queene were present, with the more part of the lords and ladies of the land. The lord Charles de Blois, hauing in the meane time wone Hannes, and other townes, brought his armie backe vnto Hanibout, and there besieged the same, and the countesse of Mountfort within it. But for so much as it was well fortified, and provided of all things necessarie to defend a siege, the Englishmen being returned thither againe after the ouerthrow of the lord Lewes de Spaine, it could not be easilie wone. At length, by the labour of certeine lords of Britaine, a truce was taken for a time, during the which, the countesse of Richmond came ouer into England, to commune with king Edward, touching the affaires of Britaine, who appointed sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earles of Salisburie, Penbroke, and Suffolke, the lords Stafford, Spenser, and Bourchier, with others, to go with hir ouer into Britaine, who made their promise, so that they might take the sea, to come thither against the time that the truce betwixt the countesse and the lord Charles de Blois should be expired.

There be that write, how the lord Walter de Hannie, toke a truce indeed with the lord Charles de Blois, to indure till Allhallontide next ensuing, but with condition, that if the king of England were contented therewith, then the same to be firme and fullie ratified, otherwise not. Whereupon, when about the beginning of Iulie, the said lord Walter came ouer into England, bringing with him the lord of Alons, and other such prisoners as he had taken, and signified to king Edward what he had concluded touching the truce, the king liked not thereof, and so sent

ouer the earles of Northampton and Denonshire, the lord Stafford, and sir William de Billebrie his chapleine, and one of his secretaries, with five hundred men of armes, and a thousand archers, which taking ship, on the vigill of th Assumption of our ladie, sailed forth towards Britaine. The Frenchmen therefore vnderstanding that this succour was coming, appointed the lord Lewes de Spaine, sir Charles Grimaldo, and sir Antonie Dozia, with three thousand Genowais, and a thousand men of armes, embarked in two and thirtie great ships, to lie on the sea in wait to encounter with the English fleet, as the same should approach towards Britaine.

The earle of
Northampton
and Denonshire.

Genowais
retained in the
French
kings wages.

About Easter, the countesse of Mountford with the English armie, appointed to attend hir, toke the sea at Southampton, and at length met with the lord Lewes de Spaine, and his fleet, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell. Of the Englishmen there were six and forty vessels, but the lord Lewes de Spaine had nine great ships, and of more force than anie of those which the Englishmen had, and also he had three gallies. They began to fight about euensong time, and continued till that night parted them, and had gone together againe in the morning, if by a tempest that rose about midnight, the same night, they had not bene scattered in sunder. The Spaniards and Genowais toke a waie with them foure English ships, which being vittellers, were left behind. And because the same Spaniards and Genowais were able to abide the sea better than the Englishmen, by reason of their great ships, they kept the maine sea; but the Englishmen were aduised by their mariners to drawe vnto the land, and so they did, arriuing at a little hauen, not farre from Hannes, where comming on land, they straightwaie made towards that citie, and besieged it, not ceassing to assault it both day and night, till at length they wan it, by giuing the assault in two places at once, whilst an other number of them set vpon it in a third place, where was no suspicion, and so entred.

The English
men and Genowais
met
and fight on
the Seas.

Hannes won

After this, the most part of the Englishmen departed from Hannes, as some with the countesse, to bring hir vnto Hanibout, and some with the earls of Salisburie, Suffolke, and Coznewall, who went and laid siege to Rennes, so that the earle of Richmond remained in Hannes, with the lords Spenser and Stafford, to keepe it, hauing a certeine number of archers and other men of warre with them. The lord Clifton, and sir Henrie de Leon, which were within Hannes, when it was taken by the Englishmen, and found means to escape, were abashed at the matter, that they had so lost the citie, whereupon they secretly assembled a great power of men thereabouts, and came againe vnto Hannes, and so fiercely assailed the gates and wals, that in the end they entred by more force. The earle of Richmond was sore hurt, but yet he escaped out at a posterne gate, and the lord Stafford with him, but the lord Spenser was taken by sir Henrie de Leon.

Other write otherwise, both of the landing, and also concerning the misfortune of the lord Spenser, alledging letters sent from the earle of Northampton (whome the same authors repute as generall of that armie into Britaine) directed to the king, in which was signified, how that within the octaues of the Assumption of our ladie, they arriued on the coast of Britaine, nere to the towne and castell of Bress, in the which the dutchesse of Britaine with hir children were of the enemies besieged, both by sea and land, by sea with thirtene great gallies, by land by the lord Charles de Blois, the earls of Sauidie and Foiz. But the gallies perceiving the English fleet to be approached vpon them, yet they were aware, so that they were compassed in, to their great danger, thre

Additions to
Nic. Truer.

of the same galleies fled, and so escaped, the residue got by into a river of the same haven, where they that were aboard, left their vessels and fled to the land, and as well they, as the other that held siege before Havre, and such as kept a castell there, not farre off, called Coule forrest, packed awaie without any more ado. The English mariners following the galleies (that were withdrayen to the river, with their small boats and barges, set fire on the galleies, and so burnt them.

Thus all the Englishmen came on land, and leaving the lord Saie captaine in the said castell of Coule forrest, they passe forward into the countrie, and comming to a castell commonlie called Pontfleur Melir, gave an assault thereto, where manie of their men of warre were wounded, and sir James Louell slaine. After this, staing a time for the coming of their confederats, which after a fortnights space came to them on the mondaie, being the moyroto after Michaelmas daie, they heard that the lord Charles de Blois was comming in all hast with a power of three thousand men of armes, twelve hundred Genowais, & a great multitude of commons to raise the siege. Whereupon the earle of Northampton with his armie marched sollic towards them, and choosing a plot of ground convenient for his purpose, fought with his enimies, slue and toke of them at the least three hundred men of armes. The earle of Northampton lost not any noble man in this fight, the lord Edward Spenser onelie excepted.

But now as touching the earle of Richmond, Froissard saith, that he comming to Haribout, after he had thus lostannes, toke the sea, and sailed into England: but by reason of being tossed on the seas, his wounds rankled so, that shortly after his coming to London he died, & was buried in the church of St. Paul. The king of England was sore displeased with his death, and immediatlie after passed over himselfe into Britaine with a great armie: and landing there the nine and twentieth of November, at the same place where the earle of Richmond did land at his arrivall there, not far fromannes, he went straight and besiegedannes, but perceiving that it would not be wone but by long siege, he left the earle of Arundell, and the lord Stafford to continue the siege, whilst he went toannes to aid his people, which still laie at the siege thereof. Before the kings arrivall in Britaine, those that were there under the earle of Northampton, as the lord Hugh Spenser, and the lord Richard Talbot, with their retinues, fought with the Frenchmen nere to Pozeis, where a few Englishmen, scarce five hundred, discomfited a mightie power of Frenchmen, esteemed to be above fiftie thousand, of whome some they slue, and some they toke. Among other was taken the lord Geoffrey de Charnie, accounted for one of the best and sagest knights in France, whome the lord Richard Talbot toke and sent into England.

But now as touching the kings doings, we find, that whilst he remained for this winter season in Britaine, his people forraied the countrie foure daies iournie in length, and two daies iournie in breadth. After his comming toannes, he staied not past five daies, but leaving them whome he found there to continue the siege, he went himselfe to Havre, where he had knowledge, that the lord Charles de Blois was. At his comming thither, he inuironed the citie about with a strong siege, & made manie fierce assaults to the walles and gates, but could not prevail, then leaving certeine of his lords there to continue the siege, he raised with the residue, and went to Dinan, which towe with soze and fierce assaults he lastlie wone, and after that drew againe towardsannes, for that he was informed, how the duke of Normandie was comming downe towards

him, with an armie of forty thousand men. Whereupon he sent for them that laie at siege beforeannes to come unto him, and suffered them atannes to keepe their siege still, till they heard other word from him.

The duke of Normandie with foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand other men of warre, comming into Britaine to aid the lord Charles de Blois, was advertised, that the king of England was with the most part of all his power withdrayen toannes, and there laie at siege, soze constraining them within: wherefore he also drew thitherwards, and approaching to the place, incamped with his armie quer against the king of England, inclosing his field with a great trench. The king of England supposing he should have battell, sent unto those which laie at siege beforeannes, commanding them to come from thence unto him: so that by this means all the powers, both of the king of England, and of the duke of Normandie, generall to his father the French king in those warres of Britaine, being assembled beforeannes, had fought some great and bloudie battell, as was supposed, for the whole trial of the right of Britaine, if the cardinals of Cleremont and Peneski, as legats from pope Clement the first, had not taken by the matter, by concluding a truce betwixt them, for the tearme of three yeares.

Commissioners appointed to treat with these cardinals, on the behalfe of the king of England were these, Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derby, William Bohun earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Salisbury, Rafe lord Stafford, Bartholomew lord Burghese, Nicholas lord Cantelou, Reginald lord Cobham, Walter lord of Spennie, Maurice lord Berkeley, and maister John Gifford archdeacon of Elie. For the French king, the duke of Burgogne, and Piers duke of Burbon were deputed commissioners. Such diligence was used by the parties, that finally they agreed upon this truce of three yeares, with certeine articles for meane to conclude some small peace, as that there should be sent from either king some personages of their blood and others, unto the court of Rome, with sufficient authoritie, to agree, confirme, and establish upon all controuersies and dissensions betwixt the said kings, according to the agreement of the pope, and such as should be so sent to treat thereof.

It was further agreed, that they should haue libertie to declare and pronounce their arguments and reasons before the pope, but not to haue power to decide and give sentence, but onlie by waie of some better treatie and order of agreement to be made. And these commissioners were appointed to appeare before the pope, afore the feast of saint John Baptist next ensuing, and the pope to dispatch the businesse before Christmasse after, if by consent of the said nobles, the terme were not prozaged. And if it so were that the pope could make no agreement, yet should the truce indure the prescribed terme, to wit, till the feast of S. Michael the archangell, and for the space of three yeares then next ensuing, betwixt the kings of France, England and Scotland, the earle of Heinnault and their allies, as the dukes of Brabant, and of Gelderland, also the marques of Gullikerland, the lord Beaumont, otherwise called sir John de Heinnault, and the people of Flanders, in all their lands and dominions, from the date of the charter made hereof, by all the said terme aforesaid, to be observed, holden and kept. Also, the king of Scots, and the earle of Heinnault were appointed to send certeine persons, as commissioners for them, unto the said court of Rome.

This truce was also accorded to be kept in Britaine, betwixt the said kings and their adherents, in which

The king
passeth over
into Britaine.

annes be-
sieged.

Aditions to
Truce.

An armie of
Frenchmen
discomfited
by a few En-
glishmen.

Havre be-
sieged.

The dukes
of Normandie
commeth into
Britaine.

Anno Re

The king
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The con-
ditions of the
truce.

which countrie, as well as in Guien, and other places, euerie man should remaine in possession of that which he held at the time of concluding this truce, save that the citie of Hannes should be deliuered into the hands of the cardinall, to be kept by them in the popes name, during the truce, and then to dispose thereof, as should seeme to them good. And other articles were compiled in the charter of this truce, so long bare to rehearse, all the which were confirmed with the oths of the said dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, on the french kings behalfe; and of the earles of Derby, Portsmouth and Salisbury, the lord Burghers, and the lord of Hannie, for the king of England. In witness whereof, the said cardinals caused the charter to be made, putting thereunto their seales, the nineteenth daie of Januarie, in the yeare 1343 in presence of diuerse prelates, and of the earles of Bullongne, Auferre, Sancerre, Fougny, and Poicien, the lord Piles de Rohers, the lord Ingram de Concie, and the foresaid lords, Cantelowe, Cobham, and Berkeley, with manie other lords, barons, nobles, and gentlemen.

Anno Reg. 17.

The king of England returned home by sea, with a few other ships, to pass by long seas, were marvellously tormented by tempest, so that their ships were scattered and driven to take land at diuerse hauens. The dutchess of Britaine with hir sonne and daughter, came on land in Deuonshire. Sir Piers de Wale, and his sonne sir Henrie Wale, and sir John Kaine knights, were drowned, together with the ship in which they passed. The king escaping verie hardlie, landed at Weymouth, and on the first day of March came to London to the queene. In the quindene of Easter, he held a parlement at Westmynster, in which he created his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales.

Shipwrecke.

A parlement. The kings eldest sonne created prince of Wales.

Ambassadors appointed to go to the pope.

When this truce was thus confirmed, manie of the English armie returned home through France, so to passe ouer by the narrow seas into England, but the king himselfe, with a few other, taking their ships to passe by long seas, were marvellously tormented by tempest, so that their ships were scattered and driven to take land at diuerse hauens. The dutchess of Britaine with hir sonne and daughter, came on land in Deuonshire. Sir Piers de Wale, and his sonne sir Henrie Wale, and sir John Kaine knights, were drowned, together with the ship in which they passed. The king escaping verie hardlie, landed at Weymouth, and on the first day of March came to London to the queene. In the quindene of Easter, he held a parlement at Westmynster, in which he created his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales. In this parlement were diuerse matters talked of, and speciallie concerning wools, and of the assessement of a certeine price of them, more and lesse, according to the seuerall parts of the realme, and of the customes to be made of them, to wit, three marks and an halfe, for euerie sacke to be transported forth of the realme.

Also in the same parlement were ambassadoys appointed forth, such as should go to the pope to treat of peace (as in the charter of the truce among other articles it was contained) whose names follow, John bishop of Excester, Henrie de Lancaster earle of Derby, Hugh le Despenser lord of Glamorgan, cousins to the king, Kate lord Stafford, William de Norwich deane of Lincoln, William Trussell knight, and master Andrew de Wyford a ciuillian. These persons were sent with commission to the pope, to treat with him, not as pope, nor as iudge, but as a priuate person, and a common frend to both parts, to be a meane or mediator, to find out some indifferent end of all controuersie betwixt the parties. The date of their commission was at Westmynster, the foure and twentieth of Maie, in this seauenteenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Moreover, in this parlement a grauous complaint was exhibited, by the earles, barons, knights, burgesses, and other of the commons, for that strangers, by vertue of reseruations and prouisions apostolike, got the best benefices of this land into their hands, and neuer came at them, nor bare any charges due for the same, but diminishing the treasure of the realme, and conuiering it forth, soze indamaged the whole state. The bishops durst not, or would not giue their consents in exhibiting this complaint, but rather seemed to stand against it, till the king compelled them to giue ouer.

Hereupon, a letter was framed by the lords of the temporalitie and commons, which they directed unto the pope in all humble manner, beseeching him to consider of the derogation done to the realme of England, by such reseruations, prouisions, and collations of benefices, as had been practised here in England. And therefore, sith the churches of England had bene founded and endowed by noble and worthy men in times past, to the end the people might be instructed by such as were of their owne language, and that he being so farre off, and not understanding the default, had (like as some of his predecessors more than in times past had bene accustomed) granted by diuerse reseruations, prouisions, and collations, the churches and spirituall promotions of this land unto diuerse persons, some strangers, yea, and enimies to the realme, whereby the monie and profits were carried forth, the cures not prouided for, almes withdrawne, hospitalitie decayed, the temples and other buildings belonging to the churches ruined and fallen downe, the charitie and deuotion of the people soze diminished, and diuerse other greuous enormities thereby growne cleane contrarie to the founders minds: wherefore, upon due consideration thereof had, they signified to him, that they could not suffer such enormities any longer, & therefore besought him whole to reuoke such reseruations, prouisions, collations, to auoid such slanders, mischances, and harmes as might insue, and that the cures might therewith be committed to persons meet for the exercise of the same: further also, beseeching him without delaye, to signifie his intention, sith they meant to imploye their diligence to remedie the matter, and to see that redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these letters was in full parlement at Westmynster, the eight and twentieth of Maie, in the yeare of Grace 1343.

Beside these letters, were other written, and sent from the king, containing in summe, the tenor of the other aboue mentioned, and one sir John Shorwich, knight a graue personage and well seene in the law, was appointed to go with the same, who comming to Auignon, and there presenting his letters in the popes priuate chamber, where the pope sat, with all his cardinals about him, receiued no great courteous welcome, after his letters were once read. And whie? Euen because the contents of the same misliken his mind, tending to the impairing of his vsurped profits & comodities from time to time in this land,

*Ambrosius enim sibi totum vendicat orbem,
seq. (celum) Christo clamat esse parem.*

Now when the knight made answer to such words as he heard the pope utter, and charged him with giuing the deanrie of Worke unto one that was reputed the kings enemie, the pope said; Well, it is not unknowne to vs who made and indited these letters, and we know that thou madest them: but there is one that pincheth at vs, and we shall punish him well inough: we know all. Hereunto he added thus much more, that there was a knight that spake defamorous words of him, and the church of Rome, therewith he seemed highlie offended. To conclude, he said, that he would answer the letters of the king and commons, as touching the points contained in the same. The cardinals, after they had heard these things, departed as if they had bene soze offended and troubled therewith: and the knight taking his leaue of the pope, departed also forth of the chamber, and without anie longer abode, got him awaie toward Burdeaur, about other of the kings business, doubting leass if he had staid longer, he might haue bene kept there against his will. The pope sent answer indeed, but neuertheless, the king proceeded in prohibiting such prouisions, and collations within

m. j.

his

Sir John Shorwich sent to the pope.

The popes words to the John Shorwich.

Of benefices inhibited by the king.

The duke of Normandy immediately came into Britaine.

Additions to iust. commissors for the ag of Eng. 10.

ministers for the french king.

1343 truce for 10 years.

a combr is of the 10.

Tustis in
Smithfield.

his realme, on paine of imprisonment and death to the intrudors thereby, as after ye shall perceiue.

This yeare about Whosummer, there were solenne iusts proclaimed by the lord Robert Hoyle, which were holden in Smithfield, where for challengers, came forth one apperelled like to the pope, bringing with him twelue other in garments like to cardinals, which toke vpon them to answer all comers, for three courses. On the defendants side, ran the prince of Wales, with manie earls, barons, knights and esquires innumerable, so that those iusts continued three daies together, to the great pleasure of the beholders.

1344
Anno Reg. 18.

This yeare, king Edward ordeined a certeine new coine of gold, which he named the floren, that is, the penie of six shillings eight pence, the halfe penie of the value of three shillings foure pence, and the farthing of the value of twentie pence. This coine was ordeined for his wars in France, the gold whereof was not so fine as the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne he had caused to be coined. This yeare, the king caused a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken up, whome he set in hand to build a chamber in the castell of Windsor, which was called the round table, the floor whereof, from the center or middle point, vnto the compasse throughout, the one halfe was (as Walsingham writeth) an hundred foot, and so the diameter or compasse round about, was two hundred foot. The expenses of this worke amounted by the weeke, first vnto an hundred pounds, but afterward by reason of the wars that folloved, the charges was diminished vnto two and twentie pounds the weeke (as Thomas Walsingham writeth in his larger booke, intituled, the historie of England) or (as some copies haue) vnto 9 pounds. This yeare also, William Montacute earle of Salisburie conquered the Ile of Man, out of the hands of the Scots, which Ile the king gaue vnto the said earle, and caused him to be intituled, and crowned king of Man. This Ile (as Robert Southwell noteth) was wonne by the Scots, about the second yeare of Edward the second his reigne, who in the yeare before, to wit, anno Christi 1307, had giuen the same Ile vnto Piers de Gaueffon, whom he had al so made earle of Cornewall.

Th. Walsing.
A chamber
built within
the castell of
Windsore,
called the
round table.

L. Stow out of
Henrie de
Beccles.
The Ile of
Man.

Iusts & to-
rues holden at
Windsore.

The order of
the garter
founded.

Moreover, about the beginning of this eighteenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward held a solenne feast at his castell of Windsor, where betwixt Candlemasse and Lent, were achieved manie martiall feasts, and iusts, toynaments, and diuers other the like warlike pastimes, at the which were present manie strangers of other lands, and in the end thereof, he deuised the order of the garter, and after established it, as it is at this daie. There are six and twentie companions or conferrers of this fellowship of that order, being called knights of the blew garter, & as one dieth or is depriued, an other is admitted into his place. The Ile of England is euer chiefe of this order. They weare a blew robe or mantell, & a garter about their left leg, richlie wrought with gold and pretious stones, hauing this inscription in French vpon it, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, Shame come to him that euill thinketh. This order is dedicated to S. George, as chiefe patrone of men of warre, and therefore euerie yeare do the knights of this order keepe solenne his feast, with manie noble ceremonies at the castell of Windsor, where king Edward founded a colledge of canons, or rather augmenting the same, ordeined therein a deane with twelue canons secular, eight peticanons, and thirtene vicars, thirtene clerks, and thirtene choristers.

The knights haue certeine lawes and rules appertaining to their order, amongst the which this is chiefe to be obserued (as Polydor also noteth) that they shall aid and defend one another, and neuer turne

their backs or runne awate out of the field in time of battell, where he is present with his soueraigne lord, his lieutenant or deputie, or other capteine, hauing the kings power roiall and authoritie, and wher as his banners, standards, or pennons are spred. The residue of the lawes and rules appertaining vnto this noble order, I doe here purpose to omit, for that the same in another place more conuenient is expessed, so far as may be thought expedient. But now touching these six and twentie noble men & knights, which were first chosen and admitted into the same order, by the first founder thereof, this king Edward the third, their names are as folloiweth.

First the said noble prince king Edward the third, the prince of Wales duke of Cornewall and earle of Chester his eldest sonne, Henrie duke of Lancaster, the earle of Warwike, the capitall de Beuch alias Bus or Bruce, Rafe earle of Stafford, William Montacute earle of Salisburie, Roger lord Mortimer, John lord Lisle, Bartholomew lord Burghesh, the lord John Beauchampe, the lord de Wapin, Hugh lord Courtnie, Thomas lord Holland, John lord Gaie, Richard lord Fitz Simon, sir Miles Stapleton, sir Thomas Malle, sir Hugh Wrottesley, sir Pele Loring, sir John Chandos, James lord Audelie, sir Dtes Holand, sir Henrie Emme, sir Sanctet Dabychcourt, sir Walter Banell. Christopher Okland speaking of the first institution of this honorable order, doth saie, that after foure daies were expired in the said exercises of chivalrie, the king besides the rich garter which he bestowed vpon them that tried maisteries, did also giue them a pretious collar of S S. but whether this collar had his first institution then with the garter he saith nothing, belike it was an ornament of greater antiquitie. Oklands words are these as folloiweth;

concertatoribus ampla
Premia dat princeps, baccas induit illis
Crura persicelides, quas vnio misit Eous
Commendat, flammis interlucente pyropo.
Præterea ex auro puro, quod odorifer Indus
Miserrat, inserta donabat iaspide gemma,
Siformam species duplicato ex sigmate torques.

The cause and first originall of instituting this order is vncertaine. But there goeth a tale amongst the people, that it rose by this means. It chanced that William Edward finding either the garter of the queene, or of some ladie with whom he was in loue, being fallen from his leg, stooped downe and toke it vp, whereat diuers of his nobles found matter to iest, and to talke their fantasies merilie, touching the kings affection towards the woman, vnto whome he said, that if he liued, it should come so passe, that most high honor should be giuen vnto them for the garters sake: and there vpon shortly after, he deuised and ordeined this order of the garter, with such a posse, whereby he signified, that his nobles iudged otherwise of him than the truth was. Though some may thinke, that so noble an order had but a meane beginning, if this tale be true, yet manie honorable degrees of estates haue had their beginnings of more base and meane things, than of loue, which being orderlie vsed, is most noble and commendable, sith nobilitie it selfe is couered vnder loue, as the poet Ouid aptlie saith,

Nobilitas sub amore iacet.

William de Montacute earle of Salisburie king of Man, and marshall of England, was so hurt at the iusts holden here at Windsor (as before ye haue heard) that he departed this life, the more was the pitie, within eight daies after. The king about the same time, to wit, in the quindene of Candlemasse, held a conncell at London, in the which with god aduise and sound deliberation had vpon the complaint of the commons to him before time made, he gaue out

Robert
de Beuch
alias
Bus.

In Anglia
sub Edwardo

Coin
changed.

1345
Anno Reg. 19.

Salisburie.
A. Merimuch.
Olychiron.

Five hundred
men of armes,
and two thou-
sand archers
with Froward.

Pergerat
vanc.

out strict commandement, that no man, on paine of imprisonment and death, should in time to come, present or induit any such person or persons, that were so by the pope promoted, without the kings agreement, in prejudice of his royal prerogative. Whereupon, he directed also writs to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, deanes, archdeacons, officials and other ecclesiastical persons, to whom it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt any thing in prejudice of that ordinance, under pretext of any bulles, or other writings, for such manner of provisions to come from the court of Rome. Other writs were also directed to his sonne the prince of Wales, and to all the Justices within the realme, for to arrest all such as brought into the land any such buls or writings, and to bring them before the kings council or his justices, where they might be punished according to the trespass by them committed.

About the same time, the king ordeined a certeine coine of fine gold, and named it the flozen, which coine was denifed for his warres in France, for the gold thereof was not so fine as was the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare he had caused to be coined: but this coine continued not long. After the feast of the holic Trinitie, the king held a parlement at London, in the which he asked a tenth of the cleargie, and a fiftieth of the laitie, about which demand there was no small altercation, but at length he had it granted for one yeare. At the same time, the archbishop of Canturburie held a convocation of all the cleargie at London, in the which manie things were in talke about the honest demeanour of churchmen, which sildome is obserued, as the addition to Nicholas Trivet saith. About the feast of the Assumption of our labie, the king disanulled the flozens, to the great commoditie of his kingdome, ordeining a greater flozen of halfe a marke, and a lesser of three shillings foure pence, and the least of all of twentie pence, and these were called nobles, and not without cause, for they were a noble coine, of faire & fine gold.

This yeare, on the seauententh daie of Nouember, the pope in Quinion created the lord Lewes de Spaine, ambassado: for the French king, prince of the Isles called *Fortunata*, for what purpose it was not knowne, but it was doubted, not to be for any god meaning towards the kingdome of England, the prosperitie whereof, the same pope was suspected not greatly to wish. About the beginning of Lent the same yeare, the said pope had sent an archbishop and a bishop, ambassadoys to the king, who met them at Wypping in Kent, and to the end they should not linger long within the realme, he quickly dispatched them without effect of their message. This yeare, shortly after Easter, the duke of Britaine, that had bene detained prisoner by the French king, and escaped out of prison, came ouer into England. And about the same time, the king ordeined the exchange of monies at London, Canturburie, and Poike, to the great commoditie of his people.

About Midsummer, or (as other haue) Michaelmas, the earle of Derby, with the earle of Denbroke, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Walter de Manny, the lord John Glete of Codnore, and diuerse other lords, knights, and esquires, to the number of five or six hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, sailed ouer into Gascoine, to assist the kings subjects there against the Frenchmen. This earle of Derby, being generall of the armie, after his arrivall in Gascoine, about the beginning of December, wan the towne of Bergerat by force, having put to flight the earle of Lile, as then the French kings lieutenant in Gascoine, who laie there with a great power, to defend the passage: but being driven into the towne,

and having lost the suburbs to the Englishmen, he fled out in the night, and so left the towne, without any souldiers to defend it, so that the townefmen yelded it vnto the earle of Derby, and swore themselves to be true liege men vnto the king of England. After this, the earle of Derby passed further into the countrie, and wan diuerse castles and towne, as Lango, le Lake, Poundurant, Ponguise, Dunach, Lalew, Fosath, Pondair, Beaumont in Aillots, Bounall, Auberoch and Liborne, part of them by assault, and the residue by surrender. This done, he returned to Burdeaur, having left captaines and souldiers in such places as he had wone.

This yeare, the king sent forth a commission vnto certeine persons in euerie countie within the realme, to inquire what lands and tenements cuerie man, aboue five pounds of yeerlie reuenues, being of the laie sex, might dispend; because he had giuen order, that euerie man which might dispend five pounds and aboue, vnto ten pounds of such yeerlie reuenues in land of the laie sex, should furnish himselfe, or find an archer on horsebacke, furnished with armour and weapon accordinglie. He that might dispend ten pounds, should furnish himselfe, or find a demilance or light horseman (if I shall so terme him) being then called a hobler with a lance. And he that might dispend five and twentie pounds, should furnish himselfe or find a man at armes. And he that might dispend fiftie pounds, should furnish two men at armes. And he that might dispend an hundred pounds should find three men at armes, that is, himselfe, or one in his stead, with two other. And such as might dispend aboue an hundred pounds, were appointed to find more in number of men at armes, accordinglie as they should be assessed, after the rate of their lands which they might yeerlie dispend, being of the laie sex, and not belonging to the church.

About this season, the duke of Britaine, having with him the earles of Portsmouth and Drenford, sir William de Killebrie one of the kings secretaries, and manie other barons and knights, with a great number of men of armes, passed ouer into Britaine, against the lord Charles de Blois, where they tarried a long time, and did little good to make any accompt of, by reason that the duke, in whose quarrell they came into those parts, shortly after his arrivall there, departed this life, and so they returned home into England. But after their coming from thence, sir Thomas Dagworth knight, that had bene before, and now after the departure of those lords and nobles, still remained the kings lieutenant there, so behaved himselfe against both Frenchmen and Britains, that the memorie of his worthy doings deserueth perpetuall commendation. Sir John de Beinaut lord Beaumont, about the same time, changed his cote, and leauing the king of Englands service, was reteined by the French king.

In this ninetenth yeare of king Edward I find, that about the feast of the Nativite of saint John Baptist, he sailed ouer into Flanders, leauing his sonne the lord Lionell, warden of the realme in his absence. He took with him a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen, with whom he landed at Sluse. The cause of his going ouer was, to further a practise which he had in hand with them of Flanders, the which by the labour of Jaques Arteveld, meant to cause their earle Lewes, either to do homage vnto king Edward; or else if he refused, then to disherit him, and to receiue Edward prince of Wales for their lord, the eldest sonne of king Edward.

King Edward promising to make a duke dome of the countie of Flanders, for an augmentation of honour to the countrie, there came vnto Sluse to the king, Jaques van Arteveld, and a great number of

Froissard.

Additions to Nic. Trivet.

The duke of Britaine departed this life.

The lord Beaumont of Beinaut forsaketh the service of England his seruice. The king goeth ouer into Flanders.

la. Mair.

Froissard.

p. m. y. other,

Coke in the description of Britaine.

Eng. press. Edward 3.

Coine changed.

p. occasion moved Edward's desire of order, & counted all about

1345 Anno Reg. 19.

Auesburie. Ad. Merimuch. Polychron.

Five hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers. Each Froissard.

Hens 10 Merimuch and

Bergerat town.

A council
helden in the
king of Eng-
lands ship.

other, appointed as counsellors for their chiefest townes. The king with all his nauic lay in the haven of Sluse, where, in his great ship called the Catharine, a council was holden upon this foresaid purpose: but at length, those of the counsellors of the chiefest townes misliked the matter so much, that they would conclude nothing, but required respite for a month, to consult with all the communalitie of the countreies and townes, and as the more part should be inclined, so should the king receiue answer. The king and Jaques Arteueld would faine haue had a shorter date, and a more towardlie answer, but none other could be gotten.

Hereupon the council brake up, and Jaques Arteueld taring with the king a certeine space, after the other inere departed, promised him to persuaade the countrie well inough to his purpose, and suerlie, he had a great gift of eloquence, and had thereby induced the countrie wonderfullie, to consent to manie things, as well in fauour of king Edward, as to his owne aduancement: but this suit which he went now about to bring to passe, was so odious vnto all the Flemings, that in no wise they thought it reason to consent vnto the dissentering of the earle. At length, when Jaques Arteueld should returne vnto Cant, king Edward appointed fure hundred Welshmen to attend him as a gard, for the preservation of his person, because he said, that one Gerard Denise deane of the weauers, an vniquiet man, maliciouslie purposed his destruction.

Ja. Meir.
Welshmen
appointed to
Jaques Ar-
teueld for a
gard against
Gerard De-
nise.

Captains of these Welshmen were John Patreiers, and William Sturine or Sturrie, and so with this crue of souldiers Arteueld returned vnto Cant, and earnestlie went in hand with his suit in king Edwards behalfe, that either the earle should do his homage to the king of England to whome it was due; or else to forfeit his earldome. Then the foresaid Gerard, as well of his owne mind, as procured thereto by the authoritie of earle Leues, stirred the whole citie against the said Arteueld, and gathering a great power vnto him, came and beset Arteuelds house round about vpon each side, the furie of the people being wonderfullie bent against him, crying; Kill him, Kill him that hath robbed the tresurie of the countrie, and now goeth about to dissenter our noble earle.

Jacob Arte-
uelds house
beset.

Jaques van Arteueld perceiuing in what danger he was, came vnto a window, and spake to that enraged multitude, in hope with faire and courteous words to appease them, but it could not be: whereupon he sought to haue fled out of his house, but the same was broken up, and so manie entred vpon him, that he was found out, and slaine by one Thomas Denise (as some write.) But other affirme, that on a sundaie in the after none, being the 17 of Julie, a cobbler, whose father this Jaques van Arteueld had sometime slaine, followed him, as he was fleeing into a stable where his horses stood, & there with an axe cloue his head asunder, so that he fell downe starke dead on the ground. And this was the end of the foresaid Jaques van Arteueld, who by his wisdom and policie had obtained the whole government of all Flanders. This wofull end was allotted vnto him by destiny, whose decree nothing is able by any shift to auoid, as is notable said of the poet in this distichon;

*Nixtra fatum est, meritumque omnia summi
Mens regis, cuius sine numine fit nihil vsquam.*

There were slaine also ten other persons that were of his council, and diuerse of the Welshmen in like manner; but the other escaped, and got awaie vnto king Edward, as yet remaining at Sluse, vnto whome those of Bruges, Cassell, Curtrike, Appres, Aldenard, and other townes, did afterwards send their orators to excuse themselves, as nothing guiltie no;

Al. Palin
for.

Ambassadors
from the good
townes in
Flanders
vnto king
Edward.

pruie to the death of his friend, and their worthie gouernor Jaques van Arteueld, requiring him not to impute the fault vnto the whole countrie, which the rash and vnaduised Cantiniers had committed, sith the countrie of Flanders was as readie now to do him seruice and pleasure as before, sauing that to the dissentering of their earle they could not be agreeable, but they doubted not to persuaade him to do his homage vnto the king of England, and till then they promised not to receiue him. They put the king also in hope of a marriage to be had, betwixt the sonne of their earle, and some one of the kings daughters. Wherewith the king of England (who was departed from Sluse, in great displeasure with the Flemings) became somewhat pacified in his mood, and so renewed the league edicions with the countrie of Flanders: but the earle would neuer consent to do homage vnto the king of England, but still sticked to the French kings part, which purchased him much trouble, and in the end cost him his life, as after shall appeare.

But now to returne vnto the earle of Derby, whome we left in Gascoigne. He shall vnderstand, that shortly after he was come backe to Burdeaur, from the conquest which he had made of Bergerat, and other townes thereabouts; the earle of Lisle, who (as ye haue heard) was the French kings lieutenant in that countrie, assembled an armie of twelue thousand men, & comming before Auberoch (a towne in Gascoigne) besieged it, soe pressing them within, in somuch that they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if the earle of Derby, hauing knowledge in what case they stood, had not come to their rescue, who with three hundred speares or men of armes, as we maie call them, and six hundred archers, approaching nere to the siege, laid himselfe closelie within a wood, till the Frenchmen in the euening were at supper, & then suddenlie set vpon them in their campe, and discomfited them, so that the earle of Lisle was taken in his owne tent, and soe hurt. There were also taken the earle of Valentinois, and other earles, biconts, and lords of great accompt, to the number of nine, besides those that were slaine. The residue were put to flight and chased, so that the Englishmen had a faire tourne, and wan great riches by prisoners and spoile of the enemies campe.

After this, the earle of Derby, being returned to Burdeaur, and hauing put the captiues in safe keeping, assembled his power, and marching south into the countrie, towards the Rioll (a towne in those parts which he meant to besiege) he wan diuerse townes and castles by the way, as saint Basill, Koch, Millon, Montsegure, Aguilon, & Segart. At length he came to the towne of the Rioll, which he besieged, and laie about it nine weekes yet he could win it, and then was the same towne surrendered into his hands, but the castell was still defended against him for the space of eleuen weekes, at which time being soe oppressed & vndermined, it was yielded by them within conditionallie, that they should depart onelie with their armour. After this, the earle of Derby wan Montpesance, Pauleon, Ville-Franche in Agenois, Airemont, Thomines, the castell of Damascen, and at length came before the citie of Angoulesme the which made appointment with the earle, that if no succors came from the French king within the space of a month, that then the citie should be surrendered to the king of England: and to assure this appointment, they deliuered to the earle fourte and twentie of their chiefe citizens as hostages.

In the meane time, the earle laid siege to Blaues, but could not win it. His men rode abroad into the countrie, to Portaigne, Pirabean, and Annay, but wan little, and so returned againe to the siege of Blaues.

Froissard sai
they were al
hundred tho
sand. Gio. Vil
lani sayeth
that they we
a six thousand
housmen and
fifte thousand
women, of
Frenchmen,
Gascoignes
Lombardes.

Annales de
Burgogne,
1346
Anno Reg. 1c

Angoulesme
recovered by
the French-
men.

Damascen.
Thomins.

Biguillon
besieged.

Gio. Villani.

The archde-
con of Wind.

Frenchmen
discomfited.

Froissard

Auberoch
besieged.

The first
armie which
set, and the
earle of Lisle
taken.

Comming
by the earle of
Derby.

Angoulesme

Blaves. Now when the month was expired, that they of Angouleme should yield, the earle sent his two marshals thither, who receiued the homage and fealty of the citizens, in the king of Englands name, and so they were in peace, and receiued againe their hostages. At length when the earle of Derby saw that he did but lose his time in the besieging of Blaves, which sir Gualchart Pangle, and sir Guillaume de Rochfort, being captiues within, did so valiantlie defend, that he could obtaine no advantage of them, he raised his siege, and returned vnto Burdeaur, hauing furnished such towncs as he had wone in that countie with convenient garisons of men to defend them against the enemies, and to keepe frontier warre, as they should see cause.

Froissard saith they were an hundred thousand. Gio. Villani saith they were a six thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, of Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Lombardes.

Annales de Burgoigne, 1346 Anno Reg. 20.

Angouleme recovered by the Frenchmen.

Damascen, Thomas.

Sigüillon besieged.

Gio. Villani.

The archdeacon of Winchester.

Frenchmen discomfited.

The French king being sore moued at the conquests thus atchieued by the earle of Derby, raised a mightie armie, and sent the same forth, vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Poimandrie, into Gascoigne, to resist the said earle, and to recouer againe those towncs which he had wone in those parts. The duke of Poimandrie being come to Molou, where generall assemble was appointed, set forward with his armie, and winning by the waie Airemount, and Ville Franche in Agenois; at length came to the cite of Angouleme, which he inuironed about with a strong siege, continuing the same, till finally, the capiteine named John Poymell, required a truce to indure for one daie, which was granted, and the same was the daie of the Purification of our ladie, on the which, the same capiteine, with the souldiers of the garrison departed, and left the cite in the citizens hands. The Frenchmen, because they had granted the truce to indure for that daie without exception, permitted them to go their waies without let or berration. The citizens in the morning yielded the cite to the duke. After this, he wan the castell of Damascen, Thonins, and Port St. Marie; Thonins by surrender, and the other two by force of assaults. Then he came to the strong castell of Aiguillon, which he besieged, and late thereat a long season. Within was the earle of Penbrooke, the lord Walter de Marne, sir Franke de Helle, and diuerse knights and captiues, which defended themselves, and the place so stoutlie, that the Frenchmen could win little advantage at their hands.

Whilest the siege continued before this fortreffe, the seneschall of Guien departed from the campe, with eight hundred horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, purposing to win a castell, belonging to a nephew of the cardinall Della Spotte, a twelue leagues distant from Aiguillon. The archdeacon of Anfoz, owner of that castell, went to the Rioll, where the earle of Derby with his armie as then was lodged, to whome he made suit, to haue some power of men to rescue his castell. The earle appointed to him a sufficient number, both of horsemen, and also of English archers, with whome the said archdeacon rode all the night, and the next morning betimes, being the one and thirtieth of Julie, they came to the castell where the Frenchmen were arrived the daie before, and had scerrelie assailed the castell, doing their best to win it by force. But the Englishmen without anie delaie, immediatlie vpon their comming, set vpon the Frenchmen, and gaue them so sharpe and fierce battell, that in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited: the seneschall with manie other gentlemen were taken prisoners, beside those that were slaine. To conclude, the number of them that were slaine, and taken prisoners in the whole, amounted to foure hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen. Sir Godfrey de Harecourt being constrained to flee out of France, to auoid the French kings displeasure, came ouer vnto the king of England, who recei-

ued him verie sofullie, for he was knowne to be a right valiant and a wise personage. He was brother to the earle of Harecourt, lord of saint Sauour le Vicount, and of diuerse other towncs in Poimandrie. A little before that he fell into the French kings displeasure, he might haue done with the king of France, more than anie other lord within that realme.

In this twentieth peare of his reigne, king Edward vpon complaint of the people made against purueiours of vittels for his houthold (the which vnder colour of their commissions, abused the same, in taking by among the commons all manner of things that liked them, without making payment for the same, further than the said commissions did allow them) he caused inquirie to be made of their misdeemeanors, and such as were found to haue offended, of whome there was no small number, some of them were put to death on the gallowes, and other were fined, so to teach the rest to deale more warlike in their businesse from thenceforth. About the same time, he caused all the iustices within his dominions to renounce and giue ouer all their pensions, fees, and other buying benefites and rewards, which they used to receiue of the lords and great men of the land, as well prelates, as of them of the temporaltie, to the end that their hands being free from gifts, iustice might more frelie haue course, and be of them dulie and vprightlie ministred. Also this peare in the Lent season, the king held a parlement at Westminster, and toke into his hands all the profits, reuenues, and emoluments, which the cardinals held within this land: for he thought it not reason, that they which fauoured the pope and the French king, being his aduersaries, should inioy such commodities within his realme.

After this, in the moneth of Julie following, he toke shipping, and sailed into Poimandrie, hauing established the lord Percie, and the lord Beuil, to be wardens of his realme in his absence, with the archbishop of York, the bishop of Lincolne, and the bishop of Duresme. The armie which he had ouer with him, was to the number of foure thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen, and Welshmen, that folowed the host on foot. The chiefest captiues that went ouer with him were these. First his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales, being as then about the age of thirteene peares, the earles of Hereford, Poimampton, Arundell, Cornwall, Huntington, Warwike, Suffolke, and Dorset; of barons the lord Mortimer, who was after erle of March, the lords John, Lewes, and Roger Beauchampe; also the lords Cobham, Powbraye, Lucie, Bassett, Barkeley, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other lords, besides a great number of knights and other worthie captiues. They landed by the aduise of the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, in the Ile of Constantine, at the port of Vague saint Maik, nere to saint Sauour le Vicount. The earle of Huntington was appointed to be gouernour of the fleet by sea, hauing with him a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

After that the whole armie was landed, the king appointed two marshals, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, and the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Arundell was made constable. There were ordeined three battels, one to go on his right hand, following by the coast of the sea; and another to march on his left hand, vnder the conduct of the marshals; so that he himselfe went in the middell with the maine armie, and in this order forward they passed towards Caen, lodging euerie night together in one field. They that went by the sea, toke all the ships they found in their waie, and as they marched forth thus,

Additions to Adam Merimouth.

Purueiours punished.

Iustices.

Parlement.

Cardinals.

Froissard. The king passed ouer into Poimandrie.

John Villani saith there were 2000 horsemen, and 30000 footmen and archers, that passed ouer with the king. But when he cometh to speake of the battell, he saith meth to increase the number.

The ordering of the kings armie.

Harelew

Chierburge.

Hountburge

Carentine.

that by water & land, at length they came to a towne called Harelew, which was given up, but yet neuer thelesse it was robbed, and much goods found in it. After this they came to Chierburge, which towne they won by force, robbed it, and burnt part of it, but the castell they could not win. Then came they to Hountburge and took it, robbed it & burnt it cleane. In this manner they passed forth, and burnt manie towne and villages in all the countrie as they went. The towne of Carentine was deliuered unto them against the will of the soldiers that were within it. The soldiers defended the castell two daies, and then yelded it up into the Englishmens hands, who burnt the same, and caused the burgesles to enter into their ships. All this was done by the battell that went by the sea side, and by them on the sea together.

On the other side, the lord Godfrie of Harecourt, with the battell on the right hand of the king, rood forth six or seven leagues from the kings battell, in burning and eriling the countrie. The king had with him (beside those that were with the marshals) 3000 men of armes, six thousand archers, and ten thousand men on foot. They left the cite of Constance, and came to a great towne called saint Lo, a rich towne of dyaperie, having manie wealthe burgesles within it: it was sone taken and robbed by the Englishmen vpon their first approach. From thence the king marched streight to Caen, wherein were capitains Rafe earle of Glou and Guines constable of France, & the earle of Tankerulle. These noble men meant to haue kept their defences on the walles, gate, byidge, and riuer, and to haue left the suburbs void, because they were not closed, but onelie with the riuer: but they of the towne said they would issue forth, for they were strong inough to fight with the king of England.

When the constable saw these good willes, he was contented to follow their desire, and so forth they went in good order, and made good face to put their liues in hazard: but when they saw the Englishmen approach in good order, diuided into three battels, & the archers ready to shot, which they of Caen had not sene before, they were sore afraid, and fled awaie toward the towne without any order or arrate, for all that the constable could do to staie them. The Englishmen followed, and in the chase slue manie, and entered the towne with their enemies. The constable, and the earle of Tankerulle took a tower at the byidge foot, thinking there to saue themselves, but perceiving the place to be of no force, nor able long to hold out, they submitted themselves unto sir Thomas Holland. ¶ But here whatsoener Froissard doth report of the taking of this tower, and of the yelding of these two noble men, it is to be proued that the said earle of Tankerulle was taken by one surnamed Legh, ancestor to sir Peter Legh now liuing, whether in the fight or within the tower, I haue not to saie: but for the taking of the said earle, and for his other manlike prowes shewed here and elsewhere in this tournee, king Edward in recompense of his agreeable seruice, gaue to him a lordship in the countie of Chester called Hanley, which the said sir Peter Legh now liuing doth inioy and possesse, as successor and heire to his ancestor the foresaid Legh, to whom it was so first giuen.

But to returne now to the matter where we left. The Frenchmen being entred into their houses, cast downe vpon the Englishmen below in the streets, stones, timber, hot water, and barres of iron, so that they hurt and slue more than six hundred persons. The king was so moued therewith, that if the lord Godfrie of Harecourt had not asswaged his mood, the towne had bene burnt, and the people put to the edge of the sword: but by the treatie of the said lord

Godfrie, proclamation was made, that no man should put fire into any house, nor kille any person, nor force any woman, and then did the townsmen and souldiers submit themselves, and received the Englishmen into their houses. There was great store of riches gotten in this towne, and the most part thereof sent into England, with the fleet which the king sent home with the prisoners, under the guiding of the earle of Huntington, accompanied with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

When all things were ordered in Caen as the king could desire, he marched from thence in the same order as he had kept before, burning and eriling the countrie. He passed by Cureur & Rame to Roulers, which the Englishmen sone entered and sacked without mercie. Then went they forth and left Roan, and came to Cisoys, the towne they burnt, but the castell they could not get: they burnt also Alernon, and at Poissie they repaired the byidge which was broken, and so there they passed ouer the riuer of Saine. The power of the Englishmen increased daile, by such numbers as came ouer forth of England in hope to win by pillage. Also manie gentlemen of Normandie, and other of the French nation, which loued not nor ought any god will vnto the French king, came to the king of England, offering to serue him, so that there were in his armie foure thousand horsemen and fiftie thousand footmen with the Normans, and of this number there were thirtie thousand English archers, as Giouan Villani writeth. The English marshals ran abroad fast to Paris, and burnt the Germans in Laie: also Moutroy, and St. Cloud, and petie Bullongne by Paris, & the queenes Burge. In the meane time had the French king assembled a mightie armie vpon purpose to fight with the Englishmen. ¶ The lord Godfrie of Harecourt, as he rode forth with six hundred men of armes, and 13 hundred archers, by aduenture incountered with a great number of the burgesles of Amiens on horsebacke, who were riding by the kings commandement to Paris. They were quickelie assailed, and though they defended themselves manfully for a while, yet at length they were overcome, and eleuen hundred of them slaine in the field, beside those that were taken. The Englishmen had all their cariage and armour. Thus passed forth the king of England, and came into Beaulnois, and lodged nere vnto the cite of Beaunois one night in an abbey called Spelene, and for that after he was dislodged, there were that set fire in the same abbey, without any commandement giuen by him: he caused twentie of them to be hanged that were the first procurers of that fire.

So long the king of England passed forward, that finally he approached nere to the water of Some, the which was large and deepe, and all the byidges broken and the passages well kept, wherevpon he caused his two marshals with a thousand men of armes, & two thousand archers, to go along the riuer, to the end to find some passage. The marshals assailed diuerse places, as at Piqueney, and other where, but they could not find any passage enclosed, capitains with men of warre being set to defend the same, in somuch that the marshals returned to the king, and declared that they had sene and found. At the same instant time was the French king come to Amiens, with more than a hundred thousand men, and thought to inclose the king of England, that he should no waie escape, but be constrained to receiue battell in some place greatlie to his disadvantage.

The king of England well perceiving himselfe in danger, remoued from the place where he was incamped, and marched forward through the countie of

There were slaine in all without and within the towne 5000 men, as Gio. Villani writeth.

Peter Legh.

Caen taken.

40000 cloth as Gio. Villani writeth, which was got by the Englishmen in one place and other this warre.

Louters.

Cisoys.

Alernon.

Gio. Villani.

St. Germain in Laie.
St. Cloud.

Caxto
The r.
Haine.
Froiss.

Trot.

Beaunois.

Sumers
executed.

Piqueney.

The French
kings army.

of Pontieu and Abuille, approaching unto the good towne of Abuille, and at length by one of the prisoners named Gobin de Grace, he was told where he might passe with his armie ouer the riuer of Some, at a ford in the same riuer, being hard in the bottom, and verie shallow at an eb water. The French king vnderstanding that the k. of England sought to passe the riuer of Some, sent a great baron of Normandie, one sir Godmare du Joy, to defend the passage of the same riuer, with a thousand men of armes, and sir thousand on foot with the Genouaies. This sir Godmare had with him also a great number of them of Sputterell and others of the countrie, so that he had in all to the number of twelue thousand men, one and other, and hearing that the king of England was minded to passe at Blanchetake (which was the passage that Gobin Agace had informed the king of England of) he came thither. When the Englishmen approached, he arranged all his compaignie to defend the passage.

And suerlie when the Englishmen at the lowe water entered the ford to passe ouer, there was a sharpe bickering, for diuerse of the Frenchmen encountered the Englishmen on horsebacke in the water, and the Genouaies did them much hurt, and troubled them soze with their crossbowes: but on the other side, the English archers shot so wholie together, that the Frenchmen were faine to giue place to the Englishmen, so that they got the passage and came ouer, assembling themselves in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, some to Abuille, some to saint Riquier. They that were on foot could not escape so well as those on horsebacke, insomuch that a great number of them of Abuille, Sputterell, Arras, and S. Riquier were slaine and taken, for the chase indured more than a great league. There were slaine in all to the number of two thousand. When the k. of England had thus passed the riuer, he acquitted Gobin Agace, and all his compaignie of their ransomes, and gave to the same Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horse, and so the king road forth as he did before. His marshalls road to Crotaie by the sea side, and burnt the towne, and toke all such wines and goods as were in the ships and barks which laie there in the haven.

One of the marshalls road to the gates of Abuille, and from thence to S. Riquier, and after to the towne of Rue saint Esperit. This was on a fridaie, and both the marshalls returned to the kings host about none, and so lodged all togither about Cressie in Pontieu, where hauing knowledge that the French king followed to giue him battell, he commanded his marshalls to chuse a plot of ground, somewhat to his aduantage, that he might there abide his aduersaries. In the meane time the French king being come with all his puissance vnto Abuille, and hearing how the king of England was passed ouer the riuer of Some, and discomfited sir Godmare du Joy, was soze displeased in his mind: but when he vnderstood that his enemies were lodged at Cressie, and meant there to abide him, he caused all his people to issue out of Abuille, and earlie on the saturdaye in the morning, anon after sunne rising he departed out of the towne himselfe, and marched towards his enemies. The king of England vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip still followed him, to giue him battell, & supposing that the same saturdaye he would come to offer it, rose betimes in the morning, and commanded euerie man first to call vpon God for his aid, then to be armed, and to draw with speed into the field, that in the place before appointed they might be set in order of battell. Beginning his enterprise at prayer, or calling vpon God, he was the more fortunate in his affaires, and sped the better in the

progresse of his actions, as the issue of the warre showed. A notable example to euerie puiant man, to remember to call vpon God when he purposeth anie thing, for as the poet saith, and that verie christianlic,

*nihil est mortalibus agri
utilius, quam celestem sancteq. pietq.
Orando sibi querere opem.*

Mar. Palin sag.

Beside this, he caused a parke to be made and closed by the wood side behind his host, in the which he ordeined that all the carts and cariages should be set, with all the horses (for euerie man was on foot.) Then he ordeined three battels, in the first was the prince of Wales, and with him the earle of Warwick, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the lord Stafford, the lord de la Ware, the lord Bouchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Thomas Holland, sir John Chandos, sir Bartholomew de Bzowash, sir Robert Peuill. They were eight hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and a thousand of other with the Welsh men. In the second battell was the earle of Northampton, the earle of Arundell, the lords Ros and Willoughbie, Basset, S. Albine, Apulton, and others. The third battell the king led himselfe, hauing with him seauen hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and in the other battell were to the number of eight hundred men of armes, and twelue hundred archers. Thus was the English armie marshalled according to the report of Froissard. When euerie man was gotten into order of battell, the king leapt vpon a white hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one marshall on his right hand, and the other on his left, desiring euerie man that daie to haue regard to his right and honour. He spake it so courteously, and with so good a countenance, that euen they which before were discomfited, toke courage in hearing him speake such sweet and louing words amongst them. It was nine of the clocke per euer he had thus visited all his battels, & thereupon he caused euerie man to eat and drinke a little, which they did at their leisure.

The French king, before he approached nere to his enemies, sent forth foure skilfull knights to view the demeanour of his enemies, the which returning againe, made report as they had seene, and that so much as they could gesse, the Englishmen ment to abide him, being diuided into three battels, readie to receiue him and his puissance, if he went forward in purpose to assaile them. Here was the French king counselled to stay and not to giue battell that day, but to aduise all things with good deliberation and regard, to consider well how and what way he might best assaile them. When by the marshalls were all men commanded to staie, and not to go anie further, they that were foremost and next to the enemies tarried, but they that were behind would not abide but rode forth, and said they would not staie till they were as far as the foremost: and when they before saw them behind come forward, then they marched on also againe, so that neither the k. nor his marshalls could rule them, but that they passed forward still without order, or anie good arraie, till they came in sight of their enemies: and as sone as the foremost saw their enemies, then they reculed backe, whereof they behind had maruell, and were abashed, supposing that the foremost compaignie had bene fighting. Then they might haue had some to haue gone forward, if they had bene minded. The commons, of whome all the waies betwixt Abuille and Cressie were full, when they saw that they were nere their enemies, they toke their swords and cried; Downe with them, let vs flea them all. There was no man, though he were present at the towne, that could imagine or shew the truth of the euill order that was among the French partie,

Gioué Villani saith, that when they should toine in battell, the Englishmen were 30000. archers English & Welsh, beside other footmen with axes & iavelins, and not fullie 4000 horsemen.

Froissard, The kings came anon before battell.

The disorders among the Frenchmen.

lother, Villani, were the men place or in time.

S. Villani.

remains web.

Let God be praised in Joy.

Gobin Agace

The English men won the passage ouer the water of Some.

Cayton. The number slaine. Froissard.

Crotay burnt

old.

rs d.

15p.

remb time.

of Pontieu and Wimeto, approaching unto the towne of Abuille, and at length by one of the prisoners named Gobin de Grace, he was told where he might passe with his armie ouer the riuer of Some, at a ford in the same riuer, being hard in the bottom, and verie shallow at an eb water. The French king vnderstanding that the K. of England sought to passe the riuer of Some, sent a great baron of Normandie, one sir Godmare du Foy, to defend the passage of the same riuer, with a thousand men of armes, and sir thousand on foot with the Genowaies. This sir Godmare had with him also a great number of them of gutterrell and others of the countrie, so that he had in all to the number of twelue thousand men, one and other, and hearing that the king of England was minded to passe at Blanchetabe (which was the passage that Gobin Agace had informed the king of England of) he came thither. When the Englishmen approached, he arranged all his companie to defend the passage.

And suerlie when the Englishmen at the lowe water entered the ford to passe ouer, there was a sharpe bickering, for diuerse of the Frenchmen encountered the Englishmen on horsebacke in the water, and the Genowaies did them much hurt, and troubled them fore with their crossbowes: but on the other side, the English archers shot so wholie together, that the Frenchmen were faine to giue place to the Englishmen, so that they got the passage and came ouer, assembling themselves in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, some to Abuille, some to saint Riquier. They that were on foot could not escape so well as those on horsebacke, inasmuch that a great number of them of Abuille, gutterrell, Arras, and S. Riquier were slaine and taken, for the chase indured more than a great league. There were slaine in all to the number of two thousand. When the K. of England had thus passed the riuer, he acquitted Gobin Agace, and all his companie of their ransomes, and gave to the same Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horse, and so the king road forth as he did before. His marshals road to Crotaie by the sea side, and burnt the towne, and toke all such wines and goods as were in the ships and barks which late there in the haven.

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Mar. Palin sag.

Beside this, he caused a parke to be made and closed by the wood side behind his host, in the which he ordeined that all the carts and carriages should be set, with all the horses (for euerie man was on foot.) Then he ordeined three battels, in the first was the prince of Wales, and with him the earle of Marwick, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the lord Staford, the lord de la Mare, the lord Bourchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Thomas Holland, sir John Chandos, sir Bartholomew de Bolywal, sir Robert Penill. They were eight hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and a thousand of other with the Welsh men. In the second battell was the earle of Northampton, the earle of Arundell, the lords Ros and Willoughbie, Basset, S. Albine, Spulton, and others. The third battell the king led himselfe, hauing with him seauen hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and in the other battell were to the number of eight hundred men of armes, and twelue hundred archers. Thus was the English armie marshalled according to the report of Froissard. When euerie man was gotten into order of battell, the king leapt vpon a white hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one marshall on his right hand, and the other on his left, desiring euerie man that daie to haue regard to his right and honour. He spake it so courteously, and with so good a countenance, that even they which before were discomfited, toke courage in hearing him speake such sweet and louing wordes amongst them. It was nine of the clocke yer euer he had thus visited all his battels, & thereupon he caused euerie man to eat and drinke a little, which they did at their leisure.

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Giouo Villani saith, that when they should to the battell, the Englishmen were 30000. archers English & Welsh, beside other footmen with axes & iavelins, and not fullie 4000 horsemen.

Froissard. The king & some of his battels.

The disorder among the Frenchmen.

other, all the were he men late r in the.

at God: rurs du Foy.

Gobin Agace

The English men won the passage ouer the water of Some.

Cavron. The number slaine. Froissard.

Crotaie burnt

his.

is.

pp.

remb mit.

partie, and yet they were a marvellous great number.

The Englishmen which beheld their enemies thus approaching them, prepared themselves at leisure for the battell, which they saw to be at hand. The first battell, whereof the prince was ruler, had the archers standing in maner of an herse, and the men of armes in the botome of the battell. The earle of Northampton and the earle of Arundell with the second battell, were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the princes battell if need were. The lords and knights of France came not to the assemble together, for some came after, in such hast and euill order, that one of them troubled another. There were of Genouaies crossbowes to the number of twelue or fiftene thousand, the which were commanded to go on before, and with their shot to begin the battell; but they were so werie with going on foot that morning six leagues armed with their crossbowes, that they said to their constables; We be not well used, in that we are commanded to fight this daie, for we be not in case to do any great feat of armes, we haue moze need of rest. These words came to the hearing of the earle of Alanson, who said; A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, that faint and faile now at most need.

Charles Gri-
malde & In-
thoune or De-
thone Doria
were capt-
ins
of the Gen-
ouaies, which
were not past
six thousand,
as Gio. Villani
saith.
Polydor.
Froissard.
The earle of
Alanson.

Raine and
thunder with
an eclipse.

Also at the same instant there fell a great raine, and an eclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the raine, there came sieng ouer both armies a great number of crows, for feare of the tempest coming: then anon the aite began to wax cleare, and the sunne to shine faire and bright, which was right in the French mens eyes, and on the English mens backs. When the Genouaies were assembled together, and began to approach, they made a great leape and crye, to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not at all for that noise. Then the Genouaies the second time made an other leape and huge crye, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen remoued not a foot. The third time againe the Genouaies leapt, and pelled, and went forth till they came within shot, and sterclie therewith discharged their crossbowes. Then the English archers slept forth one pale, and let sie their arrowes so wholie and so thicke together, that it seemed to snowe. When the Genouaies felt the arrowes percing their brads, armes and bycastis, manie of them cast downe their crossbowes, and cut the strings, and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them flee awate, he said: Slea these rascals, for they will let and trouble vs without reason.

The Gen-
ouaies.

The battell
is begun.

When ye might haue seene the men of armes hant dalyt in amongst them, and killed a great number of them, and euer the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease: the sharpe arrowes ran into the men of armes, and into their hories, and manie fell horse and man amongst the Genouaies, and still the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease, and when they were once downe they could not recover againe. The throng was such that one ouerthrew another; & also amongst the Englishmen, there were certeine of the footmen with great knives, that went in amongst the men of armes, and killed manie of them as they laie on the ground, both earles, barons, knights, and esquires. The valiant king of Bohem being almost blind, caused his men to fasten all the reins of the bridles of their hories ech to other, and so he being himselfe amongst them in the foremost ranke, they ran on their enemies.

The king of
Boheme.

The lord Charles of Boheme sonne to the same king and late elected emperour, came in good order to the battell, but when he saw how the matter went awrie on their part, he departed and saued himselfe. His father by the means aforesaid went so far for-

ward, that ioining with his enemies he fought right valiantlie, and so did all his companie: but finalie being entred within the prease of their enemies, they were of them inclosed and slaine, together with the king their master, and the next daie found dead lieng about him, and their hories all tied ech to other. The earle of Alanson came right orderlie to the battell, and fought with the Englishmen, and so did the earle of Flanders also on his part. These two lords costed the English archers, and came to the princes battell, and there fought right valiantlie a long time. The French king perceiuing where their banners stood, would faine haue come to them, but could not, by reason of a great hedge of archers that stood betwixt them and him. This was a perillous battell and soe foughten: there were few taken to mercie, for the Englishmen had so determined in the morning.

The earle of
Alanson.

Certeine Frenchmen and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the princes battell, and came to fight with the men of armes hand to hand. When the second battell of the Englishmen came to succor the princes battell, and not before it was time, for they of that battell had as then inough to do, in somuch that some which were about him, as the earle of Northampton, and others sent to the king, where he stood aloft on a windmill hill, requiring him to aduance forward, and come to their aid, they being as then soe laid to of their enemies. The king hereby demanded if his sonne were slaine, hurt, or felled to the earth: No (said the knight that brought the message) but he is soe matched. Well (said the king) returne to him and them that sent you, and saie to them that they send no moze to me for any aduventure that falleth, so long as my son is alieue, for I will that this tourne be his, with the honoz thereof. With this answer the knight returned, which greatlie incouraged them to do their best to win the spurs, being half abashed in that they had so sent to the king for aid. At length when it drew toward euening, and that the Frenchmen were beaten downe and slaine on ech hand, king Philip as it were by constraint departed out of the field, not hauing as then past three score persons about him, of whome the lord John of Heinault was one, by whose persuation he chesclie consented to ride his waie for his owne safegard, when he saw the losse was such as on that daie it could not be recovered.

The prince
battell pre-
sed.

The earle of
Northampton
sending in
king.

The king
answer.

The king
departed
out of
the field.

The slaughter of the Frenchmen was great and lamentable, namelic for the losse of so manie noble men, as were slaine at the same battell, fought betwene Cressie and Boy on the saturday next following the feast of saint Bartholome being (as that preare tell) the 26 of August. Among other which died that daie, these I find registred by name as chesfest, John king of Boheme, Rafe duke of Loz raine, Charles of Alans brother germane to king Philip, Charles earle of Blois, Leues earle of Flanders, also the earle of Harecourt, brother to the lord Gessrie of Harecourt, with the earles of Auverre, Amurle, and saint Poule, beside diuerse other of the nobilitie. The Englishmen neuer brake out of their battels to chase any man, but kept themselves together in their wards and ranks, and defended themselves euer against such as came to assaile them. This battell ended about euening.

When the Frenchmen were clearely overcome, and those that were left alieue fled and gone, so that the Englishmen heard no moze noise of them, king Edward came downe from the hill (on the which he stood all that day with his helmet still on his head) and going to the prince, embraced him in his armes, and kissed him, saleng; Faire sonne, God send you good perseverance in this your prosperous beginning, you haue

The king of
England
with
from the
field.

have noble acquit your selfe, you are well towarde to have the governance of a realme committed to your hands for your valiant doings. The prince inclined himselfe to the earth in honouring his father, as he best could. This done, they thanked God together with their souldiers for their good adventure. For so the king commanded, and willed no man to make any boast of his owne power, but to ascribe all the praise to almightie God for such a noble victorie; learning herein to be affected as Dario was in the foure and fortieth psalme; for he also referreth the hapie successe of warre, and all victorie, unto almightie God, and not to the strength of a multitude of men, saying:

Tu nos ab hoste liberabis, sternis solo

in fensa nobis agmina.

Non ergo saepe iure te cantabimus?

Will. Nostre salutis vindicem?

¶ On the sundae in the morning, there was such a mist, that a man could not see an acre by day before him. Then by the kings commandement there departed from the host five hundred speares and two thousand archers, to trie if they might heare of any Frenchmen gathered together in any place nere unto them.

On the same morning there were departed out of Abule and St. Requier in Pontieu, the commons of Roan and Beannais, with other that knew nothing of the discomfiture the daie before. These met with the Englishmen, supposing they had bene Frenchmen, and being fiercelie assailed of them, after soze fight, and great slaughter, the Frenchmen were discomfited and fled, of whome were slaine in the hedges & bushes, more than seven thousand men. The archbishop of Roan, and the grand prior of France, ignorant also of the discomfiture the day before, & supposing (as they were informed) the French should not have soughten till that sundae, were likewise incountried (as they came thitherward) by the Englishmen, with whome they fought a soze battell, for they were a great number, but yet at length they were not able to susteine the puissant force of the Englishmen, and so the most part of them were slaine, with the said archbishop and grand prior, and few there were that escaped.

On that sundae morning, the Englishmen met with diuerse Frenchmen, that had lost their waie on the saturday, and wist not where the king nor their captains were become. They were all slaine in manner, so manie as the Englishmen could meet with, in so much that of the commons and footmen of the cities and good towne of France (as was thought) there were slaine this sundae foure times as manie as were slaine on the saturday in the great battell. When those Englishmen that were sent abroad thus to view the countrie, were returned againe, and signified to the king what they had seene and done, and how there was no more appearance of the enimies, the king to search what the number was of them that were slaine, and upon the view taken, it was reported unto him, that there were found dead eleven princes, foure score baronets, 12 hundred knights, and more than thirtie thousand other of the meaner sort. Thus was the whole puissance of France vanquished, and that chieflie by force of such as were of no reputation amongst them, that is to say, the English archers, by whose sharpe and violent shot the victorie was achieved, to the great confusion of the French nation. ¶ Of such price were the English bowes in that season, that nothing was able to withstand them; whereas now our archers couet not to drawe long and strong bowes, but rather to shoot compasse, which are not meet for the warres, nor greatlie to be feared, though they come into the field.

The king of England with his armie kept still his field, untill monday in the morning, and then dislodged, and came before Portuereil by the sea, and his march was towards Hedon. The next daie they road toward Bullongne, & at William the king and the prince incamped, and tarried a whole daie to refresh their people, and on the wednesday being the thirtieth day of August, he came before the strong towne of Calis, and there planted his siege, and received battises betwene the towne and the river, and caused carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, which were covered with reed & brome, so manie and in such order, that it seemed a new towne, and in it was a market place appointed of purpose, in the which the market was daile kept of vittels, & all other necessarie things everie tuesday and saturday, so that a man might have bought what he would of things brought thither out of England & Flanders. ¶ But now, for so much as we have spoken of this iourne and invasion made by king Edward into France, in this nineteenth yere of his reigne, accordinglie as we have gathered out of Froissard, and diuerse other authors, I have thought good to make the reader partaker of the contents of a letter written by a chapleine of the said king, and attendant about him in the same iourne, conteining the successe of his proceedings after his departure from Poissie, which letter is inserted with others in the historie of Robert de Auesburie, and Englished by maister John Fox as followeth.

A letter of W. Northboure the kings confessor describing the kings voiage into France.



Mutations premised. ¶ We give you to vnderstand, that our soueraigne lord the king came to the towne of Poissie the daie before the Assumption of our ladie, where was a certeine bridge ouer the water of Saine broken downe by the enimie, but the king tarried there so long, till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in repairing, there came a great number of men at armes, and other souldiers well armed, to hinder the same. But the earle of Northampton issued out against them, and slue of them more than a thousand, the rest fled awaie: thanks be to God. And at another time, our men passed the water (although with much trauell) and slue a great number of the common souldiers of France, about the citie of Paris, and countrie adioining, being part of the French kings armie, and throughlie well appointed: so that our people have now made other good bridges upon our enimies, God be thanked, without any losse and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the Assumption of our ladie, the king passed the water of Saine, and marched toward Poissie, which is a towne of great defense, and stronglie walled, and a marvellous strong castle within the same, which our enimies kept. And when our bauntgard was passed the towne, our reargard gaue an assault thereunto, and took the same, where were slaine more than three hundred men at arms of our enimies part.

In the Acts and monuments.

Georg. Buch, p. 101. in p. 101.

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part. And the next daie following, the earle of Suffolke, and sir Hugh Spenser, marched forth vpon the commons of the countrie assembled and well armed, and in fine discomfited them, and slue of them more than two hundred, & took thre score gentlemen prisoners, beside others.

And after that, the king marched toward grand Williers, and while he was there incamped, the kings bantgard was descried by the men at armes of the K. of Boheme: wherupon our men issued out in great hast and ioined battell with them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northampton issued out, and rescued the horsemen with the other soldiers: so that few or none of them were either taken or slaine, sauing onlie Thomas Talbot, but had againe the enimie in chase within two leagues of Amiens: of whome we took eight, and slue twelue of their best men at armes: the rest being well horsed, took the towne of Amiens. After this the king of England marched toward Mountise, vpon Bartholomew day, and came to the water of Some, where the French king had laid siue hundred men at armes, and thre thousand footmen, purposing to haue kept and stopped our passage: but thanks be to God, the K. of England and his host entered the same water of Some, where neuer man passed before, without losse of any of our men: and after that incountered with the enimie, and slue of them more than 2000, the rest fled to Abuille, in which chase were taken manie knights, esquiers, & men at armes. The same day sir Hugh Spenser took the towne of Crotaille, where he & his soldiers slue 400 men at armes, & kept the towne, where they found great store of bittels.

The same night incamped the king of England in the Forrest of Cressie vpon the same water, for that the French kings host came on the other side of the towne, nere vnto our passage: but he would not take the water of vs, & so marched toward Abuille. And vpon the fridaie next following, the king being still incamped in the said Forrest, our scuriers descried the French K. which marched toward vs in foure great battels: and hauing then vnderstanding of our enimies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide, we drew to the plaine field, and set our battels in arraie: and immediatlie the fight began, which was soze and cruell, & indured long, for our enimies behaved themselves right noble. But thanks be giuen vnto God, the victorie fell on our side, & the king our aduersarie was discomfited with all his host & put to flight: where also was slaine the king of Boheme, the duke of Lorraine, the earle of Alanson, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the earle of Harcourt, with his two sons, the earle of Daumarle, the earle de Peuers, and his brother the lord of Cronard, the archbishop of Nismes, the archbishop of Sens, the high prior of France, the earle

of Sauoie, the lord of Moles, the lord de Guies, le seigneur de Saint Mouant, le seigneur de Kolinburgh, with six earles of Almaine, and diuerse other earles, barons, knights, and esquiers, whose names are vnknowne. And Philip de Valois himselfe, with an other marques, which was called lord elector among the Romans, escaped from the battell. The number of the men of armes which were found dead in the field, beside the common soldiers and footmen, were a thousand siue hundred, fortie and two: and all that night the king of England with his host aboad armed in the field, where the battell was fought.

On the next morrow, before the sunne rose, there marched towards vs another great host nightie & strong, of the Frenchmen: but the earle of Northampton, and the earle of Suffolke issued out against them in thre battels, & after long and terrible fight, them likewise they discomfited by Gods great helpe and grace (for otherwise it could neuer haue bene) where they took of knights and esquiers a great number, and slue aboue two thousand, pursuing the chase thre leagues from the place where the battell was fought. The same night also the king incamped himselfe againe in the Forrest of Cressie, and on the morrow marched toward Bullongne, and by the way he took the towne of Staples: and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his siege, and laie his batterie to the same. And therefore our souereigne lord the king willethe and commandeth you, in all that euer you may, to send to the said siege bittels conuenient. For after the time of our departing from Caen, we haue trauelled through the countrie with great perill & danger of our people, but yet alwaies had of bittels plenty, thanks be to God therefore. But now (as the case standeth) we partlie need your helpe to be refreshed with bittels. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the towne of Calis, the fourteenth daie of September.

But now touching the siege of Calis, and to retorne where we left, ye shall vnderstand, that (as ye haue heard) the English campe was furnished with sufficient prouision of meat, drinke, aparell, munition, and all other things necessarie: and oftentimes also the soldiers made roads and forraies into the borders of France next adioining, as towards Guines, and saint Omer, ye euen to the gates of that towne, and sometime to Bullongne. Also the earle of Northampton fetched a bottie out of Arthois, and as he returned toward the host, he came to Terrouan, which towne the bishop had fortified and manned, belieuering the custodie thereof vnto sir Arnold Dandrehen: for when he heard the Englishmen approached, he durst not tarrie within the citie himselfe, but got him to saint Omers. Sir Arnold stood ballantlie to his defense, and would not yeld, till by verie force the Englishmen entered the citie, slue the soldiers, and took their capteine the said sir Arnold prisoner. The citie was put to sacke, and after set on fire. And when the Englishmen were departed, there came a number of Flemings from the siege, which they had laid

Iac. Meur.

Terrouan.

Terrouan
sworn by him.

laid before S. Omers, and began a new spoile, and fired such houses belonging to the canons and other, which the Englishmen had spared. Thus were those confines in most miserable case, for no house nor other thing was in safegard, but such as were contained within closure of strong towones and fortresses.

Froissard.

Sir John de
Wienne cap-
taine of Calis.The king of
England's
pique towards
the poze.The duke of
Bourmandie
sent for.The earle of
Derbie assem-
bled an armeComes soon
by the earle
of Derbie.

The king of England would not assaile the towne of Calis by giving anie assault to it, for he knew he should but lose his labour, and waste his people, it was so strong of it selfe, and so well furnished with men of warre. Capteine thereof also was one Sir John de Wienne, a valiant knight of Burgoigne, having with him diverse other right hardie and expert capteins, knights, and esquiers. When the said Sir John de Wienne saw the manner of the English host, and what the kings intention was, he constrained all the poze and meane people to depart out of the towne. The king of England perceiuing that this was done of purpose to spare vittels, would not drive them backe againe to helpe to consume the same, but rather pitied them; and therefore did not onelic shew them so much grace to suffer them to passe through his host, but also gaue them meat and drinke to dinner, and moreover two pence sterling to euerie person: which charitable deed won him much praise, and caused manie of his enemies to praise right hartlie for his good successe and prosperitie. A most notable example of pitie and compassion, teaching other to be in like sort affected, and also to know, that

Spernit calorum regem spector miserorum.

The French king meaning to raise the siege from Calis, which the king of England kept there, sent for his sonne the duke of Bourmandie, which had line long at the siege of Aiguillon, and now by commandement of his father left it soze against his will. In this meane while, the earle of Derby remained in the citie of Burdeaur, and there had held him during all the time that the siege laie before Aiguillon. When he once understood that the siege was raised, and that the duke of Bourmandie had broken by his campe, he sent into Gascoigne for all knights and esquiers that held of the English part. Then came to Burdeaur the lord Dalbret, the lord de Lespare, the lord de Kofam, the lord of Goussident, the lord of Dumiers, and a great sort more of the lords and nobles of Gascoigne, so that the earle had twelve hundred men of armes, two thousand archers, and three thousand other footmen. They passed the riuer of Garon, betwixt Burdeaur and Blaie, and toke their waie to Zandonge, so to go vnto Poitiers, and toke by the waie the towne of Spicabell by assault: they wan also the towne and castell of Aunat, Surgieres and Benon. Also they toke Parauant in Poictou by force, they burnt also the towne of Lusignan, but the castell they could not win. Moreover, they did win the bidge, towne, and castell of Tailburge, and slue all that were found within it, because a knight of the English part was slaine in the assaulting. From thence the earle of Derby went and laid siege to saint John Dangelie, which was yelded to him by composition.

At first he made three assaults, but could not win it, and so from thence he came to Bourge saint Parment, the which was wonne by force, and all that were within it slaine; and in like manner the towne of Pontreuil Bonin was wonne, and the most part of them within slaine, that toke vpon them to defend it, which were 2000 coiners of monie that wrought in the mint, which the French king kept there. From thence he passed forward with his host, and finally came before the citie of Poitiers, which was great and large, so that he could not besiege it but on the one side. The third daie after his comming thither, he caused the citie to be assaulted in three places, and the

greatest number were appointed to assaile the weakest part of the citie. As then there were no expert men of warre within Poitiers, but a great multitude of people unskillfull and not vled to any feats of warre, by reason whereof the Englishmen entered in at the weakest place. When they within salued the citie wone, they fled out at other gates, but yet there were slaine to the number of seauen hundred persons, for all that came in the Englishmens waie were put to the sword, men, women, and children. The citie was sacked and rifled, so that great store of riches was gotten there, as well of the inhabitants as other that had brought their goods thither for safegard of the same. The earle of Derby laie there ten or twelve daies, and longer might haue laie, if his pleasure had so bene, for there was none that durst go about to disquiet him, all the countrie trembled so at his presence.

The citie of
Poitiers
won by force.Saint John
Dangelie.

At his departure from Poitiers he left the citie void, for it was too great to be kept: his souldiers and men of warre were so pestered with riches, that they wist not what to do therewith: they esteemed nothing but gold and silver, and feathers for men of warre. The earle visited by the waie as he returned homewards to Burdeaur the towne of saint John Dangelie, and other fortresses which he had wonne in going towards Poitiers, and having furnished them with men, munition, and vittels necessarie, at his comming to Burdeaur he brake vp his host, and licencing his people to depart, thanked them for their paines and good seruice. All this while the siege continued still before Calis, and the French king amongst other deuises which he imagined how to raise the k. of England from it, procured the Scots to make warre into England, insomuch that Dauid king of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce which yet indured betwixt him and the king of England, vpon hope now to do some great exploit, by reason of the absence of king Edward, intangled thus with the besieging of Calis, he assembled the whole puissance of his realme, to the number of forty or threescore thousand fighting men (as some write) and with them entered into England, burning, spoiling, and wasting the countrie, till he came as far as Durham.

The king of
Scots inua-
deth Eng-
land.
Polydor.

The lords of England that were left at home with the quene for the sure keeping and defense of the realme, perceiuing the king of Scots thus bold to inuade the land, and in hope of spoile to send forth his light horsemen to harrie the countrie on each side him, assembled an host of all such people as were able to beare armour, both prests and other. Their general assemble was appointed at Newcastle, and when they were all together, they were to the number of 1200 men of armes, three thousand archers, and seauen thousand other, with the Welshmen, and issuing out of the towne, they found the Scots ready to come forward to encounter them. Then euerie man was set in order of battell, and there were foure battels ordeined, one to aid another. The first was led by the bishop of Durham, Gilbert de Minfreulle earle of Aragos, Henrie lord Percie, and the lord Henrie Scrope: the second by the archbishop of Yorke, and the lord Rafe Beuill: the third by the bishop of Lincoln, John lord Spowbray, and the lord Thomas de Rokelie: the fourth was governed by the lord Edward Balioll capteine of Berwike, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Ros: beside these were W. lord d'Incourt, Robert de Wgle, and other. The quene was there in person, and went from ranke to ranke, and encouraged hir people in the best manner she could, and that done she departed, committing them and their cause to God the giuer of all victorie.

The English
lords assemble
a power to
fight with the
Scots.
Froissard.Tho. Wals.
Froissard.
The quenes
diligence.

Shortly hereupon the Scots set forward to be-
gyn

The Scots
fight with
the king.

The English
men obtaine
the victorie.

The king of
Scots taken.

Heft. Boetius.
Ri. Southwell.
Fabian.
Froillard.

Penils crosse.

In Angl. prelijs
sub Edwardo 3.

See in Scots
land.

Heftor Boet.
Countries of
Scotlād sub-
dued by the
Englishmen.
Froillard.

John Cop-
land refuseth
to deliver the
K. of Scots.

gin the battell, and likewise did the Englishmen, and therewith the archers on both parts began to shot: the shot of the Scots did little hurt, but the archers of England soze galled the Scots, so that there was an hard battell. They began at nine of the clocke, and continued still in fight till none. The Scots had sharpe and heaute ares, & gaue with the same great and mightie strokes, howbeit finally the Englishmen by the helpe of God obtained the victorie, although they lost manie of their men. There were diuerse of the nobles of Scotland slaine, to the number of seven earles, beside lords. The king was taken in the field soze wounded, for he fought valiantlie. He was prisoner to an esquier of Northumberland, who as sone as he had taken him, rode out of the field with him, accompanied onlie with eight of his seruants, and rested not till he came to his owne castell where he dwelled, being thirtie miles distant from the place of the battell.

There was taken also beside him, the earles of Fife, Sutherland, Wighton, and Wenteth, the lord William Douglas, the lord Mescie, the archbishop of S. Andrewes, and another bishop, with sir Thomelin Foukes, and diuerse other men of name. There were slaine of one and other to the number of 15 thousand. This battell was fought before the citie of Durham at a place called Penils crosse, vpon a saturday next after the feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1346. Of this ouerthrow Christopher Ok-

land hath verie commendable written, saying,
haud omine dextro
Iam Scotus intulerat vim Dunelmensibus agris,
Cum formidandum seuis bellum instruit Anglus,
Aggrediturque hostem violentem fœdera sacra.
Nominis incerti Scotice plebs obuia gentis
sternitur, & tristi gladio cadit impia turba,
Frustula obliuantur Scotie comitesque ducisque,
Quorum pars iacet occumbens, pars cetera capta
captiuum corpus dedit vincentibus, auro
Et pacto pretio redimendum, bellicus ut mos
postulat. At David Scotie rex captus ad urbem
Londoniensi fidei pendens dignissima fracta
supplicia, adductus celebri concluditur arce.
Exiguus numerus volucris pedes equorum
Effugit in patriam, testis certissimus Anglos
denicisse suos, & tristia funera narrant.

He that will see more of this battell, may find the same also set forth in the Scottish historie, as their writers haue written thereof. And for so much as by the circumstances of their writings, it should seeme they kept the remembrance of the same battell per seclie registred, we haue in this place onlie shewed what other writers haue recorded of that matter, and left that which the Scottish chronicles write, to be seene in the life of king David, without much abridging thereof. The Englishmen after this victorie thus obtained, took the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, and also without any resistance subdued the countries of Anandale, Galloway, Mers, Tindale, and Eskike forest, extending their marches forth at that time vnto Tokburnes Beth, and Solway hedge, and after vnto Earlinkips, and crosse Caue.

The queene of England being certeinly informed that the king of Scots was taken, & that John Copland had conueied him out of the field, no man understood to what place, she incontinently wrote to him, commanding him forthwith to bring his prisoner king David vnto hir presence: but John Copland wrote to hir againe for a determinate answer, that he would not deliver his prisoner the said king David vnto any person lining, man or woman, except onlie to the king of England, his souereigne lord and master. Whereupon the queene wrote letters

to the king, signifieng to him both of the hapie victorie chanced to his people against the Scots, and also of the demerit of John Copland, in detaining the Scottish king. King Edward immediatly by letters commanded John Copland to repaire vnto him where he late at siege before Calis, which with all convenient speed he did, and there so excused himselfe of that which the queene had found hirselfe grieved with him, for detaining the king of Scots from hir, that the king did not onlie pardon him, but also gaue to him five hundred pounds sterling of yearelie rent, to him & to his helres for ever, in reward of his good service and valiant prowes, and made him esquire for his bodie, commanding him yet vpon his returne into England to deliver king David vnto the queene, which he did, and so excused himselfe also vnto hir, that she was therewith satisfied and contented. Then the queene, after she had taken order for the safe keeping of the king of Scots, and good gouernment of the realme, took the sea and sailed ouer to the king hir husband still lieng before Calis.

Whilest Calis was thus besieged by the king of England, the Flemings which had latelie before beene besieged Betwine, and had raised from thence about the same time that the battell was fought at Cressle, now assemble together againe, and doing what damage they might against the Frenchmen on the borders, they laie siege vnto the towne of Aire. Whereouer, they wrought so for the king of England (certeinly requiring their friendship in that behalfe) that their souereigne lord Lewes earle of Flanders being as then about fiftene yeares of age, fianced the ladie Isabell daughter to the king of England, more by constraint indeed of his subiects, than for any good will he bare to the king of England: for he would often saie, and openlie protest, that he would neuer marrie hir whose father had slaine his: but there was no remedie, for the Flemings kept him in maner as a prisoner, till he granted to followe their aduise. But the same weeke that the mariage was appointed to be solemnized, the earle as he was abroad in hawking at the hearon, scale awate and fled into France, not skaieng to ride his horse vpon the spurs till he came into Arthois, and so dishonorablely disappointed both the king of England, and his owne naturall subiects the Flemings, to their high displeasure.

While the king late thus before Calis, diuerse lords and knights came to see him out of Flanders, Brabant, Heinault, and Almaine. Amongst other came the lord Robert of Namur, and was retained with the king as his seruant, the king giuing him three hundred pounds sterling of yearelie pension out of his coffers to be paid at Bruges. During the time that the siege thus continued before Calis, the lord Charles de Blois, that named himselfe duke of Britaine, was taken before a castell in Britaine, called la Roch Darien, and his armie discomfited, cheslie by the aid of that valiant English knight sir Thomas Dagworth, who had bene sent from the siege of Calis by king Edward to assist the countesse of Pontfort and other his friends against the said Charles de Blois, that with a gret armie of Frenchmen and Britains, had the same time besieged the said castell of Roch Darien, constraining them within in such forceable manner, that they stood in great need of present succours. The said sir Thomas Dagworth aduertised hereof, with three hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers of his owne retinues, beside certein Britaines, approached to the siege, and on the 20 of June earlie in the morning, a quarter of an houre before day, suddenly set vpon the enemies, who hauing knowledge of his coming, were readie to receiue him as the day before, but being now surprised

John Cop-
land re-
fused.

Ja. Meir.
The Flem-
ings.

Froillard.
1347
Anno Regis

The earle of
Flanders
strenuously
promised
marriage to
the king of
England.

The French
king assem-
bled an armie
of 100,000
men.

The lord
Charles de
Blois was
captured.

Sir Thomas
Dagworth
Froillard.

Sir John
Dagworth
English
knight who
also came
with him.

The French
king sent
him to
Calis.

An. Reg. 21.

821.
 pised thus on the sudden, they were greatlie ama-
 zed: for they that were within Roch Darlen, as soon
 as the appearance of daie had discovered the matter
 unto them, so that they might know their friends
 from their enemies, they issued forth, and holpe not a
 little to the atchiuing of the victorie, which was clere-
 lie obtained before sunne-rising, and the French ar-
 mie quite discomfited, greatlie to the praise of the
 said sir Thomas Dagworth and his companie, con-
 sidering their small number, in comparison of their
 aduersaries, who were reckoned to be twelue hun-
 dred good men of armes, knights, and esquires, beside
 six hundred other armed men, two thousand cross-
 bowes, six hundred archers of the countrie of Wis-
 taine, and footmen of commons innumerable.

There were taken, besides the lord Charles de Blois naming himselfe duke of Britaine, diuerse other lords and men of name, as monsieur Guie de la Maall sonne and heire to the lordla Maall, which died in the battell, the lord of Rocheford, the lord de Beaumanoir, the lord of Nolache, with other lords, knights, and esquires, in great numbers. There were also the said lord de la Maall, the Count of Rohan, the lord of Chasteau Brian, the lord de Spalles street, the lord de Quintin, the lord de Rouge, the lord of Meruall and his sonne, sir Rafe de Pontford, and manye other worthie men of armes, knights and esquires, to the number of betwixt sir and seven hundred, as by a letter written by the said sir Thomas Dagworth, and registred in the historie of Robert de Auesburie both appeare.

In this meane while, king Philip hauing daile
woord how the power of his enimie king Edward
did increase by aid of the Easterlings and other na-
tions, which were to him allied, and that his mei-
twinth Calis were brought to such an extreme point,
that without speedie rescue they could not long keepe
the towne, but must of force render it ouer into the
hands of his said enimie, to the great prejudice of all
the realme of France, after great deliberation ta-
ken vpon this so weightie a matter, he commanded
euerie man to meet him in their best arraile for the
warre, at the feast of Pentecost in the citie of Am-
iens, or in those marches. At the date and place thus
appointed, there came to him Dues duke of Bur-
goyne, and the duke of Berryman die eldest sonne to
the king, the duke of Orleans his yongest sonne, the
duke of Burbon, the earle of Fflais, the lord Lois de
Sautie, the lord John of Beffault, the earle of Armi-
nacke, the earle of Foixell, and the earle Valentins,
is, with manie others.

Their noble men being thus assembled, they tooke councell which waie they might passe to giue battell to the Englishmen: it was thibright the best waie had bene through Flanders, but the Flemings in fauor of the king of England denied, not onlie to open their passages to the Frenchmen, but also had leuied an armie of an hundred thousand men of wine and o- ther, and laid siege to Aire, and burnt the countrie all about. Whereon there were manie sharpe bickerings and force incontinents betwixt the Flemings and such Frenchmen as king Philip sent forth a- gainst them both, now, whilst the french armie late about Amiens, and bello before, during all the time that the siege lay at Calais, for all the french towins upon the frontiers were fortified with strong garri- sons of souldiers, as the saint Omers, Arras, Bul- longne, Aire and so forth, and those men of war were ever readie upon occasion to attempt sundrie exploits. After this, when the armie of the Flemings was broken-up, and returned home, or rather dri- uen into parts, and lodged along on the frontiers, the french king with tith thousand men one and other came for ward, taking his way through the countrie

called la Belme, and so by the countrie of Frank-
berge, came streight to the hill of Sangate, betwixt
Calis and Calant.

The king of England had caused a strong castell to be made betwene the towne of Calis and the sea, to close by that passage, and had placed therein three score men of armes, and two hundred archers, which kept the haven in such sort that nothing could come in nor out. Also considering that his enemies could come neither to succour the towne, nor to annoie his host, except either by the downes alongst the sea side, or else aboue by the high waie, he caused all his nauie to dwale alongst by the coast of the downes, to stop by that the Frenchmen should not approch that waie. Also the erle of Derby being come thither out of Guen, was appointed to keepe Hewland bridge, with a great number of men of armes and archers, so that the Frenchmen could not approch anie waie, vnlesse they would haue come through the marshes, which to do was not possible.

Fiftene hundred of the commons of Tourne
man a tower, which the Englishmen had made and
kept for the impeachment of the Frenchmens pas-
sage by the downes, but that notwithstanding, when
the marshals of France had well viewed all the pas-
sages and streets through the which their armie mu-
st passe, if they meant to fight with the Englishmen,
they well perceived that they could not come to the
Englishmen to giue them battell, without the king
would lose his people, wherevpon (as Froissard saith)
the French king sent the lord Geoffrey de Charnie,
the lord Eustace de Ribamont, Guie de Pele, and
the lord de Beaufieu vnto the king of England, which
required him on their maisters behalfe to appoint cer-
teine of his counsell, as he would likewise appoint
certeine of his, which by common consent might ad-
iuse betwene them an indifferent place for them to
trie the battell vpon: wherevnto the king of Eng-
land answered, That there he was and had bene al-
most a whole yeare, which could not be unknowne to
his aduersarie their maister, so that he might haue
come soner if he would: but now, sith he had suffered
him there to remaine so long, without offer of bat-
tell, he meant not to accomplish his desire, nor to de-
part from that, which to his great cost he had brought
now at length to that point, that he might easilie
win it. Wherefore if the French be, nor his host could
not passe those waies which were closed by the Eng-
lish powier, let them take some other passage, (said he)
if they thinke to come hither.

In this nicane while came two cardinals frō pope Clement, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings, whereupon commissioners were appointed, as the dukes of Burgoigne and Burbone, the lord Lewis de Saincte, and the lord John de Heinault, other wise called lord Beaumont, on the French part: and the earles of Derby and Northampton, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the lord Walter de Sparritie, on the English part. These commissioners and the legates (as intreators betwene the parties) met and continued thre daies together, but agreed not vpon any conclusion; and so the cardinals departed; and the French king perceiving he could not haue his purpose, brake by his host and returned to France, bidding Calis farewell. After that the French king with his host was once departed from Sangate, without ministering any succour to them within the towne, they began to sue for a parley, which being granted, in the end they were contented to yield, and the king granted to releue them and the towne on these conditions; that fir of the chiefe burgeses of the towne should come forth bareheaded, barefooted, and barelegged, and in their shirts, with halthers about their necks, with the keys of the towne and castell in

The carle of
Derbie.

The request
of the French
lords to the
king of Eng
land.

This answer

**Cardinals set
to intreat of
peace.**

They Depart

The French
Is returneth
into France.

The conditions of the
surrender
of Calis.

P n. f.

their

their hands, to submit themselves simple to the kings will, and the residue he was contented to take to mercie.

This determinate resolution of king Edward being intimated to the commons of the towne, assembled in the market place by the sound of the common bell before the capteine, caused manie a weeping eie amongst them: but in the end, when it was perceived that no other grace would be obtained, sir of the most wealthie burgessees of all the towne agreed to hazard their liues for the safegard of the residue, and so according to the prescript order deuilled by the k. they went forth of the gates, and were presented by the lord Walter de Spannie to the king, before whom they kneled downe, offered to him the keies of the towne, and besought him to haue mercie vpon them. But the king regarding them with a fell countenance, commanded straight that their heads should be stricken off. And although manie of the noble men did make great intreatance for them, yet would no grace be shewed, untill the queene being great with child, came and kneled downe before the king hir husband, and with lamentable chere & weeping eies intreated so much for them, that finallie the kings anger was asswaged & his rigo: turned to mercie (for

Sir burgessees of Calis presented to the king.

The queene obtained their pardon.

Calis yielded to the king of England.

Calis made a colonie of Englishmen.

The queene brought to bed in the castle of Calis. Polydor.

Caxton, la. Meir. A truce.

women hard to agree.

Sir Americ de Hauie.

Eleitur namu uocergante Dem)

so that he gaue the prisoners vnto hir to do hir pleasure with them. Then the queene commanded them to be brought into hir chamber, and caused the halters to be taken from their necks, clothed them anew, gaue them their dinner, and bestowing vpon ech of them sir nobles, appointed them to be conueied out of the host in safegard, and set at libertie.

Thus was the strong towne of Calis yielded vnto the hands of king Edward, the third of August, in the yeare 1347. The capteine the lord John de Calicene, and all the other capteins and men of name were staied as prisoners, and the common soldiers and other meane people of the towne were licenced to depart and void their houses, leauing all their armes and riches behind them. The king would not haue any of the old inhabitants to remaine in the towne, save onlie a priest, and two other ancient personages, such as best knew the customes, lawes and ordinances of the towne. He appointed to send ouer thither amongst other Englishmen, there to inhabit, 36 burgessees of London, and those of the wealthiest sort, for he meant to people the towne onelie with Englishmen, for the better and more sure defense thereof. The king and queene were lodged in the castle, and continued there, till the queene was deliuered of a daughter named Spargaret.

The cardinals, of whome ye heard before, being come as legats from pope Clement to moue communication of peace, did so much in the matter, that a truce was granted betwixt the realme of England & France, for the terme of twelue moneths, or two yeares (as Froissard saith.) But the English chronicle and Iacobus Meir seeme to agree, that this truce was taken but for nine moneths, though afterwards the same was proroged. To the which truce all parties agreed, Britaine excepted, for the two women there would not be quieted, but still pursued the war the one against the other. After that this truce was accorded, the king with the queene his wife returned into England, and left as capteine within Calis one sir Americ de Hauie an Italian knight, or (as other booke haue) he was but capteine of the castle, or of some one of the towers of that towne, which seemeth more like to be true, than that the king should commit the whole charge of the towne vnto his goernement, being a stranger borne, and therefore Iacobus Meir is the more to be credited, that writeth how sir Americ of Hauie was left but in charge

with the castell onelie, and that the towne was committed to the keeping of the lord John Beauchampe, and Leues his brother.

But now that there was a peace thus concluded betwixt the two kings, it seemed to the English people that the summe brake forth after a long cloudie season, by reason both of the great plentie of althings, and remembrance of the late glorious victories: for there were few women that were housekeepers within this land, but they had some furniture of household that had bene brought to them out of France, as part of the spoile got in Caen, Calis, Carenten, or some other good towne. And beside household stuffe, the English maidens and matrones were bedecked and trimmed vp in French womens iewels and apparell, so that as the French women lamented for the losse of those things, so our women rejoiced of the gaine. In this 22 yeare, from Whidsummer to Whistmasse for the more part it continuallie rained, so that there was not one day and night drie together, by reason thereof great floods ensued, and the ground therewith was sore corrupted, and manie inconueniences ensued, as great sicknesses, and other, in somuch that in the yeare following in France the people died wonderfullie in diuerse places. In Italie also, and in manie other countries, as well in the lands of the infidels, as in christendome, this grievous mortalitie reigned to the great destruction of people. About the end of August, the like death began in diuerse places of England, and especiallie in London, continuing so for the space of twelue moneths following. And vpon that ensued great barrenesse, as well of the sea, as the land, neither of them yielding such plentie of things as before they had done. Where vpon vittels and cozne became scant and hard to come by.

About the same time died John Streteford archbishop of Canturburie, after whome succeeded John Wifford, who liued not in that dignitie past ten moneths, and then followed Thomas Becketwardin, who deceased within one yeare after his consecration, so that then Simon Alip was consecrated archbishop by pope Clement the first, being the 53 archbishop that had sit in that seat. Within a while after, William archbishop of Yorke died: in whose place succeeded John Torbie, being the 44 archbishop that had gouerned that church. Moreover in this 23 yeare of king Edwards reigne, the great mortalitie in England still continuing, there was a practise in hand for reconering againe of Calis to the French kings possession. The lord Gessrie of Charnie lieng in the towne of S. Omers, did practise with sir Amuric de Hauie, to be receiued into the towne of Calis by the castell, secretly in the night season. The Italian gaue care to the lord Gessrie his sute, and to make few words, couenanted for the summe of twentie thousand crownes to betraie the towne vnto him, in such sort as he could best deuise.

Here writers varie: for Froissard saith that king Edward had information hereof, before that sir Americ de Hauie uttered anything himselfe; but the French chronicles, and also other writers affirme, that the Italian aduertised the king of all the drift and matter betwixt him & the lord Gessrie of Charnie, before he went through with the bargain. But whether by him or by other, truly it is the king was made priue to the matter of haunting Bowser in Essex (where he kept the feast of Whistmasse) & there vpon departing from thence, he came to Dover, and the daie before the night of the appointment made for the deliuerie of the castell of Calis (hauing secretly made his provision (he took shipping, and landed the same night at Calis, in so secret manner, that but few of the towne understood of his arrival. he brought

1347
Thom. W.

Anno Reg.
Edward.

1347
Anno Reg.
Edward.

1347
Anno Reg.
Edward.

1347
Anno Reg.
Edward.

1347
Anno Reg.
Edward.

1347
Anno Reg.
Edward.

An. Reg. 23, 24.

g. 23, 24.
brought with him out of England three hundred men
of armes, and six hundred archers, whom he laid in
chambers and towers within the castell, so closelie
that few or none perceiued it, the manner he knew by
sir Amerie de Hauie his aduertisements (according
lie as it was agreed betwixt them) that the lord Des-
frie of Charnie was appointed to come and enter the
towne that night, for the king had commanded sir
Amerie to proceed in merchandizing with the said
lord Charnie, and onelie to make him priuite of the
day & houre in the which the feat should be wrought.
The day & houre of Charnie being couenanted

1350

The lord Goeffrie de Charnie being couenanted that he should be receiued into Calis the first night of the new yeare, departed from S. Dimers, where he had assembled five hundred speares, the last day of December toward night, and so in secret wise he passed forth, till about the middelt of the next night after, he approached nere to Calis, and sending an hundred men of armes to take possession of the castell, and to paie the Italian his twentie thousand crownes, came to the posterne of the castell, where sir Amerie de Paule hauing let downe the posterne bridge, was ready to bring them in by the same posterne, and so the hundred men of armes entered, and sir Edward de Kentie deliuered to the Italian his twentie thousand crownes in a bag, who then he had cast the crownes into a coffer (for he had no leisure to tell them) he brought the Frenchmen into the dungeon of the castell, as it were to possesse them of the cheefest strength of the fortreffe. Within this dungeon or tolower was the king of England closelie laid, with two hundred men of armes, who issued out with their swords and ares in their hands, crying Hannetie to the rescue, for the king had so ordeined, that both he and his sonne should fight vnder the banner of the lord Goffrie de Charnie. as cheefe of that enterprise.

The king crieth Hannie to the rescue.

Then were the Frenchmen greatly abashed, in such wise, that perceiuing how no defense might aduance them, they yielded themselves without any great shew of resistance. Herewith the Englishmen issued out of the castell into the towne, and mounted on horsebacke, for they had the French prisoners horses, and then the archers roode to Bullongne gate, where the lord Gessrie was with his banner before him of gules thre scutcheons siluer. He had great desire to be the first that should enter the towne: but shortly the king of England with the prince his son was readie at the gate, vnder the banner of the lord Walter de Armannie to assaile him. There were also other banners, as the earles of Stafford and Suffolke, the lord John Pontacut brother to the earle of Salisburie, the lord Beauchampe, the lord Berkley, and the lord de la Mare. When the great gate was set open, and they all issued forth crying Armannie to the rescue. The Frenchmen perceiuing that they were betrayed, alighted from their horses, and put themselves in order of battell on foot, determining to fight it out like valiant men of war. The king perceiuing this, caused his people likewise to be set in order of battell, & sent thre hundred archers to Pethelande bridge, to distresse those Frenchmen, which he heard should be there. This was carele in the morning but incontinently it was daie: the Frenchmen kept their ground a while, and manie feats of armes were done of both parts, but the Englishmen neuer increased out of Calis, and the Frenchmen diminished, so that finally they were overcome, as well in the one place, as in the other.

The earles of
Gloucester and
Dorset, the
lordes Monta-
gute, Berkeley
and la Ware.

The French-
men slight
on foot.

Dir Gustave
de Ribbaumont
a right valiant
ant knight.

waie, and there fought fiercelie together. The Frenchmen did behaue themselves right balliantlie, and especially sir Eustace de Ribamont: he strake the king that daie twise vpon his knees, but finallye he was taken prisoner by the king himselfe. The lord Gesstrie of Charnie was also taken prisoner, and wounded right sore, but the king of his noble courage caused him to be dressed by surgeons, and tenderlie looked vnto. There were slaine, sir Henric de Blois, and sir Depin de la Mare, with other, to the number of sir hundred. Monsieur de Memozance escaped with great danger. Froissard saith, that this battell was fought in the yeare 1348, vpon the last of December, towards the next morning being Betweyres daie: but (as Auesburie & Walsingham haue, who begin the yeare at our ladie day) this enterprise chanced 1349, and so consequentie in the 23 yeare of this kings reigne. All the prisoners were brought to the castell of Calis, where the 14. the next night gaue them a supper, & made them right hartie cheare, and gaue to sir Eustace de Ribamont a rich chaplet of pearles, which he then did weare on his owne head, in token that he had best deserued it for his manfull prowes shewed in the fight, & beside that in fauour of his tried balliance, he acquit him of his ranfome, and set him at libertie. This fact of the king was roiall in deed, and his clemencie gratilie to be commended; & therfore it is well said to this purpose,

He is taken
prisoner by
the king of
England.
The lord Gif
frie de Char-
nie is taken.

*Gloria consequitur reges sic bella gerentes,
Sic certare parit decus immortale duello.*

30 About the end of August the death in London ceased, which had bin so great & vehement within that citie, that ouer & beside the bodie buried in other accustomed burieng places (which for their infinit number cannot be reduced into account) there were buried that yeare dailie, from Candlemasse till Easter, in the Charterhouse yard of London, moze than two hundred dead corpses. Also this yeare, by the earnest sute of the two cardinals which were sent (as ye haue heard) from pope Clement the first, a peace was concluded for one yeare. There met nere unto Calis for the treatie of this peace, the foresaid two cardinals, as mediatoz; and for the king of England, the bishop of Norwich tresuroz and high chancelloz of the realme, with others came thither as commissioners; and in like maner for the French king, there appeared the bishop of Lion, and the abbat of S. Denise.

Anno Reg. 24.
The death
ceaseth.
Auesduric.

¶ This yere in August died Philip de Valois the French king. Here is to be noted, that all those that were bozne, after the beginning of that great mortallitie whereof ye haue heard, wanted foure cheeke teeth (when they came to the tyme of growth) of those which the people before that tyme commonlie used to haue, so that they had but 28. In this 24 yere of this kings reigne, there was a combat fought in liffes within the kings palace of Westminster, betwixt the lord John, bastard sonne to Philip king of France, & a knight of the towne of Wyres in Flanders; but the bastard had the vpper hand, and vanquished his aduersarie. ¶ About the feast of the decollation of saint John Baptist, king Edward aduertised of a fleet of Spaniards returning forth of Flanders, that was laden with clothes and other riches, assembled a conuenient power of men of armes and archers, & at Sandwich toke the sea with them, sailing forth, till vpon the coast of Winchelsie he met with the Spaniards, and there assailed them; so that betwixt him and those Spaniards, there was a fore fight, and long continued, to the great losse of people on both parts; but in the end, the bright brame of victorie shone vpon the English sailles, so that all the Spaniards were slaine, for they were so proud and obstinat (as Walsingham affirmeth) that they would not yeld, but rather chose to die, & so they did indeed.

When bozine
with fewer
teeth than in
times past.
Caxton.
Tho. Walsin.
Polychron.

in combat.

Auesburie.
Thom. Walf.

A Spanish
fleet.
Spaniards
vanquish'd by
the R. of En-
gland by sea.

பு.ந.த.

either

Thom. Wall.

Auncburie.

either on the Englishmens weapons points, or else were they disowned there in the sea, sir and twentie of their ships were taken, in the which was found great store of good ware and riches. And so the king thought himselfe well reuenged of the Spaniards, which in the last yeare about Alballontide, had entred into the riuer of Garons, as it runneth by towards Bourdeaux, and there finding manie ships fraught with wines, slae all the Englishmen they found aboard, and toke auaie the ships with them: which iniurie moued the king to enterprise this exploit now at this time against them.

Froissard.
Sir Thomas
Dagworth
slaine.

Embassadoys
sent to the
pope.

About the beginning of August, sir Raoull de Cafoys, and diuerse other knights and esquires, to the number of sir score men of armes, fought before a castell called Aukon, with sir Thomas Dagworth, and there slae the same sir Thomas, and to the number of one hundred men of armes with him. There were sent solenne messengers this yeare vnto Auignon, for the establishing of a peace, mentioned betwixt the king of England and France, at the sute of the pope, so that king Edward should haue resigned his title and claime to the crowne of France, and the French king should haue giuen ouer vnto him the whole duchie of Guien, to hold the same free lie, without knowledging of reloit or superioritie, or doing any manner of homage for the same: but such delays were made, and the sute so prolonged by the pope, that the earle of Derby, who with others was sent to him about this matter, returned without speach of his purpose for the which he went.

Anno Reg. 25.
1331

Froissard.

In the five and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the Frenchmen hauing laid siege vnto the towne of saint John Dangel, the lord Dalbrets son, hauing assembled sir hundred men of armes, Gascoignes and Englishmen, meant to worke some feat for reliefe of them within, wher vpon, as he was marching through the countrie of Faindorge nere vnto Faints the eighth of Aprill, or (as other haue) the first, he was encountered by the lord Guie de Bell, one of the marshals of France, & other French lords, where at length, the Frenchmen were discomfited, manie also slaine, and diuerse taken prisoners, of which number was the said marshall, with his brother the lord William, and sir Arnold de Wandzeben, beside others, to the number of 300 men of armes, but yet the siege remained, till for want of vittells the towne was rendered to the Frenchmen.

The castell
of Guines
sworne.

Polydor.

The same yeare in October, an English archer of the garrison of Calis, named John of Wancaster, by licence of the lord deputie of Calis, toke with him threescore persons men of armes and archers, and in the night that goth before the feast daie of S. Vincent, in the last quarter of the same night, he coming to the castell of Guines, found as well the watch as others fast all ye, where vpon he passed a water that adioined to the castell, wading vp to the girde, and so came to the wall, where he & his companie rearing vp ladders, mounted by the same so secretly, that slaieng the watch, being not past thre or foure persons that were on the wals, they entred the castell, and finding the Frenchmen asleep, slae those that vpon their wakening made any defence, and toke the residue, whome they suffered to depart: and by this meanes they wane the castell, finding great store of vittells within, and so as they found it, they kept it to the king of Englands vse. The French histories declare, that one Guiliam de Beauconroy that was capitaine of this castell, betrayed the place to the Englishmen, for a summe of monie, and when the French king required restitution because the truce was not yet expired, he was shifted off with this forged answer, that nothing was excepted by the assurance of the truce, concerning things that should be

bought and sold. The Frenchman that betrayed it, was shortly after put to execution at Amiens.

In this yeare were the first pices of siluer called grotes and halfe grotes of foure pence & two pence the pice stamped by the kings appointment, through the counsell of William de Edington bishop of Winchester lord treasurer. Before that time, there were no other coines, but the noble, halfe noble, and quarter noble, with the pices of siluer called sterlings. Bicause these new pices wanted of the weight of the old sterling coine, the pices as well of vittells as of other wares, did daily rise, and seruants and workemen waring more craftie than before time they had bene, demanded great wages. This yeare, vpon the euen of the Assumption of our lodie, sir John Bentlie knight, as then lord warden of Britaine, fought with the lord Guie de Bell, marshall of France (latelie ransomed out of captiuitie) in the parts of Britaine, nere to a place called Pouron, betwixt Rennes and Blureimell, where the said marshall was slaine, together with the lord of Briquebeke the Chateline of Beauuais, and diuerse other both Britains and Frenchmen.

In the seven and twentieth yeare of his reigne, king Edward held a parlement at Westmynster, after the feast of Easter, in which an ordinance was deuised, what wages seruants and laborers should be allowed, prohibiting them to receiue aboue the rate which they were accustomed to take before the yeare of the great mortalitie. Seruants and laborers were indeed growen to be more subtil than before time they had bene, but by reason of the pices of things were enhanced, it is like they demanded greater wages than they had done before time: and one cause of the dearth was imputed to the new coine of monie, being of lesse weight in the value thereof, than before it had bene, so that the bishop of Winchester being lord treasurer, who had counselled the king to ordaine those grotes and halfe grotes, was euill spoken of amongst the people. In this parlement there were statutes also made, that clothes should in length and in breadth through the realme, beare the same assise, as was ordeined in the parlement holden at Potheampton. Also, that all weares, milles, and other lets, should be removed forth of riuers, that might be any hinderance of ships, boats, or lighters to passe by and downe the same. But these good ordinances toke little or none effect, by reason of bybes that walked abroad, and frendship of lords and great men, that sought rather their owne commoditie, than the common-wealths.

Shortly after the feast of Pentecost, the earle of Derby and Lancaster was made duke of Lancaster, and Rafe lord Stafford was created earle of Stafford. Whereas there had bene a treatie betwixt the lords of Britaine, and the king of England, not onelie for the deliuerance of the lord Charles de Blois, but also for the matching of his eldest sonne in marriage with one of king Edwards daughters, and so to inioy the dukedome in peace: this matter was so far forwarde, that in the yeare last passed, the said lord Charles, leauing two of his sonnes and a daughter in pledge for the payment of fortie thousand liours, agreed vpon for his ransome; he was permitted to returne into Britaine to prouide that monie: and withall, to procure a dispensation, that his eldest sonne might marrie with one of king Edwards daughters, notwithstanding that other wise they were within the degrees of consanguinitie, prohibiting them to marrie. Here vpon this yeare about Michaclmas, he returned into England with the same dispensation: but because about the same time the Britains had taken by stealth an Island with a castell therein, that the Englishmen had kept, & put all those which they found

Grates
halfe grotes
two pence

1331
Anno Reg.

Agouon.

1331

Anno Reg.
Thom. Wall.
In the
year 1331
the duke
of
Britaine
was
ransomed
out of
captiuitie
for
the
summe
of
fortie
thousand
liours.

Statutes
made
concerning
clothes
and
weares.

Creations
nobles.

The lord
Charles de
Blois.

An. Reg. 27, 28, 29.

round therein, to the sword, the said lord Charles, or
ther wife duke of Britaine, lost the kings favour, so
that he would heare no more of anie such alliance, by
waie of marriage, as had bene communed of be-
fore: by reason whereof the Britissh lords, that were
in great number come ouer with the lord Charles de
Blois, were constrained to returne home, without
achyving anie part of their purpose, leauing the said
lord Charles and his chyldren behind them still here
in England.

On the fourth day of September, the duke of
Bunswike and the duke of Lancaster should haue
fought a combat in Paris, about words the duke of
Lancaster should speake, in derogation of the duke
of Bunswikes honor, for the which the said duke had
appealed him in the court of France: but when they
were ready to haue tried it, and were on horse backe
with their speares in hand within the lists, at point to
haue runne together, the French king caused them
to staie, and taking on him the matter, made them
friends, and agreed them. This yeare the king by ad-
uise of his counsell remoued the mart or staple of
wools from the towne in Flanders, and caused the
same to be kept at Westminster, Chichester, Lin-
colne, Wythowe, Canturburie and Hull. This was
done in despite of the Flemings, because they held
not the cournants and agreements which they had
made with the king, in the life time of Jaques Arte-
weld, by whose prouision the said mart or staple had
bene kept in sundrie townes in Flanders, to their
great aduantage and commoditie.

Sir Walter Bentlie, vpon his comming ouer
from Britaine, where he had bene the kings lieu-
tenant, was committed to the tower; where he re-
mained prisoner for the space of twelue moneths, be-
cause he refused to deliuer by the castels within his
gouernement, vnto sir John Auenell knight, being
appointed to receiue the same, to the vse of the lord
Charles de Blois, at the same time when the treatie
of agreement was in hand, betwixt the king, and the
said lord Charles. But after, when it was perceiued
what damage might haue ensued by deliuerie of those
castels, sir Walter was set at libertie vpon suerties
yet they were bound for his forth comming, and that
he should not depart the realme: at length, he was
receiued againe into the kings fauour. In the sum-
mer of this seauen and twentieth yeare, was so great
a drought, that from the latter end of March, fell lit-
tle raine, till the latter end of Iulie, by reason where-
of, manie inconueniences ensued: and one thing is
speciallie to be noted, that come the yeate following
ward scant, and the pryce began this yeare to be
greatlie enhanced. Also beanes and muttons wared
deere for the want of grasse, and this chanced both in
England and France, so that this was called the
deere summer. The lord William duke of Bauere
or Bawarie, and earle of Zeland, brought manie
shipps into London, fraught with wye, for relafe of
the people, who otherwise had, through their present
pining penurie, if not utterly perished, yet pitti-
fully pined.

In the eight and twentieth yeare of king Edwards
reigne, vpon a treatie that was holden by commisi-
oners, appointed by the two kings of England and
France, after Easter, they were in manner fullie a-
gred vpon a peace, so that nothing wanted, but put-
ting vnto their seals. In the articles whereof it was
contained, that the king of England should inioy all
the lants of his dukedome of Aquitaine, without hold-
ing the same of anie by homage, or reiozt, and in con-
sideration thereof he should resigne all his claime to
the crowne of France. Wherevpon were ambassa-
dors sent from either king, vnto the pope, and a truce
taken, to indure till the feast of saint Iohn Baptis

in the yeare next following. Ambassadors for the
king of England were these: Henrie duke of Lan-
caster, John earle of Arundell, the bishops of Dor-
wich and London, and the lord Cuie de Brian. For
the French king, the archbishop of Rouen lord chan-
celor of France, the duke of Bourbon, and others:
but when the matter came to be heard before the pope
about Christmasse, all went to smoke that had bene
talked of: for the Frenchmen denied that the arti-
cles were drawne according to the meaning of their
commissioners, and the pope also winked at the mat-
ter, so that the English ambassadors (when they saw
that nothing would be concluded) returned home all
of them) the bishop of Dorwich excepted who depar-
ted this life there) and so their iourne came to none
effect.

This yeare, the tenth of Februarie, there rose a sore
debate betwixt the scholers and townsmen of Wy-
nford. The occasion rose by reason of the falling out
of a scholer with one that sold wine: for the scholer
perceiuing himselfe euill used, potwized the wine on
the drawers head, knocking the pot about his pate, so
as the bloud ranne downe by his eares. Wherevpon
began a sore fraie betwixt the scholers and townes-
men, which continued for the most part of two daies
together. There were twentie townsmen slaine, be-
side those that were hurt: but at length, there came
a great number of countymen from the villa-
ges next adioining, to aid the townsmen, entring
the towne with a blacke banner, and so fiercelie assai-
led the scholers, that they were constrained to flee to
their houses and hofels, but their enemies pursuing
them, brake vp their doores, entered their chambers,
thus diuerse of them, and threw them into pyries,
tare their bookes, and bare awaie their goods. The
scholers herewith toke such displeasure, that they
departed the Vniuersitie: those of Sperton colledge,
and other the like colledges onelie excepted.

The bishop of Lincolne inhibited preachers to cele-
brate diuine seruice in presence of anie laie man
within that towne of Wyndford; and the king send-
ing his iustices thither, to take knowledge of this dis-
orderlie riot, there were diuerse, both of the townes-
men and scholers indicted, and certeine of the burges-
ses committed to ward. This yeare, the first sun-
daie in Lent, the king held a roiall iustice at Wood-
stoke, for toy of the quenes purifying, after the birth
of his first sonne, the lord Thomas, whome the bishop
of Durham (named Thomas) held at the fontfome:
he was borne the seauenth of Januarie last past. In
the parlement holden at Westminster this yeare af-
ter Easter, the king toke vpon him to make an end
of the quarrell betwixt the scholers and townsmen
of Wyndford, and sauing to euerie man his right,
pardoned the scholers of all transgressions: and this
he signified into euerie shire, by writs directed to the
shiriffes, they to proclame the same for moze notice
of the thing. And so in the summer following, the U-
niuersitie began againe to flourish, students reso-
ring thither from each side, and falling afresh to their
academicall exercises, which they needed not to haue
discontinued, if either partie, I meane the townes-
men or scholers, would haue tolerated and borne one
with another, and not so rashlie haue undertaken the
reuenge of one anothers wrath and iniurie; but,

Oderunt pacem fultu certamina quarunt.

In this parlement, the procelle of the iudgement
had and made against Roger Spottimer, late earle of
March, was reuoked, aduillated, and made void, so
that the lord Roger Spottimer was restored to the
title and possessions of the earledome of March, as
couline and heire to his grandfather the said erle of
March. Wherevpon, to this parlement came the bishop
of Carpentras, and the abbat of Clugnie, being sent
from

I 355
Anno Reg. 29.
Debate be-
twixt the scho-
lers & townes-
men of Wynd-
ford.

Thom. Walf.
Auesburie.
The quarrell
appeared be-
twixt the
scholers and
townsmen of
Wyndford.

n. 1351

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the groue
a count.I 253
Anno Reg.

Douron.

I 353
Anno Reg. 29.
ho. Walf.
in the prin-
e booke of
attices at
Wynd-
ford, that
his parles-
ment was
after hold-
en in the
care of this
kings reigne.Statutes by
making of
notches.weres and
milles.Creations of
noble men.The lord
Charles of
Blois.Caton.
Coun brought
out of Zeland.
I 354
Anno Reg. 29.
Thom. Walf.
Auesburie.I truce be-
twixt Eng-
land and
France.

from pope Innocent the first, to make sure to have the truce prolonged betwixt the two kings, of England and France, to whom the king himselfe in person, made this resolute answer, that he would not agree to any longer truce; for that, when diuerse times, at the Frenchmens suite, he had consented to have truce by mediation of two cardinals, sent to him about the same matter, his aduersaries in the meane time, whilst such truces indured, had done much harme and damage by subtil practises to persons and places beyond the sea, that were vnder his rule and gouernement, yet he said he would deliberate hereof with his counsell, and after intimate his pleasure to the pope, and to them of France by messengers which he would send ouer for that purpose: and so these ambassadoys within foure daies after their comming, were thus dispatched with answer. Herewith in this parlement it was ordeined, that the prince of Wales, being as then about foure and twentie yeares of age, should passe ouer into Gascoigne, and haue with him a thousand men of armes, and two thousand archers, with a great number of Welshmen.

Aueloric.
Nauie pre-
pared.

The duke of
Lancaster.

About the same time the king caused fortie ships to be provided, rigged, and made ready at Rotherhithe, furnished with vittels for one quarter of a yere, and euerie of the said ships had principall streamers of the duke of Lancasters armes, who was appointed with a great power of chosen men of armes and archers to passe to the sea with the same ships, but few or none of his companie knew whither; howles they had none. He had with him two of the kings sonnes, Lionell of Antwerpe, and John of Cant, the elder of them being about sixtene yeares of age. Also, there went with him the earles of Northampton, March, and Stafford, beside manie lords, barons, & knights. On the tenth of Iulie, he made saile to Greenewich, and there and at Sandwich he staid, till the Assumption of our ladye, the wind for the most part continuing all that while at west and south, contrarie to his iourne, as it might appeare. At length with much difficultie he came to Winchellie, & after to the Wight. It was thought, that the dukes purpose was to passe into Normandie, to ioint with the king of France, who was at variance with the French king. But after it was knowne by espials that they were made friends, the duke of Lancaster doubting crooked measures, and hauing with him no horsemen, returned home without further attempt.

Record. Tur.

On saint Benelmes daie being fridaye, and the 17 of Iulie, master Humfrie Carleton professor of diuinitie, and John Carleton the younger, doctor of the lawes, on the behalfe of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and John saint Fridelwilde maister, John Beresford, and John Porton, burgesses of the said towne of Oxford, on the behalfe of the communalitie of the same towne, came before the kings counsell at Westminister in the counsell chamber there, nere to the erchebisher, where the allegations on both parties being heard, and vpon request made, that it might please his maiesties counsell, according to the submissions by both parties made vnto the king and to his counsell, to take order in the matter in controuersie betwixt them, concerning the late tumult and business which had chanced in the said towne, by the disorder of the communalitie of the same, and breaking downe, and burning vp of houses, in taking auaite the bookes and other goods of the said masters and scholars, & in committing other transgressions. The counsell hauing consideration thereof, to auoid the debate that might haue ensued to the said towne, made this end betwixt them, that the said towne (John Beresford, being in the kings prison, and Robert Lardiner onlie excepted) should be bound to

The end and
award made
of the quarrell

pate vnto the said masters and scholars, dammified in the said tumult and business, for amends, and reformation of iniuries and losses sustained (death and maiime excepted) two hundred and fiftie pounds, beside the goods taken and bozne auaite, to be restored againe, and this monie to be paid to the said chancelor, masters and scholars, on that side the mondaie next before the feast of saint James, or else sufficient suerties put in for the payment thereof, at certeine termes, as the parties should agree vpon: and in respect thereof, the said John Beresford, and John Porton, shall be released out of prison of the Marshalsea, at the baile of the said maister, and of Robert de Spenkes, and John Dimmoks, till the next sessions of gaole deliuerie, with condition, that the said summes of monie be paid, or suerties put in for the payment thereof, as before is said, or else the bodies of the said John Beresford, & John de Porton, shall be returned to the said prison, within thre daies after the feast of Peter ad Vincula, there to remaine in manner as before they did.

It was also ordeined by the counsell, with the assent of the said Humfrie and John Carleton, that all and euerie manner of persons of the said towne of Oxford, and the suburbs of the same, indicted and arraigned of the felonies and transgressions before mentioned, that should yeld themselves to the kings prison to be tried by law, and also all other that were at that present in prison, which the said Humfrie and John de Carleton should name (John de Beresford and Robert Lardiner excepted) might be let to baile, vpon sufficient suerties, that should undertake for them, bodies for bodies, to appeare at the next sessions of gaole deliuerie, there to be tried, according to the order of law. And further it was ordered, that all such goods and cattels as were taken and carried auaite from the said masters and scholars in the said tumult and business, by the men of the said towne and suburbs, in whose hands, and in what places soeuer within the said towne and suburbs, by inquisitions, informations, or other meanes, they should or might be found, should be deliuered to the said chancelor, and procurators of the said Vniuersitie, to be by them restored vnto those persons, to whom they belonged. This was the effect of the order taken at that day and place, before the said fathers, John archbishop of Yorke primate and chancelor of England, William bishop of Winchester lord treasurer, Thomas de Beames lord keeper of the priue seale, and Dauid de Wolloze master of the rolles, Henrie de Angelbie clearke, and other of the kings counsell then and there present.

The prince of Wales (as ye haue heard) being appointed to passe ouer into Gascoigne, set forward from London the last daie of Iune, and comming to Wilmouth, where his nauie was appointed to be made ready, he staid there, for want of convenient wind and weather a long time after. Finally, hauing with him the earles of Warwick, Suffolke, Salisburie & Oxford, also the lord John Chandlers, sir Robert Anols, sir Franke de Hall, the lord James Andelle, with diuerse other of the nobilitie, and of men of armes and archers a great number, then in parlement to him assigned, he set forth from Wilmouth on the daie of the practises of our ladye. They were in all thre hundred saile, and finding the wind prosperous, they passed ouer into Gascoigne, where of the Gascoignes they were iustlie received. In August, the Englishmen that were in Britaine, warring against the Frenchmen, that took part with the lord Charles de Blois, the maite of them, & took the lord of Beaumanoir, the vicount of Roan, and diuerse other. This yere also, about epiphanie, the king hauing summoned an armie to be ready

Theo. Wall.
The prince of
Wales good
over into
Gascoigne.

An. Reg. 29.

readie at Sandwich, passed over to Calis with the same. There went over with him his two sonnes, Lionel of Antwerp earle of Ulster, and John of Gaunt earle of Richmond. He found at Calis a thousand men of armes that came to serve him for wages, forty of Flanders, Brabant, and Almaine, so that he had about three thousand men of armes, and two thousand archers on horsebacke, beside archers on foot a great number. The cite of London had sent to him five hundred men of armes, and five hundred archers all in one sute of luerie, at their owne costs and charges. On the second of November, he set from Calis, marching south towards saint Omers, wasting the countrie by the waie as he passed.

The cite of London.

The king in the north of France. The lord of Boucicaut.

Froissard. The king for want of vittels returned.

Aucourie.

The constable of France demanding battell.

The answer made to him.

The king taken by Scots.

A parliament.

The French king being at the same time within the towne of saint Omers, sent the lord Boucicaut unto the king of England, that under colour of communication, he might view the kings powder, who made such report thereof, upon his returne backe to the French king, that he determined not to fight with the king of England, but rather to passe before him, and so to destroye vittels, that for want thereof, the king of England should be constrained to returne. And as he determined, so it came to passe, for the vittels were so cut off, that the Englishmen for three full daies together, drank nothing but water. When therefore king Edward had followed his enemies so farre as Heiden, where he brake the parke, and burnt the houses within and about the parke, although he entered not into the towne nor castell, at length, for default of vittels, he returned backe, and came againe to Calis on saint Martins day, being the tenth after his setting forth from thence.

The morrow after being thursdai, and the twelfth of November, the constable of France, and other Frenchmen, came to the end of the cause of Calis, with letters of credence, offering battell on tuesday next following unto the king of England, in presence of the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Northampton, and the lord Maltr de Hannie, who in the kings behalfe declared to the constable, that the king of England, to eschew shedding of blood, would fight with the French king bodie to bodie, so to trie their right: and if he liked not of that match, then if he would chuse three or foure knights to him that were nearest to him in blood, he should chuse the like number. But when this offer would not be accepted, the English lords offered battell the next day, being friday, or else on saturday following, at the Frenchmens choice: but the constable of France and his companie, continuing in their first offer, refused both those daies. Then the English lords accepted the daie by them assigned, with condition, that if they brought not king Edward to give battell that day, they would yield themselves prisoners, so that the Frenchmen would likewise undertake for their king. The constable having no answer readie, staid a while, and after battell refused to make any such covenant. Finally, when the English lords perceived their adversaries, not to meane battell, as their words at the first pretended, they brake off, and both parties returned home. The king of England staid till the tuesday, and paid the strangers their wages, and so came backe into England. On the first of November, whilst the king was thus abroad in Picardie, the Scots beinge in the morning of that daie, came privately to Berwick, entered by stealth into the towne, and takinge three or foure Englishmen, took it, with all the goods and persons within it, those excepted, which got to the castell.

In a parliament summoned this yeare, the morrow after the feast of saint Edmund the king, the lords and commons granted to king Edward five fillings of everie sacke of wolle, that should be car-

ried over the sea, for the space of six yeares next ensuing. By this grant it was thought, that the king might dispend a thousand markes sterling a day, such bent of wools had the English merchants in that season. The parlement being ended, the king about saint Andrews tide set forward towards Scotland, and held his Christmasse at Newcastle. About which time by letters sent from the prince, the king was advertised of his proceedings after his arrivall in Gascoigne, where beinge received of the nobles, and other the people of that countrie (as before ye have heard) he declared to them the cause of his thither comming, and took advise with them how to proceed in his businesse, and so about the tenth of October, he set forward to passe against his enemies, first entering into a countrie called Juliske, which together with the fortresses yielded to him, without any great resistance. Then he rode through the countie Armignac, wasting and spoiling the countrie, and so passed through the lands of the vicounts de la Riviere, and after entered into the countie de l'Estac, and passing through the same, came to the countie of Cominiges, finding the towne of saint Patrain void, being a good towne, and one of the best in that countrie.

After this, he passed by the land of the earle of Aile, till he came within a league of Tholouse, where the earle of Armignac, being the French kings lieutenant in those parts, and other great lords and nobles were assembled. The prince with his armie tarried there two daies, and after passed over the river of Garonne, and after over an other river thereabouts, a league about Tholouse, lodging that night a league on the other side of Tholouse, and so they passed thorough Tholouse, daile takinge townes and castels, wherein they found great riches, for the countrie was verie plentifull. Upon Alhalloves even, they came to castell Jaudarie, and from thence they took the waie to Carcasson, into the which a great number of men of armes and commons were withdravne. But upon the approach of the Englishmen, they slipped away, and got them to a strong castell that stood nere at hand. The third day after, the Englishmen burnt the towne, and passing forth, traupied all the countrie of Carcassonois, till they came to the towne of Barbonne. The people there were fled into the castell, in which the vicount of Barbonne was inclosed, with five hundred men of arms. The prince staid there two daies. The pope sent two bishops towards the prince, to treat with him of peace, but because the prince would not hearken to any treatie without commission from his father, they could not get any safe conduct to approach nearer.

The prince havinge advertisements here, that his enemies were assembled, and followed him, he turned backe to meet them, but they had no will to abide him: for although the earle of Armignac, the constable of France, the marshall Clermont, and the prince of Orange, with divers other nere to Tholouse, made some shew to impeach the prince his passage, yet in the end they withdrew, not without some losse, for the lord Bartholomew de Burghesch, sir John Chandois, the lord James Audelay, and sir Thomas Felton, being sent forth to view them, furnished with two hundred of their men of armes, and took of them five and thirtie. After this, they had no mind to abide the English power, but still shanke away, as the prince was readie to follow them, and so he perceivinge that the Frenchmen would not give him battell, he withdrew towards Burdeaur, after he had spent eight weekes in that his journey, and so comming thither, he wintered there, whilst his captives in the meane time took divers townes and castels abroad in the countrie. And now to the end ye may have more plaine

The proceedings of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine.

Carcasson.

Barbonne.

Two bishops sent from the pope to the prince of Wales.

information of the princes doings in those parties, I haue thought good to make you partakers of a letter or two, written by sir John Winkfield knight, attendant on the prince there in Gascoigne.

The copie of sir Iohn Winkfield's letters.

My lord, as touching the newes in these parts, may it please you to vnderstand, that all the earles, barons, baronets, knights, and esquiers, were in helth at the making hereof, and my lord hath not lost either knight or esquier in this boiage, except the lord John Lille, who was slaine after a strange manner with a quarrell, the third day after we were entered into our enemies countreys, he died the fiftenth of October. And please it you to vnderstand, that my lord hath ridden through the countreie of Arminac, and hath taken many fensed townes, and burnt and destroyed them, except certeine which he hath fortified. After this, he marched into the vicountie of Rouergne, where he toke a good towne named Pleasance, the chiefest towne of that countreie, which he hath burnt and destroyed, with the countreie round about the same. This done, he went into the countie d'Alstrike, wherein he toke manie townes, waiked and destroyed all the countreie. After this, he entred into the countie of Cominge, and toke manie townes there, which he caused to be destroyed & burnt, together with all the countreie abroad. He toke also the towne of S. Matan, which is the chiefest towne of that countreie, being as large in compasse as Norwich.

Afterward, he entered into the countie of Lille, and toke the most part of the fensed townes therein, causing diuerse of them to be burnt and destroyed as he passed. And after entring into the lordship of Tholouse, we passed the riuer of Girond, and an other a league aboue Tholouse, which is verie great: for our enemies had burnt all the bridges, as well on the one side of Tholouse, as the other, except the bridges with in Tholouse, for the riuer runneth through the towne. And the constable of France, the marshall Cleremont, and the earle of Arminac, were with a great power within the towne the same time. And Tholouse is a great towne, strong, faire, and well walled, and there was none in our host that knew the fowd there: but yet by the grace and goodnesse of God we found it. So then we marched through the seignorie of Tholouse, & toke manie good townes inclosed, and burnt and destroyed them, and all the countreie about.

Then we entred into the seignorie of Carcason, and we toke manie good towns, befoze we came to Carcason, which towne we also toke, which is greater, stronger, & fairer than Poze. And as well this towne as all other townes in the countreie were burnt and destroyed. And after we had pas-

sed by manie iournies through the countreie of Carcason, we came into the seignorie of Parbon, and we toke manie townes, and waiked them, till we came to Parbon, which towne was holden against vs, but it was wone by force, and the said towne is little lesse than London, and is situated vpon the Greekish sea, for that the distance from the said towne vnto the Greekish sea is not past two leagues, and there is an hauien and a place to arrive at, from whence the water cometh by to Parbon. And Parbon is not but eleuen leagues distant from Mountpellier, & eightene from Eguemortz, & thirtie from Auignon. And may it please you to vnderstand, that the holie father sent his messengers to my lord, that were not past seuen leagues fro him, and they sent a sergeant at armes, that was sergeant at armes attendant on the doze of our holie fathers chamber, with their letters to my lord, praieng him to haue a safe conduct to come to declare to his highnesse their message from the holie father, which was to treat betwixt my L. and his aduersaries of France: and the said sergeant was two daies in the host befoze my lord would see him, or receiue his letters. And the reason was, bicause he had vnderstanding, that the power of France was come forth of Tholouse toward Carcason, so that my lord was driuen to turne backe towards them suddenly, and so did.

On the third daie when we should haue come vpon them, they had knowlege giuen befoze day, and so retiring, got them to the mounteins, halting fast toward Tholouse: and the countreie people that were their guides to lead them that waie, were taken as they should haue passed the water. And bicause the popes sergeant at armes was in my keeping, I caused him to examine the guides that were taken, and for that the guide which was thus examined, was the constables guide, and his countreiman; he might well see and know the countenance of the Frenchmen vpon this examining him. And I said to the same sergeant, that he might well declare to the pope, and to all them of Auignon, that which he had heard or seen. And as touching the answer which my lord made to them that were sent to treat with him, you would be well apaid if you vnderstood all the manner: for he would not suffer in any wise that they should come neerer vnto him. But if they came to treat of any matter, he would that they should send to the king his father: for my lord himselfe would not do any thing therein, except by commandement from my lord his father.

And of my lords turning backe to follow after his enemies, and of the passage of the riuer of Garonne, and of the taking of castels and townes in this iourne, and of other things which he hath done against his enemies, in pursuit of them in this iourne, being things right worthy and honorable, as manie know verie well, in like manner

the meanes
the spirit
time sea

maner as sir Richard Stafford, & sir William Burton can more plainlie declare, than I to you can write, for it were too much to put in writing. And my lord rode thus abroad in the countrie of his enemies eight whole weekes, and rested not past eleven daies in all those places where he came. And know it for certeine, that since this warre began against the French king he had neuer such losse or destruction as he hath had in this iourne: for the countreies and good townes which were wasted at this iourne, found to the king of France euerie yeare more to the maintenance of his warre than halfe his realme hath don beside, except the exchange of his monie which he maketh euerie yeare, and the advantage and custome which he taketh of them of Poitou, as I can shew you by good remembrances which were found in diuerse townes in the receiueurs houses: for Carcason and le Moignes, which is as great as Carcason, and two other townes in the coasts of Carcason, found to the king of France yereleie wages for a thousand men of armes: and beside that 100000 old crowns to mainteine the war.

And know you, that by the remembrances which we found, that the townes in Tholouse which are destroyed, and the townes in the countrie of Carcason, and the towne of Marbonne and Marbomois did find euerie yeare with the sums aforesaid, in aid of his war, foure hundred thousand old crownes, as the burgeses of the great townes & other people of the countrie which ought to know it, haue told vs. And so by Gods assistance if my lord had wherewith to mainteine this warre, and to make the kings profit and his owne honor, he should well enlarge the English marches, and gaine manie faire places: for our enemies are greatlie astonished. And at the making hereof, my lord hath appointed to send all the earles and baronets to abide in certeine places on the marches, to make roads, and to annoie his enemies. Now my lord, at this present I know none other newes to send, but you may by your letters command me as yours to my power. My right honorable lord, God grant you good life, ioy, and health, long to continue. Written at Burdeaux, the tuesdaie next before Chyristmasse.

The tenor of an other letter written by sir John Wingfield, directed to sir Richard Stafford knight, who had beene in Gascoigne, and there leaving his familie, was now returned into England.

Ight deare sir, and right louing friend, touching newes after your departure, you may vnderstand, that there be taken and yielded five townes inclosed, to wit, pozt saint Marie, Cleirac, Tonings, Burgh, saint Pierre, Chastell Sacret or Sarrat and Brassake. Also seauentene castels, to wit, Coillier, Baset, Lemnake, two castels

called Boloines, which ioine the one nere to the other, Mounicy, Uirech, Frechenet, Moutender, Budeschales, Mounpoun, Moutanac, Valeclare, Cenamont, Leistrake, Blallac, Cont Destablillon, and Mouniwell. And will it please you to know that my lord John Chandois, my lord James Audley, and your men that are with them, and the other Gascoignes that are in their companie, & my lord Baldwin Butetort, & that companie, & my lord Reignold Cobham, take the said towne, which is called Chastell Sacret or Sarrat, by assault: and the ballard of Lille which was capteine of the said towne was also slaine there, as they assaulted it, being stricken with an arrow throught the head: and my lord Reignold is returned backe toward Languedocke: and my lord Baldwin towards Brassake, with their companies: and the lords John & James, and those of their companie remaine in Chastell Sarrat, and haue bittels plentie of all sorts to serue them between this and Midsummer, except fresh fish and cabages as they haue certified vs by letters, wherefore ye need not take care for your men.

And there be in that towne more than three hundred glaives, and three hundred yeomen, and a hundred and fiftie archers. And they haue rid befoze Agen, and burnt and destroyed all their milles, and haue burnt and broken downe all their bridges that lie ouer Garon, and haue taken a castell without the same towne, and haue fortified it. And monsieur John Darminake, and the seneschall of Agenois, which were in the towne of Agen, would not once put forth their head, nor anie of their people, and yet haue they bene twise befoze that towne. And monsieur Bulgaud was come, and monsieur Ernald de Spaine, and Gri-moton de Chambule, with three hundred glaives, and three sergeants Lombards, and they are in the towne of Mulschake, which is in Cressie, and it is but a mile from Chastell Sarrat or Sacret, and a league from Bressake, and ye may well thinke that there will be good companie one with another.

And further may it please ye to know, that monsieur Bartholomew is at Conisake with six score men of armes of my lords house, & six score archers, & the capitall de Buche or Beuf, the L. Monferrant, & the L. of Crotonie, which haue with them 300 glaives, & six score archers, and two hundred sergeants, beside them which are in Caillbourgh, Tanne, and Rochford, so that when they are together, they may be well six hundred glaives, and at the making hereof, they were vpon a iourne towards Antou and Poitou, and the earles of Suffolke, Orford, and Salisburie, the lord of Mulseden, monsieur Ellis de Bomiers, and other Gascoignes, with the which are well more then five hundred glaives, and two hundred sergeants, and three hundred archers, and they were at the making hereof

Bulgaud

The capitall de Beuf.

hereof toward the parties of Hostredame de Rochemade, and haue bene forth aboute twelue daies, and were not returned at the sending of these presents. My lord John Chandois, my lord James, and my lord Baldwin, and those which be in their companie are also forth upon a tourne toward their parties: my lord Reinold and those of the household, with the Gascoigns which be in their companie, are also forth upon a tourne towards their parties.

The earle of Warwike hath bene at Comings & Clerake, to take those towne, and at the making hereof was gone towards Hermende to destroe their vines, and all other things which he can destroe of theirs. My lord is at Leiboine, and the lord of Bomiers at Fronlak, which is but a quarter of a leage from Leiboine: and my lords people lie as well at saint Millon, as at Leiboine, and monsieur Berard de Bret is there with him, and my lord looketh for newes which he should haue, and according to the news that he shall haue, he will behaue himselfe: for as it seemeth, he standeth much on his honor. At the making hereof, the earle of Arminac was at Auignin, and the king of Aragon is there also: & of all other parties which haue bene in diuerse places (whereof you know) I can not certifie you at the making hereof. Right dære sir, other thing I can not send vnto you, but that you remember your selfe to send newes to my lord prince as soone as in anie wise you may, and so the Lord grant you god life and long. Written at Leiboine the 21 of Januarie.

¶ These letters haue I thought good to make the reader partaker of, as I find them in the chronicle of Robert Auesburie, to the end ye may perceiue how other writers agree therewith, with the same letters may serue as a touchstone to trie the truth of the matter. And so now I will returne to speake of the kings doings in the north part where we left him. On the fourteenth of Januarie. Edward hauing his armie lodged nere the towne of Bertwike, and his nauie readie in the haven to assaile the Scots that were within the towne, he entered the castell which the Englishmen had in their hands, the lord Walter de Spannie being their capitaine, who had gotten certeine miners thither from the forest of Deane, and other parts of the realme, which were busie to make passage vnder the ground by a mine, through which the Englishmen might enter into the towne. Hereupon, when the Scots perceiued in what danger they stood, and knew that they could not long defend the towne against him, they surrendered it into his hands without further resistance.

In the Scottish histories it is recorded, that when those which were within the towne of Bertwike, heard how that an armie of Englishmen came to the succours of the castell, they raced the walles and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed with all the spoile which they had gotten there. But how soeuer it was, king Edward being againe possessed of the towne, he set men a worke to repaire it, and passing forth to Norburge, there met with him the rightfull king of Scots Edward Balioll, who transferred & resigned all the right, title and interest, which he had or might haue to the crowne and realme of Scotland into king Edwards hands: which resigna-

tion he confirmed by his letters patents thereof made and giuen vnder his hand and seale, dated the 25 of Januarie 1356, requiring king Edward to perseuere in pursute of his title to the crowne.

King Edward hauing thus receiued the resignation and release of the crowne of Scotland, marched forth with his armie, till he came to Haddington, burning and destroiering the countie on each side round about him, as he passed. And whilst he late there, abiding for his ships, his men of warre were not idle, but ranged abroad in the countie, and did all the damage to their enemies that they could devise. At length his armie which he had at the same time on the sea, arrived on that coast, and landing, spoiled a church of our ladie, called the White kirke: but being returned to their ships, there arose such a tempest and belement north wind, that manie of their vessels rushing and beating against the banks and sands, were drownded together with the men that were within them, for displeasure whereof king Edward fell to the spoile of the countie againe, not sparing one place more than another: by reason whereof, as well abbets as all other churches and religious houses both in Haddington, in Edenborough, and thorough all other the parts of Louthian, where soeuer he came, were desaced and put to sacke. At length when he had accomplished his will, and so set things in order, he returned backe into England with the foresaid Edward Balioll in his companie, whome he kept with him, for doubt least he should reuel, and procure some new trouble. In the moneth of Iulie the duke of Lancaster being sent to the aid of the duke of Aquarre, came into Constantine, which is a portion of Normandie, & there ioined with the lord Philip of Aquarre, brother to the king of Aquarre, and with the lord Godfrie de Harecourt, the which being returned into France, and restored to the French kings fauour, was latelie againe reuelled, upon displeasure taken for the death of his nephew the lord John de Harecourt, as in the French histories ye may read more at large. They were in all about the number of foure thousand fighting men, and being assembled together, they went to Lisieure, to Dizec, to Ponteau, & rescued the castell there, which had bene besieged by the lord Robert de Hotetot master of the crossbowes in France, more than two moneths: but now hearing that the Englishmen and Pauarais approached, he departed from thence, leaving behind him for haile his engins and artillerie.

The duke of Lancaster passed forward vnto Breteuil, which he caused to be relieved and furnished with necessarie things as was conuenient. And then leaving the citie of Courceur, which was as then in the Frenchmens hands, latelie yielded to them after a long siege, he went forward with the lord Philip de Aquarre in companie till they came to Bernueil in Perch, and there took both the towne and castell, and robbed the towne and burnt a great part thereof. The French king, who had assembled a mightie armie, being aduertised of these matters, hasted forward towards the duke of Lancaster, fullie purposing to giue him battell. The duke and the lord Philip de Aquarre, hauing knowledge that the French king followed them, withdrew towards the towne of the Eagle, and the king still went after them, till he came to Liebenf two leages from the towne of the Eagle, and there it was shewed to him that he could not follow his enemies any further, by reason of the thicke forests, which he could not passe without great danger of his person and losse of his people. Then returned he with all his host, and took from the Pauarais the castell of Milliers, and also the castell of Breteuil, which was yielded to him after two moneths siege.

About

Heitor Boet.

Anno Reg. 30.

The resignation of the realme of Scotland made by the Balioll.

Froissard
The first
waits in
with the
dominion

The citie
Burgess

Madam
haunted.

Wiergon
Scots.

The duke of
Lancaster sent
to aid the king
of Aquarre.

Paulus Ac-
milus.

The post
stopped.

The prin-
curneth

Froissard.

The castell
Dizec re-
sued.

The citie of
Courceur yield-
ed to the
Frenchmen.

Bernueil.

The French
king commeth to
giue the duke
of Lancaster
battell.

Remount

Wiergon

Frailard,
The prince of
Wales inua-
ded the French
dominions.

About the same time, that is to say, in Julie, the prince of Wales, having assembled an armie of men of warre, to the number of eight thousand, entered into the French dominions, and first passing through Auvergne, at length he came into the countie of Berrie, waisting and burning the townes and villages as he went, taking easie iournies for the better relafe of his people, and destruction of his enemies; for when he was entered into anie towne that was sufficientlie storied of things necessarie, he would tarie there two or three daies to refresh his soldiers and men of warre, and when they dislodged, they would strike out the heads of the wine vessels, and burne the wheat, oates and barlie, and all other things which they could not take with them, to the intent their enemies should not therewith be susteined and nourished.

The citie of
Burgess.

Moldone at
Burgess.

Wierzon
Burgess.

After this, they came before the citie of Burgess, and there made a great skirmish at one of the gates, and there were manie feats of armes done. The host departed from thence, without doing anie more, and comming to a strong castell called Moldone, they fiercely assailed it, but could not win it: the gentlemen within defended the walles and gates so manfullie. When passed they forward, and came to Wierzon, a great towne and a good castell, but it was nothing stronglie fortified; and therefore was it wonne perforce, the people within it being not sufficient to resist the valiant puissance of the Englishmen. Here they found wine and other vittels in great plentie, and hereupon they taried there three daies to refresh themselves at ease. But before they departed, the prince had advertisement given him that the French king was come to Chartres, with an huge assemble of men of warre, and that all the townes and passages about the river of Loire were closed and kept. When was the prince counselled to returne and passe by Touraine and Poictou, and so that waie to Bourdeaux.

The passages
stopped.

The prince
returneth.

The prince following their advice that thus counselled him, set forward toward Remozentine. The French king had sent into that countie to keepe the frontiers there, the lord of Craon, the lord Bonchivault, and the hermit of Chaumont, the which with three hundred men of armes had followed the Englishmen sir daies together, and could never find anie convenient occasion to set upon them: for the Englishmen governed themselves so sagelie, that their enemies could not lightlie assaile them, but to their owne disadvantage. One day the Frenchmen laid themselves close in an ambush nere to the towne of Remozentine, at a marvellous streit passage, by which the Englishmen must needs passe.

On the same daie there were departed from the prince's battell, by licence of the marshalls, certeine captains, Englishmen and Gascoignes, as the lord Bartholomew de Warghersee, or Burwalche (as some write him) the lord of Aquident Gascongne, monseigneur Petiton de Courton, the lord de la Mare, the lord Basset, sir Daniel Bassellew, sir Richard Bonchardon, sir Roell Loxing, the young lord Spenser, and two of the Danzeticourts, sir Edward, and another, who having with them two hundred men of armes, went forth to run before Remozentine, that they might view the place. They passed forth along by the Frenchmen which lay in ambush, as ye have heard, and they were not aduised of them, and they were no sooner passed, but that the Frenchmen brake out, and galloped after the Englishmen with great randon, having their speares in their rests.

The Englishmen and the Gascoignes hearing how they were come galloping after them, turned, and perceiving them to be their enemies, stood still to abide them. The Frenchmen couragiously gaue the

charge, and the Englishmen as valiantlie defended them, so that there ensued a great skirmish, which continued a long while, so that it could not be easilie iudged who had the better, nor on which side the fortunate issue of the present conflict would then fall (so

mutabilis alea Martis)

till that the battell of the English marshalls approached, the which when the Frenchmen saw comming by a wood side, they fled straightwaies towards Remozentine, and the Englishmen followed in chase so fast as their horses might beare them, and entered the towne with the Frenchmen: but the French lords and the one halfe of their companie got into the castell, and so saved themselves. The prince hearing what had happened, came into the towne, and there lodged that night, sending sir John Chandois to talke with the capitaines of the castell, to know if they would yeeld: and because they refused so to do, on the next morrow he caused his people to give an assault to the place, which continued the most part of the day, but yet missing their purpose, he commanded that they should draw to their lodgings, and rest them for that night.

In the morning as soone as the sunne was up, the marshalls caused the trumpets to sound, and those that were appointed to give the assault againe, prepared themselves to it. The prince himselfe was present personallie at this assault, so that the same was enforced to the uttermost: but when they saw that by assaults they could not win the castell, they devised engines, wherewith they cast wild fire into the base court, and so set it on fire, which increased in such vehement sort, that it took into the couering of a great tower, which was couered with reed: and then they within perceiving they must either yeeld or perish with fire, came downe and submitted themselves to the prince, who as prisoners received them. The castell of Remozentine being thus wonne and defaced with fire, the prince left it void, and marched forth with his armie as before, destroying the countie, and approached to Amboise and Touraine. The French king came forwards toward the prince, and at Amboise heard how the prince was in Touraine, meaning to returne through Poictou. He was daile advertised of the prince's doings by such as were appointed to coast him ever in his iourne.

Then came the king to Vaie in Touraine, and his people were passed the river of Loire at sundrie passages, where most convenientlie they might. They were in number twentie thousand men of armes, of noble men there were sir and twentie, dukes and earles, beside a great number of other lords and barons: the fourie sonnes of the king were there, as the lord Charles duke of Normandie, the lord Lewis after duke of Anjou, the lord John after duke of Berrie, and the lord Philip which was after duke of Burgongne. The French king doubting least the prince should escape by speedie iournies out of his countie, before he could come to give him battell, remoued to Chaunignie, and there passed the river of Creuse by the bridge, supposing that the Englishmen had bene before him, but they were not. Some of the Frenchmen taried behind at Chaunignie for one night, and in the morning followed the king. They were about two hundred men of armes under the leading of the lord Craon, the lord Raoul de Courie, and the earls of Joignie. They chanced so incounter with certeine of the auant courours of the English armie, which remoued that day from a little village fast by. Those Englishmen were not past three score men of armes, but well horsed, and therefore perceiving the great number of the Frenchmen, they fled towards the prince's battell, which they knew was not farre off. Capitaines of the Englishmen were two knights of

The French
men fled.

The prince
lodged in the
towne of Re-
mozentine.

The castell of
Remozentine
assaulted.

It is set on
fir.

They with
submitted
themselves.

The French
king followeth
the prince of
Wales.

Frailard,
Seven thou-
sand chosen
men faith
Tho. Wals.

Chaunignie.

of Beinault, the lord Eustace Dambyricourt, and the lord John of Guiselles.

The lord Maoull de Coucie taken.

Frenchmen distressed.

The Frenchmen beholding them in this wise to flee, rode after a maine, and as they followed in chase, they came on the princes battell before they were aware. The lord Maoull of Coucie went so far forward with his banner, that he entred under the princes banner, and fought right valiantlie, but yet he was there taken, and the earle of Joignie, also the viscount of Wyce, the lord Chauvignie, and diuerse other, so that the most part of those Frenchmen were either taken or slaine, and verie few escaped. The prince understood by the prisoners, that the French king was so farre advanced forward in pursute of him, that he could not auoid the battell. When he assembled his men together, and commanded them to keepe order, and so rode that day being saturdaye from morning till it was toward night, & then came within two leagues of Poitiers: and herewith sending forth certeine captains, to search if they could heare where the king was, he incamped himselfe that night in a strong place amongst hedges, vines, and bushes. They that were sent to discover the countrie, rode so far, that they saw where the French king with his great battell was marching, and setting by on the taile of the Frenchmen, caused all the host to stir: whereof knowledge being given to the king, the which as then was entring into Poitiers, he returned againe, and made all his host to do the like, so that it was verie late per he and his people were beset in their lodgings that night. The English curours returning to the prince, declared that they had seene and done. So, that night, the two armies being lodged within a small distance either of other, kept strong and sure watch about their campes.

The ordering of the French battell.

On the morrow after being sundae, and the eighteenth date of September, the French king caused his host to be divided into three battels or wards, and in each of them were sixtene thousand armed men, all mustered and passed for armed men. The first battell was gouerned by the duke of Orleans, wherein were six and thirtie banners, and twise as manie persons. The second was led by the duke of Borgerdie and his brethren, the lord Helmes & the lord John. The third the French king himselfe conducted. And while these battels were setting in arraye, the king caused the lord Eustace de Ribamont, and two other noble men to ride on before, to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and to aduise of what number they were. Those that were thus sent, rode forth and beheld the order of the Englishmen at good leisure: and returning, informed the king, that as they could lodge, the enemies were about two thousand men of armes, foure thousand archers, and fiftene hundred of others, and that they were lodged in such a strong place, and so well fenced with ditches and hedges, that it would be hard assaulting them therein.

The cardinal of Piergozt.

The cardinal of Piergozt the popes legat, as then lying in the citie of Poitiers, came that morning to the king, and required him to abstaine from battell, till he might understand whether the prince would condescend unto such conditions of peace as he himselfe should thinke reasonable, which if it might be brought to passe, the same should be more honorable for him, than to aduenture so manie noble men as were there with him at that present in hazard of battell. The king was contented that the cardinal should go to the prince, and see what he could do with him. The cardinal rode to the prince, and talked with him till he was contented to come to a treatie. The cardinal returned to the French king, and requested of him that a truce might be granted till the next daies sun-rising: which truce obtained, he spent that daie in riding to and fro betwixt them.

The prince of Wales contented to come to a treatie.

The prince offered to render into the kings hands all that he had wonne in that volage, as well townes as castels, and also to release all the prisoners, which he or any of his men had taken in that tournee: and further he was contented to haue bene sworn not to beare armour against the French king within the terme of seuen yeares next following. But the French king would not agree therunto: the uttermost that he would agree unto, was this, that the prince and an hundred of his knights should yield themselves as prisoners unto him, otherwile he would not haue the matter taken up. But it was the French kings hap after (notwithstanding his hautes) to be taken captiue, as Okland noteth, saying,

seruilia sub iuga missus

Discret ut domino regi parere Britanno.

But the prince in no wise could be brought to any such unreasonable conditions, and so the cardinal could not make them friends, although he travelled earnestlie betwixt them all that daie. When it drew towards night, he returned toward Poitiers.

The Englishmen were not idle, whilst the cardinal was thus in hand to bring the parties to some good agreement, but cast great ditches, and made hedges, and other fortifications about the place where their archers stood, and on the next morning, being mondaie, the prince and his people prepared themselves to receive battell, as they had done before, having passed the day before and that night in great defect of necessarie things, for they could not stir abroad to fetch forrage or other provisions without danger to be surprised of their enemies. The cardinal came againe earlie in the morning unto the French king, and found the French armie ready in order of battell by that time the sunne was up, and though he offered to sell in hand to exhort the king to an agreement, yet it would not be. So he went to the prince, and declared to him how he could do no good in the matter, and therefore he must abide the hazard of battell, for ought that he could see: wherewith the prince was content, and so the cardinal returned into Poitiers.

There is to be remembered, that when (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) this cardinal of Piergozt was sent from the pope to traine betwixt the parties for a peace to be had, and that the pope exhorted him verie earnestlie to shew his uttermost diligence and indouour therein: at his setting forth to go on that message, the said cardinal (as was said) made this answer: *Spott blessed father* (said he) either we will persuade them to peace and quietnesse, either else shall the verie Christians crye out of it. What this he spake not of himselfe, as it was supposed, but being a prelate in that time, he prophesied what should follow: for when the English at Poitiers had befallen all their arrows upon their enemies, they take up pebles from the place wher they stood, being full of those kind of bones, and applying to their enemies, they threw the same with such violence on them, that lighted against their helmets, armor, and targets, they made a great ringing noise, so that the cardinals prophesie was fulfilled, that he would either persuade a peace, or else the Christians should crye out thereof.

The mostie prince like a courageous chieftaine, when he saw that he must needs fight, required his people not to be abashed at the great number of their enemies, with the which he did not consist in the multitude of men, but where God would send it: and if it fortuned that the tournee might be theirs and his, they should be the most honored people of the world: and if they should die in that righteous quarrell, he had the king his father and also his brethren, in like case as they had friends and kinsmen, that would take their reuenge. And therefore he desired them that

The offer of the prince of Wales.

The French kings prisoners demanded.

Noble men with the prince of Wales.

The captive of Beut.

The mount of the prince's armie.

The mount of the French.

The battell begun.

The forces of the English archers.

The lord James of Cler.

The Wall of the early warlike Duke of Burgundy.

An. Reg. 30.

that due to them themselves like valiant men of
warre; and for his part he trusted in God and Saint
George, they should be in his power no less than
these of the like words did this most gentle prince
speak, which greatly comforted all his people.

There were with him at earles, barons, knights,
folke, Salisbury, Stafford, of lords, Cobham,
Spenser, Audley, Berkeley, Walter, Gyllen, de la
Zate, Wadellon, Burtois, Felton, Malloy, and
diuerse other: also sir John Chandos, by whom he
was much counselled, sir Richard Stafford, sir
Richard of Benbury, and manie other knights and
valiant equeires of England. Moreover, there was
of Gascoigne, the capitall of Bur or Beuf, the lords
of Brumes, Buguenrie, Chaumont, de Lelpare,
Kolen, Goussierant, Landuras, the Countess of Le
strad of Lescard, and other: and of Heinaut, sir Co
face Dauberticourt, sir John de Busselles, and o
ther strangers. All the princes companie passed not
the number of eight thousand men one and other, of
the which as Iacobus Meir saith, three thousand were
archers: though Froissard (as I haue rehearsed be
fore) reporteth the number of archers to be more, as
in one place six thousand, and in an other place four
thousand.

The French king hauing in his armie three scoie
thousand fighting men, whereof there were more than
three thousand knights, made so sure account of vic
toire, as anie man might of a thing not yet had, con
sidering his great puissance, in regard to the small
number of his aduersaries: and therefore immedi
atlie after that the cardinall was departed, he caused
his battels to march forward, and approaching to the
place where the Englishmen stood readie to receiue
their enemies, caused the onset to be giuen. There
were certeine French horsemen, to the number of
three hundred, with the Almaines also on horsebacke
appointed to breake the arraie of the English ar
chers, but the archers were so defended and compas
sed about with hedges and ditches, that the horse
men of the French part could not enter to do their
feat, and being galled with the sharpe shot of the
English bowes, they were ouerthrowne horse and
man, so that the batward of the Frenchmen, wherein
was the duke of Athens, with the marshalls called
France, the lord John de Cleremont, and the lord
Arnold Dandzehen or Ddenhen, began to disorder
within a while, by reason of the shot of the archers, to
giue with the helpe of the men of armes, amongst
whom in the forefront was the lord James Audley,
to performe a vow which he had made, to be one of the
first setters on.

There was the lord Arnold Dandzehen taken pri
soner, and the lord John de Cleremont slaine, so that
the noble probesse of the said lord James Audley,
breaking through the Frenchmens battell with the
slaughter of manie enemies, was that day most ap
parant. The losall constancie of the noble earles of
Warwicke and Suffolke, that fought so stoutlie, so
earnestlie, and so fiercelie, was right manifest. And
the prince himselfe did not onelie fulfill the office of
a noble cheefteine, but also of a right valiant and ex
pert souldiour, attempting what sooner any other
hardie warrior would in such cases haue done. Yet
ther was this battell quicklie dispatched, noz easilie
brought to end; but it was fought out with such ob
stinate earnestnesse, that three times that date were
the Englishmen diuine to renew the fight, through
the multitude of enemies that increased and came
still vpon them.

Finallie, the marshalls battell was quite discom
fited: for the Frenchmen and Almaines fell one vpon
an other, and could not passe forth; and those that
were behind, could not get forward, reculed backe:

and when the marshalls battell being on horsebacke
hauing killed the Englishmen with great disaduan
tage, and was in the end beaten backe, the king bat
telle of the which of Rouen and Calcutt came
forward, and likewise smitten the Englishmen, but
could not preuaile. The archers shot so fiercelie, that to
conclude the Frenchmen behing, vnderstanding the
discomfite of the marshalls battell, and how their
followers before could not enter vpon their enemies,
they opened and ran to the horsemen, in whom they
did put more trust for their safegard by galloping on
then afoot, than in their manlike hands, for all their
late braverie and great boasts. One thing more dis
couraged the Frenchmen, that was this, that the
those Englishmen that were within the cloies of
their campe, there were certeine men of armes on
horsebacke, with a number of archers also on horse
backe, appointed to coast vnder the count of a mou
taine, adioining to the place, where they thought to
strike into a fide of the duke of Aquitaines battell,
so that with the feruour hereof, and with the contin
all shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen not
knowing where to turne themselves, sought to saue
their liues by flight.

The prince of Wales, perceiving how his enemies
(for the more part of them) were fleeing awaie as
men discomfited, sent out his horsemen as well on
the one hand as on the other, and he himselfe with his
whole power of footmen rushed forth, and manfullie
assailed the maine battell of the Frenchmen, where
the king himselfe was, who like a valiant prince
would not flee, but fought right manfullie: so that if
the fourth part of his men had done halfe their parts
as he did his, the victorie by likelihood had rested (as
Froissard saith) on his side: but he was forsaken of
his three sonnes, and of his brother the duke of Ayle
ance, which fled out of the battell with cleare hands.
Finallie, after huge slaughter made of those noble
men, and other which abode with him even to the end,
he was taken, and so likewise was his pongest sonne
Phillip, and both put in great danger to haue bene
murthered after they were taken, by the English
men and Gascoignes, struing who should haue the
king to his prisoner, where in deed a knight of Flan
ders or rather Artois, borne in saint Omers, called
sir Denise Doybecke, took him, but he was straight
waies taken from the same sir Denise by other that
came in the meane season, better provided (belike) of
strength, and lead him awaie vncursed.

There were slaine in this battell, of noblemen, the
dukes of Burbon and Athens, the marshall Cleme
mont, sir Geoffrey Charnie that bare the cheefe stan
dert of France, the bishop of Chalons, sir Cusace
de Ribamont, with diuerse other to the number of
eight hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of
name. In all there died on the French part six thou
sand of one and other. The chase was continued euen
to the gates of Poitiers, and manie slaine and bea
ten downe in the street before the gates, which the ci
tizens had closed, for doubt least the Englishmen
should enter with them that fled thither for safegard.
There were taken besides the king and his sonne, the
lord Jaques de Burbon earle of Douthen, brother
to the duke of Burbon that was slaine there, the erle
of Ew, the lord Charles his brother earle of Long
uile, the archbishop of Sens, the earles of Wandosme,
Salesburgh, Wentadoze, Tankerville, Estampes,
and Dampmartine: also Archembald Doyglas a
noble man of Scotland, sonne to the honorable lord
William Doyglas that was killed in Spaine,
the marshall Dandzehen or Ddenhen (as Iacobus
Meir saith) with others to the number of seuentene
hundred earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, be
side those of the meane sort; so that the Englishmen
D. J. had

The mar
shalls battell
put to flightThe French
men take to
saue them
selves by flight
Polydor.Froissard.
The valian
cie of the
French king.The French
king taken.Ja. Meir.
Sir Denise
Doybecke.
Froissard.Noblemen
slaine.Ja. Meir.
Polydor.
The chase.Froissard.
Annales de
France.Archembald
Doyglas takē
Iacob. Meir.Prisoners
taken.356.
ter of
accotFrench
pre-
sious
D.Noble men
with the
prince of
Wales.The capitall
de Beuf.The number
of the prince
his armie.English
vntie
campe.The number
of the FrenchThe battell
to begin.cardinal
slain in
e.The force of
the English
archers.The lord
James Au
deley.Wall,
Josephus
slain.The Wall.
The earles of
Warwicke and
Suffolke.The earles
of the
acc.

The battell
of Doytiers
when it was.

The prince
suppeth the
prisoners.

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The meeke and comfortable oration
of the English prince to the French
king being taken prisoner.

Most noble king, there is no cause
wherefore your grace should be
pensive, though God this day did
not consent to follow your will.
For your noble prowess and dignitie totall,
with the supreme tyte of your kinglie ma-
iestie, remaineth whole and inviolate, and
what soever may rightlie be called yours;
so that no violent force of time shall blot
out or diminish the same. The almightie
God hath determined that the chauce of
war shall rest in his disposition and will as
all other things. Your elders haue atchie-
ued both by land & sea manie noble ences-
pises. The whole compasse of Europe, all
the east parts of the world, all places and
countreies, both far & nere, are full of mo-
numents, witnessing the noble victories
attained by the French people.

The cause of goodlie liuing and religion, the dignitie and prebeminence of christia-
nitie hath bene defended and augmented
by you, against the most mightie and puis-
sant capteins of the infidels, enemies to
the said christian religion. All ages shall
make mention of your worzhie praises, no
nation there is but shall confesse it selfe
bounden at one time or other for bene-
fits receiued at your hands; nether is there
any people but such as hope to be hereaf-
ter bounden to you for reliefe and benefits,
to proceed from you in time to come. One or
two battels happilie haue chanced among
so manie triumphs otherwise than you
would haue wished; chance would it should
be so, which may inflexible and make weake
the power of hostes, armor, and weapon;
your inuincible courage and roiall magna-
nimitie lieth in your power to reteine; nei-
ther shall this day take any thing from you
or yours. And this realme of France which
hath procreat and brought forth and noxi-

ded to many of my noble progenitors, than
 extreme in good meaning towards her, as
 for the trust of mine elders, and toward
 your majestie, if you will vouchsafe that I
 should glorie in that name, a most humble
 kindman. There are many occasions of
 loue and friendship betwixt you and my fa-
 ther, which I trust shall take place, for I
 know all his thoughts, and inward mea-
 nings: you shall agree and come to an at-
 tachment right easilie together, & I pray
 God he neuer take me for his sonne, except
 I have you in the same degree of honor, re-
 uerence, and faithfull loue, which I owe
 towards him.

20 The king (as reason would) acknowledged this to
 proceed of great heartesse shewed toward him in the
 prince, and thanked him accordingly. And the prince
 performing in deed that which he spake with word, The french
king thanked
the prince.
 ceased from further bling of fire, & other indama-
 ging of the french dominions; and taking his waie
 through the countreies of Poictou and Saintonge, by
 easie iournies, he and his people came to Blate, and
 to passed ouer the water to Burdeaur in good safetie
 with all their riches and prisoners. The prince gave
 to the lord James Aubelie (who had receiued in the
 battell manie sore wounds) fise hundred marks
 30 of pearellie reuenues assigned forth of his lands in En-
 gland. The which gift the knight granted as frelie
 as he had receiued it vnto foure of his esquiers, which
 in the battell had bene euer attendant about his
 person, without whose aid & valiant support, he knew
 well that he had bene slaine sundrie times in the
 same battell by his enemies, and therefore thought it
 a dutie of humanitie and gratitude to make them a
 friends with some tempozall recompense, that had
 saved his life, than the which nothing is more deere,
 40 nor of greater price in the world, as the poet saith,
 nihil est vita pretiosius ipsa.

When the prince heard that he had so done, he marvelled what his meaning was therby, and caused him to be brought before his presence, and demanded of him wherefore he had so lightlie giuen awaie that reward which he had bestowed upon him, and whether he thought that gift too meane for him or not. The lord Audelie so excused himselfe in extolling the good seruice done to him by his esquires, through
50 whome he had so manie times escaped the dangers of death, that the prince did not onelie confirme the re-
signation of the five hundred marks giuen to the es-
quires, but also rewarded the lord Audelie with six
hundred marks more of like yearelie reuenues, in
maner and forme as he had receiued the other.

When the newes of this great victorie came into England of the overthrow of the Frenchmen, and taking of the French king, ye may be sure there was great ioy shewed by outward tokens, as bonfires made, feasts and bankets kept, thzough the whole realme. Likewise the Gascoignes and Englishmen being come to Burdeaux, made great reuell and pastime there, spending freelie that gold and siluer which they had wonne in the battell of Poitiers, and elsewhere in that iournie. ¶ This yeare in Aprill the prince of Wales took shipping with his prisoners at Burdeaux, and on the first of Maie arriued at Paimouth. On the foure and twentieth day of Maie he was with great honour iostfullie receiued of the citizens into the citie of London, and so conuied to the palace of Westminster, where the king sitting in Westminster hall, receiued the French king, and after conueied him to a lodging appointed for him, where he laie a season; but after he was removed to the

just ho
Smith

The fire
is. 102000

Psalm. 131
Thom. W
Froissard.

Cardinal sent into England

A trace 1
two year

The fir
king rei
to wind

Rennes
Gegen.

Thos. W:

Fourdor
The bu
Scots
somed.

Polydon

the Hauoie, which was at that time a goodlie house, pertaining to the duke of Lancaster, though afterwards it was burnt and destroyed by Wat Tyler, Jacke Straw, and their companie. In this place the French king late, and kept house a long time after.

In the winter following were rotall iustices holden in Smithfield, at the which were present the kings of England, France, and Scotland, with manie great estates of all their three kingdoms, of the which the more part of the strangers were as then prisoners. It was reported, that the French king could not so dissemble nor cloake his inward thought, but that there appeared some tokens of græce in his countenance, whilste he beheld these warlike pastimes. And when the king of England, & his sonne prince Edward with comfortable words required him after supper to put all pensive cares out of his fantasie, and to be merrie and sing as other did, he should make this answer with a smiling countenance, alluding to the complaint of the Israelites in time of their captiuitie vnder the gentiles, & saieing,

Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terra aliena?

About the same time there came ouer into England two cardinals, the one called Calixtus being bishop of Alba (commonlie named the cardinal of Perregos); and the other named Nicholas intituled cardinal of S. Vitale or (as Froissard saith) of Dargell, they were sent from pope Innocent the first, to intreat for a peace betwixt the kings of England and France; but they could not bring their purpose to any perfect conclusion, although they remained here for the space of two yeares; but yet onelie by good means they procured a truce betwene the said kings, and all their assistants, to indure from the time of the publication thereof, vnto the feast of S. John Baptist, which should be in the yeare 1359: out of the which truce was excepted the L. Philip of Flandres, and his alies, the countesse of Flanders, and the whole duchie of Britaine.

Anon after, the French king was removed from the Hauoie vnto the castell of Windsor with all his household, and then he went on hunting and hauing there about at his pleasure, and the lord Philip his sonne with him, all the residue of the prisoners abode still at London, but were suffered to go by and dole, and to come to the court when they would. In the same yeare the duke of Lancaster besieged the citie of Kenes in Britaine, in the title of the countesse of Richmond, & his young sonne John of Pontfort, that claimed to be duke of Britaine. Those that were within the citie, as the vicount of Rohan, and Bertham de Claiquin (who as then was a lustie young bachelor) and others defended themselves manfully for a time, but yet at length they were compelled to render the citie into their enemies hands.

About the same time two Franciscane friers were burnt at London, for matters of religion. Pope ouer quene Isabel, mother vnto king Edward the third, departed this life the seauen and twentieth daie of August, and was buried the seauen and twentieth daie of September, in the church of the friers minors at London, not yet dedicated. David king of Scotland, wherlie after the truce was concluded betwixt England and France, was set at libertie, paying for his ransome the summe of one hundred thousand marks (as Fournon saith) but whether he meant Scottish or sterling monie, I cannot saie. He also was bound by covenant now vpon his deliuerance, to cause the castles in Pidesdale to be raised, which were knowne to be euill neighbors to the English borderers, as Dunfrise, Dalwinton, Spott, Dunferme, and nine other.

His wife quene Ione made such earnest sute to his brother king Edward for his husbands deliuerance, that king Edward was contented to release him vpon the payment of so small a portion of monie, and performance of the covenants, for the raising of those castles; although Froissard saith, that he was covenanted to paie for his deliuerance within the tearme of ten yeares, five hundred thousand nobles, and for certie of that payment to send into England sufficient hostages, as the earles of Douglas, Murray, Mar, Sutherland, and Fife, the baron of Wescie, and sir William Camoisse. Also he covenanted neuer to weare armour against king Edward, within his realme of England, nor to consent that his subjects should so do: and further should vpon his returne home, do the best he could to cause the Scots to agree that their countrie should hold of him in fee, and that he and his successors, kings of Scotland, should do homage to the king of England, and his successors for the realme of Scotland.

In this two and thirtieth yeare, as witneseth the French chronicles, sir Robert Knolles, James Dipe, and one Thomlin Foulke, with other capitaines and men of warre as souldiours to the king of Flandres vpon the tenth day of March earlie in the morning scaled the walles of the citie of Auxerre, and beheaded them so manfully, that they were masters of the towne before the sunne was vp. They got exceedingly much by the spoile of that citie, and by ransoming the prisoners which they took there. At length after they had remained eight daies in that citie, and taken their pleasures of all things within it, they wrought so with the citizens, that to haue possession of their citie againe, and to haue it saved from fire, they agreed to giue to sir Robert Knolles, and to his companie, fiftie thousand motons of gold, which amounted to the summe of twelue thousand and five hundred pounds sterling or there about; and yet was it agreed, that the Englishmen should burne the gates, and throwe downe the walles in diuers places. In April next ensuing, the towne of Daubignie sir le Petre was likewise wone by the Englishmen; and the second daie of Maie Chastellon sir Loigne was taken by the said sir Robert Knolles, and put to sacke as the other were. From thence they went to Newcastle vpon Loire. Thus did the Englishmen and other, in title of the L. of Flandres, greatly indamage the realme of France, daile winning townes and castles, ransoming the people, and wasting the countries in most miserable wise, as in the historie of France you may read more at large.

In this meane while there was talke of peace betwixt the king of England, and the king of France, and articles thereof draue in this forme, that the whole countries of Gascoine, Guien, Poitou, Touraine, Raintonge, Piergourd, Quercie, Limosin, Angoulmois, Calis, Guines, Bullogne, and Ponthieu, should remaine to the king of England wholte without doing homage or paying anye relæse for the same: but on the other part, he should renounce all his right, which he might by anye manner of meane claime to the countries of Normandie, Anjou, or Maine. And further, that the French king should paie a certie summe of monie for his ransome, and deliuer sufficient pledges for the same, and so depart into France. These articles were sent ouer into France, that the three states there might confirme them, which they refused to do. Wherevpon when the truce ended, the warres were againe renewed. The king held this yeare the feast of S. George at Windsor; in more sumptuous manner than euer it had bene kept before.

In the same yeare also, frier John Lisle bishop of

Froissard.

1358
Anno Reg. 32.

Annales de France.

The citie of Auxerre taken by sir Robert Knolles.

Daubignie sir le Petre. Chastellon. Newcastle vpon Loire.

Talke of a peace, and articles thereof draue. Caxton.

Thom. Walf. Elie,

In Smithfield

The French king was full.

French king was full.

John 137. Thom. Walf. Froissard.

Cardinals sent into England.

John 137. Thom. Walf. Froissard.

John 137. Thom. Walf. Froissard.

A truce for two yeares.

The French king removed to Windsor.

Kenes besieged.

Thom. Walf.

Fournon. The king of Scots ransomed.

Pol. Dor.

John 137. Thom. Walf. Froissard.

John 137. Thom. Walf. Froissard.

The bishop
of Elic.

Excommuni-
cation.

Such as de-
livered the
papal letters
hanged.

Discord be-
twixt priests
and friars.

Th. Walsing.
John of Gant
married.
1359
Anno Reg. 33.

Windsore ca-
stell repaired.
Additions to
Tower.

A solemn
iusts at
London.

Caxton.
The k. with
his four sons
are of the
challengers
part.

The French
k. renoued,
he departed
fro Hertford
the 29 of
Julie.
Polydor.

Elic, being (as he took it) somewhat wronged by the
ladie Blanch de Wake, and other that were of his
counsell, when the last yere against the kings will
unto the popes court, where exhibiting his com-
plaint, he caused the pope to excommunicate all his
adversaries, sending to the bishop of Lincolne and o-
ther of the cleargie, that if they knew any of them so
excommunicated to be dead and buried, they should
draw them out of their graues: which was done.
And because some of those that were excommunica-
ted were of the kings counsell, the king took such
displeasure therewith, that he grauously disquieted
the prelats. Whereupon there were sent from the
court of Rome on the behalf of the bishop of Elic,
certaine persons, which being armed, met the bishop
of Rochester lord treasurer, delivering to him letters
from the pope, the contents of the which were not
knownen, and forthwith they shanke a waite: but the
kings seruants made such pursue after them, that
some of them they took, and bringing them before the
kings iustices, vpon their arraignment they were
condemned, and suffered death on the gallows.

Great discord rose also about this time, or rather
afore, betwixt the cleargie, and the four orders of
friars, as in the booke of acts & monuments set forth
by master John Fox ye may read more at large. In
this yere John of Gant earle of Richmond, come
to the king, the nineteenth day of Maie married the
ladie Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancas-
ter at Reading; and because they were cousins with-
in the degrees of consanguinitie, forbidden by the
church lawes to marrie, a dispensation was procured
of the pope to remoue that obstacle and let. In this
yere the king set workemen in hand to take downe
much old bildings belonging to the castell of Wind-
sore, and caused diuerse other faire and sumptuous
works to be erected and set vp, in and about the same
castell, so that almost all the masons and carpenters
that were of any accompt within this land, were sent
for, and imployed about the same works, the ouerser
whereof was William Wickham the kings chap-
lain, by whose aduise the king took in hand to repare
that place, the rather in deed because he was borne
there, and therefore he took great pleasure to bestow
cost in beautifying it with such buildings, as may ap-
peare euen vnto this daie. Moreover, this yere in
the Rogation wake was solemn iusts enterprised
at London, for the maior and his four and twentie
brethren as challengers did appoint to answer all
comers, in whose name and stead the king with his
four sonnes, Edward, Lionel, John, and Edmund,
and nineteene other great lords, in secret manner
came and held the field with hono, to the great plea-
sure of the citizens that beheld the same. ¶ We haue
heard how the Frenchmen refused the peace, which
was accorded betwixt k. Edward & their king, as
then prisoner here in England. Whereupon k. Edward
determined to make such warre against the realme
of France, that the Frenchmen with all their harts
should be glad to condescend and agree to reason: and
first he commanded all manner of Frenchmen (other
than such as were prisoners) to auoid out of Eng-
land. He also appointed the French king to be re-
moued from the castell of Hertford, where he then re-
mained, vnto the castell of Somerton in Lincolne-
shire, vnder the gard and conduct of the lord Willi-
am Deincourt, being allowed fourtie shillings the
day for the wages of two and twentie men at armes,
twentie archers, & two watchmen: as thus, for him-
selfe and sir John Kirketon baronets, either of them
four shillings the daie; for three knights, sir Willi-
am Collevill (in place of the lord Robert Collevill,
that could not trauell himselfe by reason of sickness)
sir John Deincourt, and sir Sacre de Rochfort, ech of

them two shillings the daie; seuentene esquiers ech
of them twelue pence the day, eight archers on horse
backe curie of them six pence the day, and twelue
archers on foot three pence, and the two watchmen ei-
ther of them six pence the day, which amounteth in the
whole vnto nine and thirtie shillings the day; and the
od twelue pence was allowed to the said lord Dein-
court to make vp the summe of 40 shillings. ¶ This
haue I noted the rather, to giue a light to the reader
to consider how chargeable the retaining of men of
war in these daies is, in respect of the former times,
But now to our purpose.

The king meaning to passe ouer himselfe in per-
son into France, caused a mightie armie to be mu-
stered and put in a readinesse, and sent before him the
duke of Lancaster ouer to Calis with foure hun-
dred speares, and two thousand archers, where the
said duke joined with such strangers as were alrea-
die come to Calis in great numbers, and togither
with them entered into the French dominions, and
passing by saint Omers & Bethune, came to Pount
saint Cloie, a goodlie abbey and a rich, two leagues
distant from Arras, and there the host tarried foure
daies, and when they had robbed and wasted all the
countrie thereabout, they rode to Waile, and there
made a great assault, at the which a baronet of Eng-
land was slaine with diuerse other. When the Eng-
lishmen saw they could win nothing there, they de-
parted, and following the water of Some, came to a
towne called Cherlie, where they passed the riuer, and
there tarried Alhallowen daie, & the night following.

On the same daie the duke of Lancaster was ad-
uertised, that the king was arrived at Calis the se-
uenteenth daie of October, commanding him by let-
ters to draw towards him with all his companie.
The duke according to the kings commandement o-
bedied, and so returned toward Calis. The king being
there arrived with all his power, took counsell which
way he should take. Some aduised him first to in-
uade Flanders, and to reuenge the inurious dealing
of the earle and the Flemings: but he would not a-
gree to that motion, for he purposed fullie either by
plaine force to make a conquest of France, or else to
terrie to destruye and wast the countrie throughout
with fier and sword. Whereupon he set forwards the
fourth of Nouember, and passing through the coun-
tries of Arthois, and Wermendois, he came before
the citie of Reims. There went ouer with him in
this iournie, & with the duke of Lancaster, his four
sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, Lionel earle of
Ulster, John earle of Richmond, and the lord Ed-
mund his yongest sonne. Also there was Henrie the
said duke of Lancaster, with the earles of March,
Warwicke, Suffolke, Hereford (who also was earle
of Northampton) Salisburie, Stafford, and Oxford,
the bishops of Lincolne, and Durham, and the lords
Berke, Beuill, Spenser, Kirkibson, Kosse, Pannie,
Cobham, Botobray, de la Mare, Willoughbie, Fel-
ton, Basset, Fitzwater, Charleton, Audelie, War-
watch, and others, beside knights and esquiers, as sir
John Chandois, sir Stephan Goullanton, sir Rowell
Loxing, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Wille, sir Ri-
chard Pemburze, and others.

The siege was laid before Reims about saint An-
drewes tide, and continued more than seuen weekes:
but the citie was so well defended by the bishop
and the earle of Porcien, and other capitaines within
it, that the Englishmen could not obtaine their pur-
pose, and so at length, when they could not haue for-
rage nor other necessarie things abroad in the coun-
trie for to serue their turne, the king raised his field,
and departed with his armie in god order of battell,
taking the way through Champaigne, and so passed
by Chaalons, and after to Perrie on the riuer of
Seine,

The king
prepared
make a tour
into
France.
Froulard.
The duke of
Lancaster.

Berie of
faulst.

The kings
arrival at
Calis.

Froulard.

Polydor.

Froulard.

Reims be-
sieged.

1366

Anno Reg. 34.
Comere
wone.

Seine. From Herie he departed and came unto Connere, which towne about the beginning of the foure and thirtieth yere of his reigne was wone by assault, but the castell could not be wone, for there was within it the lord Fiennes constable of France, and a great number of other good men of war, which defended it valiantlie.

Guillon.

Flaignic.

The number
of carriages.

Cayon.
Additions to
Ad. Merimont.

Winchellie
burnt by the
French.

A composition
made to spare
the countie of
Burgonie.

French hath
Paradise in
Les Annales
de Burgonie.
Proffard.
The king of
England
journeth to
wards Paris.

4242.

After the king had rested there fixe dates, and that his men were well refreshed with the wines and other such things, which they found in that towne in good plenty, he remoued and dreyd towards Burgonie, coming to a towne called Guillon or Aguilon, where he lay from Thursday vnto Friday, having good provision of all manner of vittels by the means of an esquier of his called John Alanfon, which had taken the towne of Flaignic not farre thence, wherein was great store of bread and wine and other vittels: and still the marshals rode forth, and oftentimes refreshed the host with new provision. The Englishmen had with them in their carriages, tents, pavillions, milles, ouens, and forges; also boates of leather cunninglie made and deuised, able to receiue three men a pece, and to passe them ouer waters and riuers. They had at the least six thousand carts with them, and for euerie cart foure horses which they had out of England.

In this meane while, the Frenchmen made certeine beffels forth to the sea, vnder the gouernance of the earle of St. Paule, the which vpon the fiftieth daie of March landed earlie in the morning at Winchellie, and before sunne rising entred the towne, and finding the inhabitants vnprovidid to make anie great resistance, fell to and sacked the houses, flue manie men, women and also childzen, and after set fier on the towne; and vpon knowledg had that the people of the countie next adioining were assembled, and comming to the rescue, he caused his men to draw to their ships, and so they taking their pillage and spoile with them, got them aboard, not without some losse of their companie, which were slaine in the towne by such as resisted their violence. Whiles the king laie at Aguilon, there came to him Ansaume de Salians chancelor of Burgonie, Jacques de Vienne, and other lordes of the countie, being sent from their duke, to agree with the king for the sparing of the lands and seignories appertaining to the duchie of Burgonie.

The chancelor, and the other Burgognian lordes found the king so agreeable to their request, that a composition was made betwixt him and the countie of Burgonie, so that he should make to them an assurance for him, and all his people, not to ouerrun or indamage that countie, during the space of three yeres, and he to haue in readie monie the summe of two hundred thousand flozens of gold, which sterling monie amounted to the summe of fixe and thirtie thousand pounds. When this agreement was ingrossed vp in writing, and sealed, the king dislodged, and all his host, taking the right waie to Paris, and passing the riuer of Ponne, entered into Castinois, and at length by easie iournies, vpon a tuesday being the last of March in the weeke before Easter, he came and lodged betwene Pont le Herie, and Chartres, with his people in the countie thereabouts.

Here the duke of Normandie made meanes for a treatie of peace, which was laboured by a frier called Simon de Langres prouinciall of the friers Jacobins and the popes legat: he did so much, that a treatie was appointed to be holden on good friday in the palcedrie of Longegimew, where appeared for the king of England the duke of Lancaster, the erls of Warwike and Northampton, with sir John Chandois, sir Walter de Manny, and sir William

Cheinie knights: and for the French king thither came the earle of Gu constable of France, and the marshall Bouciquant, with other; but their treatie came to none effect: wherefore the king vpon the tuesday in the Easter weeke remoued nether vnto Paris, and vpon the friday following, being the tenth of April, by procurement of the abbat of Clugnie newlie come from pope Innocent the first, the foresaid commissioners esloones did meet to treat of an agreement, but nothing they could conclude, the parties in their offers and demands were so farre at ods.

Vpon the sundaie next following, a part of the kings hoste came before the cite of Paris, and inhabited themselves in a field fast by saint Marcellus, abiding there fro morning till thre of the clocke in the after none, to see if the Frenchmen would come forth to giue battell: but the French would not taste of that beffell. For the duke of Normandie (well considering what losse had ensued within few yeres past vnto the realme of France, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and taught by late triall and feeling of smart to dread imminent danger, for

Pulueribus didicit miles habere metum)

would not suffer anie of his people to issue forth of the gates, but commanded them to be readie onelie to defend the walles and gates, although he had a great power of men of warre within the cite, beside the huge multitude of the inhabitants. The Englishmen to prouoke their enemies the soner to saile forth, burnt diuerse parts of the suburbs, and rode cuen to the gates of the cite. When they perceived that the Frenchmen would not come forth, about thre of the clocke in the afternone they departed out of the field and withdrew to their campe, and then the king and all the English host remoued towards Chartres, and was lodged at a place called Dones. Thither came to him the bishop of Beaumont then chancelor of Normandie, with other, and so handled the matter with him, that a new daie of treatie was appointed to be holden at Bretignie, which is litle more than a mile distant from Chartres, vpon the first day of Maie next ensuing.

In which daie and place appointed, the foresaid duke of Lancaster, and the said earles and other commissioners met with the said bishop, and other French lords and spirituall men to him allocated, on the behalfe of the duke of Normandie then regent of France, to renew the former communication of peace, in full hope to bring it to a good conclusion; but cause king Edward began to frame his imagination more to accord with his aduersaries, than he had done of late, chiefelie for that the duke of Lancaster with courteous words and sage persuasions, aduised him not to forsake such reasonable conditions as the Frenchmen were contented now to agree vnto, sith that by making such manner of warre as he had attempted, his soldiers onelie gained, and he himselfe lost but time, and consumed his treasures and further he might warre in this sort all the daies of his life, before he could attaine to his intent, and lose perhaps in one daie more than he had gained in twentie yeres.

Such words spoken for the wealth of the king and his subiects, conuerted the kings mind to fanse peace, namelie by the grace of the Holie-ghost chiefe woorker in this case. For it chanced on a daie, as he was marching not farre from Chartres, there came such a storme and tempest of thunder, lightening, haile and raine, as the like had neuer bene scene by anie of the English people. This storme fell so hideous in the kings host, that it seemed the world should haue ended: for such vnreasonable great stones of haile fell from the skie, that men and horses were

The English
men before
Paris.

Polydor.
The suburbs
of Paris
burnt.

Froissard.
The bishop
of Beaumont.

A new treatie

The duke of
Lancaster per
suadeth the
king to agree.

An hideous
storme & tem-
pest of weather

A peace con-
cluded.

The articles.

Fabian.
Froullard.Homages and
services.The date of
the charter
of the peace.The French
kings ran-
soms.

Hosages.

The French
not to aid the
Scots.

Britaine.

slaine therewith, so that the most hardie were abashed. There perished thousands thereby, as some have written. Then the king rememb'ring what reasonable offers of agreement he had refused, upon remorse of conscience (as by some writers should appeare) asked forgiveness of the damage done by sword and fire in those parts, and shalbe determined to grant unto indifferent articles of peace, for release of the christian inhabitants of that land: and so shortly after, by the good diligence of the commissioners on both parts, an unitie and final peace was accorded, the conditions whereof were compiled in fortie and one articles, the chiefe thereof in effect were these.

1 First that the king of England should haue and enioy (ouer and beside that which he held already in Gascoigne and Guien) the castell, citie, and countie of Poitiers, and all the lands and countrie of Poitou, with the fee of Tonnars, and the lands of Belleuile; the citie and castell of Raintes, and all the lands and countrie of Raondonge on both sides the riuer of Charent, with the towne and fortreffe of Rochell, with their appurtenances; the citie and castell of Agenois; the citie and castell of Bergerot, and all the land and countrie of Perigueur; the citie and castell of Limoges, and all the lands and countrie of Limosin; the citie and castell of Cahors, and the lordship of Cahorsin; the castell and countrie of Tarbe; the lands countrie and countie of Bigorre; the countie, countrie, and lands of Gaure; the citie and castell of Angoleme; and the countie, land, and countrie of Angolemois; the citie, towne and castell of Rodair; and all the countie, and countrie of Rouergne; and if there were in the dukie of Guien any lords, as the earles of Foiz, Armynache, Alisc, and Perigueur, the vicounts of Carmain, and Limoges, or other holding any lands within the foresaid bounds, it was accorded that they should do homage and other custumarie seruices due for the same unto the king of England.

2 It was also agreed, that Calis and Guines, with the appurtenances, the lands of Pontrenill on the sea with the countie of Ponthieu, wholie and entirle should remaine unto the king of England. All the which countreies, citie, townes, and castels, with the other lands and seignories, the same king should haue and hold to him and his heires for ever, even as they were in demaine or fee, immediatlie of God, and free without recognizing any maner souereintie to any earthly man. In consideration whereof, king Edward renounced all such claimes, titles and interest as he pretended unto any part of France, other than such as were comprised within the charter of covenants of this peace first agreed upon at Bretigne aforesaid, and after confirmed at Calis, as appeareth by the same charter dated there the foure & twentieth daie of October, in the peare of our Lord 1360.

3 It was also covenanted, that the French king should paie unto the king of England thirtie hundred thousand crownes in name of his ransom: for assurance of which payment, & performance of all the covenants aforesaid mentioned, and other agreed upon by this peace, the dukes of Breance, Anion, Berrie, and Wurbon, with diuerse other honorable personages, as earles, lords, and burgesses of euerie good towne, some were appointed to be sent ouer hither into England to remaine as hosages.

4 It was further agreed, that neither the French king nor his successors should aid the Scots against the king of England or his successors; nor that king Edward nor his heirs kings of England should aid the Flemings against the crowne of France.

5 And as for the title or right of the dukie of Britaine, which was in question betwene the earles of Blois and Mountfort, it was accorded, that both

kings being at Calis, the parties should be called before them, and if the two kings could not make them friends, then should they assigne certeine indifferent persons to agree them, and they to haue halfe a yeeres respit to end the matter: and if within that terme those that should be so appointed to agree them, could not take by the matter betwixt the said earles, then either of the might make the best purchase for himselfe that he could, by helpe of friends, or otherwise; but alwaies provided, that neither of the kings nor their sonnes should so aid the said earles, whereby the peace accorded betwixt England and France, might by any meanes be broken or infringed. Also, to whether of the said earles the dukie of Britaine in the end chanced to fall by sentence of iudges, or otherwise, the homage should be done for the same unto the French king.

All these ordinances, articles and agreements, with manie mo (which here would be too long to rehearse) were accorded and ratified by the instruments and seales of the prince of Wales on the one part, and of the duke of Normandie regent of France on the other part, as by their letters patents then sealed further appeared, bearing date, the one at Loures in Normandie the sixteenth daie of Maie in the peare of Grace 1360, and the other at Paris the tenth day of the same moneth, and in the peare aforesaid.ouer & beside this, both the said princes toke on them a solemne oth, to see all the same articles and covenants of agreement thoroughlie kept, mainteined and performed. This done, king Edward imbarbed himselfe with his four sonnes and the most part of his nobles at Hunden the twentieth daie of Maie, and so sailed into England, leauing behind him the earle of Marbrike to haue the gouernement of all the men of warre which he left behind him, either in Guien or in any other place on that side the sea.

Where died in this iourne diuerse noble men of this land, as the earles of March and Wyford, the lord John Graie then steward of England, and the lord Geoffrey de Saie, with diuerse other. The eight of Julie next ensuing, the French king hauing licence to depart, landed at Calis, and was lodged in the castell there, abiding till the king of England came thither, which was not till the ninth day of October next after. On the foure and twentieth daie of October, both the kings being in two traucers and one chappell at Calis, a masse was said before them, and when they should haue kissed the par, either of them in signe of greater friendship killed the other, & there they were solemnelie swozne to mainteine the articles of the same peace; and for moze assurance thereof, manie lords of both parts were likewise swozne to mainteine the same articles to the bittermost of their powers. Whilste these kings late thus at Calis, there was great banquetting and chere made betwixt them.

Also the duke of Normandie came from Bullongne to Calis, to visit his father, and to see the king of England, in which meane time two of king Edwards sonnes were at Bullongne. Finallie, when these two kings had finished all matters in so good order and forme that the same could not be amended nor corrected, and that the French king had deliuered his hosages to the king of England, that is to saie, six dukes, beside earles, lords, and other honorable personages, in all to the number of eight and thirtie: on the morrow after the taking of their othes, that is to saie on the five and twentieth daie of October, being sundaie, the French king was shels deliuered, and the same daie before none he departed from Calis, and rode to Bullongne. The king of England brought him a male foreward on his waie, and then toke leaue of him in most louing maner. The prince atten-

The French
king set at
berrie.In Angl. prel.
Edwards. 3.The king of
England re-
turneth home
The earle of
Warwick.The walls
The French
king goeth
ouer to CalisStrange
borders.The king
receiue a
seime othe
for the peace
performed.

A great death.

The duke of
NormandieAn. Marl.
The priuat
of Admarch
departed this
d. e.The mozt
of the French
hosages.1361
Additions to
the text, and
Adam Meri-
muth.
A strange sight
in the aire.

The French
king set at
libertie.

attended him to Ballongne, where both he and the duke of Normandie with other were effrons swoone to hold and mainteine the foresaid peace without all fraud or colourable deceit: and this done, the prince returned to Calis. Thus was the French king set at libertie, after he had bene prisoner here in England the space of foure yeares, and as much as from the nineteenth daie of September, unto the five and twentieth of October. When the king of England had finished his businesse at Calis, according to his mind, he returned into England, and came to London the ninth daie of November.

Thus haue we hard the originall beginning, the procelle, and issue of sundrie conflicts and battels, and speciallie of two, one of John the French king vnluckilie attempted against England; the other of David the Scottish king as vnforsunately ended. For both kings were subdued in fight, vanquished, and taken prisoners; with a great number of their noblemen, whereas they were in hope to haue gone awaite with the conquest, and to haue had renoume for their reward. Of which ouerthrow giuen to both these kings, with the clemencie of king Edward (in whose hands though their liues laie to be disposed as he list, yet he was so far from violating the same, that he shewed himselfe a wonderfull fauourer of their estates, and in fine not onelie put them to their reasonable ransoms, but restored them to their roialties, from the which their sinister lot had deposed them) Christopher Okland hath left this remembred:

In Angl. prel.
sub Edwardo, 3.

*Plantageneta duos reges iam illustris habebat
Captiuos tenuit comites custodiam mitis
Multos ambabus claro regionibus ortos
Sanguine, quos saxo bello cepere Britanni.
Attamen Eduardi viguit clementia regis
Tanta, & tanta animo virtus innata sedebat,
Vt pretio & pacto dimitteret ere redemptos
In patriam ad propriæ consanguinitatis amicos.*

Strange
wonders.

In this foure and thirtieth yeare of king Edward, men and castell were destroyed in diuerse places of this realme, by lightening and tempest; also houses were set on fier and burnt, and manie strange and wonderfull sights saene. The same yeare Edward prince of Wales married the countesse of Kent, which before was wife vnto the lord Thomas Holland: and before that, she was also wife vnto the erle of Salisbury, and diuorced from him, and wedded to the same lord Holland. She was daughter vnto Edmund earle of Kent, brother to king Edward the second, that was beheaded in the beginning of this kings reigne, as before we haue heard. And because the prince and she were within degrees of consanguinitie forbidden to marrie, a dispensation was gotten from the pope to remoue that let. In this yeare also was a great death of people (namelie of men, for women were not so much subiect thereto.) This was called the second mortallitie, because it was the second that fell in this kings daies.

A great death.

In Marl.
The priuat
of Edmarch
departed thus
h.e.

This yeare also by the death of Richard fitz Kase priuat of Ardmac, that departed this life in the court of Rome; and also of Richard Wilminton deceased here in England, the discord that had continued for the space of thre or foure yeares betwixt them of the cleargie on the one part, and the foure orders of friers on the other part, was now quieted and brought to end. Moreover, this yeare appeared two castles in the aire, of the which the one appeared in the southeast, and the other in the southwest, out of which castles about the houre of none sundrie times were seene hosts of armed men (as appeared to mans sight) issuing forth, and that host which sailed out of the castell in the southeast seemed white, and the other blacke. They appeared as they should haue fought either against other, and first the white had the

upper hand, and after was overcome, and so banished out of sight.

About the same time, the souldiours which were discharged in France and out of wages, by the French king by of the warres, assembled together, and did much hurt in that realme, as in the French histories we may read. Their chiefe leaders were Englishmen and Gascoignes subiects to the king of England. The king assembled the states of his realme in parliament at Westminster in the feast of the Conuersion of S. Paule, and there was declared vnto them the tenor and whole effect of the peace concluded betwixt England and France, wherewith they were greatly pleased, and hereupon the nobles of the realme, and such Frenchmen as were hostages, came together at Westminster church on the first saturday of Lent next following: and there such as were not already sworn, receiued the oth for performance of the same peace, in a right solemne manner, hauing the tenor of their oths written in certeine scrolls; and after they had taken their oths vpon the sacrament and masse booke, they deliuered the same scrolls vnto certeine notaries appointed to receiue and register the same.

The mortallitie yet during, that noble duke Henry of Lancaster departed this life on the euen of the Annunciation of our ladie, and was buried at Leicester. John of Gaunt the fourth son to the king, who had married his daughter the ladie Blanch, as before we haue heard, succeeded him in that dutchie as his heire in right of the said ladie. The same yeare also died the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Walter fitz Warren, and thre bishops, Worcester, London, and Ely. This yeare vpon the fifteenth day of Ianuarie there rose such a passing wind, that the like had not bene heard of in manie yeeres before. It began about euenlong time in the south, and that with such force, that it ouerthrow and blew downe strong and mightie buildings, as towres, steeples, houses and chimnies. This outrageous wind continued thus for the space of six or seauen daies, whereby euen those buildings that were not ouerthrowne and broken downe, were yet so shaken, that they without repairing were not able long to stand. After this folowed a verie wet season, namelie in the summer time and haruest, so that much coine and haie was lost and spoiled, for want of seasonable weather to gather in the same.

The lord Lionell the kings sonne went ouer into Ireland, to be deputie to his father there, and was created duke of Clarence, and his brother Edmund was created earle of Cambridge; also Edward prince of Wales was by his father king Edward inuested duke of Guen, and did homage vnto his father for the same, in like manner and forme as his father and other kings of England were accustomed to do for the said dutchie to the kings of France. And afterwards about the feast of Candlemasse next ensuing, the said prince sailed into Gascoigne, and arrived at Burdeaur, taking vpon him the gouernment and rule of the countrie. Moreover this yeare, the five first daies of Maie, were kept roiall iusts in Smithfield by London, the king and queene being present, with a great multitude of the nobles and gentlemen of both the realms of England and France; at which time came hither Spaniards, Cipriots, and Armenians, requiring aid of the king against the infidels, that sore molested their confines. The staple of wols was this yeare remoued to Calis.

Also the firste of October, a parlement began, that was called at Westminster, which continued till the feast daie of S. Michael, on which daie, the king at that time fiftie yeares then past, was borne; whereupon, as it were in the yeare of his iubilie, he shewed him

Froissard.

Anno Reg. 35.
A parlement.

Caxton.

Tho. Walf.
Adam Merimuth.I 2 6 2
Caxton.A mightie
wind.

Anno Reg. 36.

Creations of
the kings
sonnes to de-
grees of hono-
Hen. Marle.The prince of
Wales passeth
ouer into
Guen.
Thom. Walf.
Additions to
Ad. Merim.
A iusts in
Smithfield.
The Staple
of wols remou-
ed to Calis.
A parlement.

A pardon.

A statute against pursuers.

A subsidy.

Lawyers to plead their cases in English.
Caxton.
Scholmasters to teach scholars to construe their lessons in English.1363
Anno Reg. 37.
Thom. Wall.Additions to Adam Merimuch.
A statute against costly apparel.

Three kings come into England about business with Edward.

1364

Anno. Reg. 38.

The death of the French king.

Fabian.

himselfe more gracious to his people, granting pardon to offenders, and revoking outlawes. Moreover, it was ordeined in this parlement, that no maner of person, of what estate or degree soever he was, the king, the quene, and dukes onelie excepted, should have any pursuers of vittels, nor should take by any thing without readie payment, and those that from thenceforth did contrarie to this ordinance, should be extremelie punished. There was granted to the king in this parlement six and twentie shillings eight pence of euerie sacke of wool that was to be transported over the sea, for thre yeares next ensuing.

Furthermore, at the sute of the commons it was ordeined and established by an act in this parlement devised, that men of law should plead their causes, and write their actions and plaints in the English tongue, and not in the French, as they had bene accustomed to do, ever since the Conquerors time. It was ordeined also, that scholmasters should teach their scholars to construe their lessons in English, & not in French, as before they had bene used. The king shewed so much curtesie to the French hostages, that he permitted them to go over to Calis, and there being nere home, to purchase friendship, by oft calling on their friends for their deliuerance. They were suffered to ride to and fro about the marches of Calis, for the space of foure daies together, so that on the fourth daie before sunne setting, they returned into Calis againe. The duke of Anjou turning his libertie to serue his owne turne, departed from thence, and went home into France, without making his fellowes priuie to his purpose.

This yeare a parlement was called by the king, which began the ninth of October, from the which none of the noble men could obtaine licence to be absent. In this parlement all rich ornaments of gold and siluer used to be weorne in kirtles, girdels, cotes, rings, or otherwise, to the setting forth of the bodie, were prohibited, except to such as might dispend ten pounds by yeare. Moreover that none should weare any rich clothes or furies, except they might dispend an hundred pounds by yeare. Moreover it was enacted, that labourers and husbandmen should not use any deintie dishes, or costly drincks at their tables. But these, and such other acts as were devised and established at this parlement, toke none effect, as after it appeared. In this yeare, there came into England to speake with king Edward concerning their weightie affaires, thre kings, to wit, the king of France, the king of Scotland, & the king of Cyprus: they were honorablie receiued, and highlie feasted.

The king of Scotland, and the king of Cyprus after they had dispatched their business for the which they came, turned backe againe; but the French king fell sicke, and remained here till he died, as in the next yeare ye shall heare. He arrived here in England, about the latter end of this yeare, and came to Eltham (where king Edward as then laie) on the foure and twentieth day of Januarie, and there dined. After diner, he took his horse and rode toward London, and upon Blakhe heath, the citizens of London clad in one kind of liuerie, and verie well horsed, met him, and conueied him from thence through to London, to the Savoy, where his lodging was prepared.

About the beginning of March, in this eight and thirtieth yeare, the forenamed French king fell into a grievous sicknesse, of the which he died the eight day of April following. His corpes was conueied into France, and there buried at S. Denise: his erexques were kept here in England in diuerse places right solemnlie, by king Edwards appointment.

This yeare, by reason of an extreme sore frost, continuing from the seven and twentieth day of Septem-

ber last passed, unto the beginning of April, in this eight and thirtieth yeare (or rather from the seventh day of December till the nineteenth day of March, as Wallingham and other old writers do report) the ground laie untild, to the great hinderance and losse of all growing things on the earth. This yeare on Michaelmasse day, before the castell of Aulroy, not far distant from the citie of Tannes in Britaine, a sore battell was fought betwixt the lord Charles de Blois, and the lord John of Mountford. For when there could be no end made betwixt these two lords, touching their title unto the duchie of Britaine, they renewed the wars verie hotlie in that countrie, and procured all the aid they might from each side. The king of France sent to the aid of his consine Charles de Blois a thousand speares; and the earle of Mountford sent into Gascoigne, requirung sir John Chandois, and other Englishmen there to come to his succour. Sir John Chandois gladly consented to this request, and thereupon got licence of the prince, and came into Britaine, where he found the earle of Mountford at the siege of the foresaid castell of Aulroy. In the meane time, the lord Charles de Blois, being provided of men, and all things necessarie to giue battell, came and lodged fast by his enemies.

The earle of Mountford advertised of his approach, by the aduise of sir John Chandois and other of his captains, had chosen out a plot of ground to lodge in, and meant there to abide their enemies. With the lord Charles of Blois was that valiant knight sir Berthram de Cleaquin or Cuesclin (as some write him) by whose aduise there were ordeined thre battels, and a rereguard, and in each battell were appointed a thousand of good fighting men. On the other part, the earle of Mountford divided his men likewise into thre battels and a rereguard. The first was led by sir Robert Knols, sir Walter Hewet, and sir Richard Bzulle or Wurle. The second by sir Oliver de Clifton, sir Eustace Daubrecourt, and sir Wat thew Gourne. The third the earle of Mountford himselfe guided, and with him was sir John Chandois as sociat, by whom he was much ruled: for the king of England, whose daughter the earle of Mountford should marie, had writtten to sir John Chandois, that he should take good heed to the businesse of the said earle, and order the same as sagelie as he might desire or imagine.

In ech of these thre armies were five hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers. In the rereguard were appointed five hundred men of warre, under the gouernance of sir Hugh Caluerlie. Beside sir John Chandois, & other Englishmen rectified by Froissard, there was the lord William Latimer, as one of the chiefe on the earle of Mountfords side. There were not past sixtene hundred good fighting men on that side, as Thomas Wallingham plainelie writeth. Now when the hosts were ordered on both sides (as before we haue said) they approached together, the Frenchmen came close in their order of battell, and were to the number of five and twentie hundred men of armes, after the manner of that age, beside others. Querie man had cut his speare (as then they used, at that time they should soine in battell) to the length of five foot, and a short ar hanging at his side. At the first encounter, there was a sore battell, and trulie the archers shot right fiercelie, howbeit their shot did little hurt to the Frenchmen, they were so well armed and furnished: the archers perceiving that (being big men and light) cast awaie their bowes, and entered in amongst the Frenchmen that bare the arcs, and plucked them out of their hands, wherewith they fought after right hardlie. There was done manie a noble feat of armes, manie taken, and rescued againe.

The battle of Aulroy.

Froissard.

The earle of Guzerre taken prisoner.

Sir Berthram de Cleaquin.

The first battle and the second fighting men, as Wallingham.

Ambassadors sent to the earle of Mountford.

The variance of Britaine compounded.

Fabian.

1365

Anno Reg. 39.

Fabian.

Thom. Wall.

The lord Coucie married the king of Englands daughter.

Polychron.

Froissard.

A. Mair.

A treatie of marriage for the earle of Ambrydige.

The French army of the English chieffs.

Against

Against the earle of Montford's battell, fought the battell which the lord Charles de Blois ruled, and at the first, the earle of Montford's part was sore oppressed, and brought out of order in such sort, that if sir Hugh Calverly had not in time relieved them, the losse had runne on that side; but finally so long they fought, that all the battells assembled and joined each to other, except the rereguard of the Englishmen, whereof (as is said) sir Hugh Calverly was chiefe. He kept alwayes his battell on a wing, and ever succoured where he saw need. At length, the Frenchmen not able to indure the valiant dowings of their aduersaries, began to breake. First the earle of Aruerres battell was discomfited, and put to flight, and the said earle sore wounded, and taken prisoner, but the battell of sir Berthram de Cleaquin as yet stood manfullie at defense, howbeit at length the Englishmen perforce opened it, and then was the said sir Berthram taken prisoner, vnder the banner of sir John Chandois.

Wherewith also, all the other battells of the Frenchmen and Britaines, on the part of the lord Charles de Blois, were cleane discomfited, and put out of array, so that such as resisted, and stood at defense, were slaine and beaten downe, and amongst others, the lord Charles was there slaine himselfe, and all other either taken or slaine, except those that escaped by flight, amongst the which there were not manie of the nobilitie. For as Thomas Walsingham saith) there were slaine about a thousand men of armes, and there were taken two earles, seven and twentie lords, and fiftene hundred men of armes. The chase was followed to the citie of Reimes, eight great leagues from the place where the battell began. After this victorie, the earle of Montford conquered manie townes and castels in Britaine, whereof the French king being aduertised, sent his brother the duke of Anjou, vnto the wife of the lord Charles of Blois now deceased, to comfort hir in such a beaue case, and to take order for things as should be thought expedient, vntill further prouision might be made.

Shortlie after, there were sent vnto the earle of Montford, the archbishop of Reimes, the marshall Bouciquault, and the lord of Cran, as commissioners, to commune with him of a finall agreement. Whereupon, after he had signified the matter vnto the king of England, and vnderstood his pleasure therein, this treatie was so handled, that peace there of followed, and the parties were agreed in the moneth of Aprill next ensuing. ¶ This yeare (as some haue written) king Edward finished his warres vpon S. Stephens daie, and began the foundation of S. Stephens chappell at Westminster in memorie thereof, which chappell was afterwards finished by king Richard the second that succeeded him. ¶ In the nine and thirtieth yeere of king Edwards reigne, and in the moneth of februarye, in the citie of Angouleme, was borne the first sonne of prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life the seuenth yeare of his age.

Also this yeare, the seven and twentieth of Julie, Angeram de Guines lord de Coucie a Frenchman, married the ladie Isabell daughter to R. Edward. The solemnization of the marriage feast was kept at Windsor in most roiall and triumphant wise. The said lord Coucie was created earle of Bedford, with an yerelie annuities of thirtie markes, going forth of the issues and profits of that countie, ouer and besides a thousand markes by yeare, assigned to him and his said wife, and to the heires male of their bodie begotten, to be paid forth of the exchequer. About this time, there was a treatie also for marriage to be had, betwixt the lord Edmund earle of Cambridge, and

the ladie Margaret, daughter and heire to the earle of Flanders; which treatie went so far, that the earle came ouer to Douer, where the king was readie to receiue him, and there the earle promised by words of assiance, to giue his said daughter vnto the said lord Edmund in marriage: and after that the earle had bene at Douer, the space of thre daies, passing the time in great solace and banquetting, when he had finished his businesse, he returned backe againe into his countie.

Whilest the king was thus at Douer with the earle of Flanders, the lord Latimer came from the lord John de Montford, to vnderstand his pleasure, touching the offers that were made for peace, vpon whose returne with answer, the peace was concluded as before we haue heard. This yeare was Peter king of Castile chased out of his realme, by his bastard brother Henrie, which was aided in that enterprise by sir Berthram de Cleaquin lately deliuered, and other Frenchmen; so that the said Henrie was crowned at Burgus, vpon Easter daie: wherefore the said Peter was constrained to flee, and so came to Burdeaur to sue for aid at the hands of the prince of Wales. This yeare by the kings commandement, a restraint was ordeined, that Peter pence should not be from thenceforth anie more gathered within this realme, nor anie such payment made at Rome, which had bene used to be paid there, euer since the daies of Iue, king of Westsaxons, which ordeined this payment toward the maintenance of a schoule for English scholars. But howsoeuer this payment was abrogated at this time by king Edward, it was after renewed againe, and the monie gathered in certeine shires of this realme, till the daies of king Henrie the eight, so greatlie preuailed the vsurped power of that beast of Rome, which had poisoned the princes of the world with the dregs of his abomination, whose glorie shall end in shame, his hono: turne to horro:, and his ambitious climbing vp aloft about all principallitie (to be compere with God) shall haue an irreuerable ruine; as long agoe, and of late likewise hath bene and now is prophesied of him, that he may readilie read his owne downefall into hell:

In rapidis acherontis aquas, qui gloria mundi

Papauit, lapsu corruet ille graui:

Corruet ut rapidum descendit ab aethere fulmen,

Corruet in stygios tempus in omne lacus.

In this yeare fell great abundance of raine in the time of hate haruieff, so that much corne and hate was lost. ¶ There was also such fighting amongst sparrows in that season, that they were found dead on the ground in great numbers. Also, there followed great mortalitie of people, the sicknesse being so sharpe and belement, that manie being in perfect health ouer night when they went to bed, were found dead in the morning. Also, manie died of the small pocks, both men, women, and children. ¶ Moreover this yeare, Simon Flep archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and Simon Langham bishop of Ely succeeded in his place. This yeare at Burdeaur, was borne the second sonne of prince Edward named Richard, on the third daie of Aprill; his godfather at the fontstone was James R. of Maiorke. ¶ Peter the king of Spaine, who (as we haue heard) was expelled out of his realme by his bastard brother, made such earnest sute to the prince of Wales for aid to be restored home, that finally the prince aduertising his father king Edward of the whole matter, by aduise from him, determined to bring home the said king Peter, and to restore him againe to his kingdom, by force of armes, in despite of all his aduersaries.

The prince indeed was verie desirous to take this enterprise vpon him, both of a certeine pitifull affection

The earle of Flanders.

The lord Latimer.

The king of Castile chased out of his realme. Froissard.

Peter pence.

The king of Westsaxons.

A raine haruieff. Caxton.

Death.

R. Richard the second bozne.

Froissard.

Sir Hugh Calverly.

The earle of Aruerres taken prisoner.

Sir Berthram de Cleaquin.

Embassadors sent to the earle of Montford.

The variance for Britaine compounded.

Feb. 1365

Anno Reg. 39. E. 3.

Tho. Wall.

The lord Coucie married the king of Englands daughter. Froissard.

Froissard. A. Ma. A treatie of marriage for the earle of Cambridge.

tion to relieue the miserable state of king Peter, and also of an ardent desire which he had to purchase a glorious fame thorough martiall deeds, and noble acts of chualtrie. Therefore hauing this occasion to impleie his time in such exercises, and now commandyng thether to of his father, he was exceedingly glad in his mind, and with all speed that might be, made his prouision both of a sufficient armie of men of warre, and also of all other things necessarie for the furniture of such an enterpryse: but first, he took good assurance of king Peter, for the payment of the soldiers wages: so the king left at Balonne three of his daughters, Beatrice, Constance, and Isabell as pledges, for performance of all the covenants agreed betwixt him and the prince.

1367
Anno Reg. 41.

The prince
setth forth
ward to
warre
Spain.
He entred
into Spain.

Thus when the prince, by the aduise and counsell of sir John Chandos, and sir Robert Knols (by whome he was much ruled) had taken direction in his business, for that his iournie into Spaine, in each condition as was thought behoouefull, he with the king of Spaine in his companie, passed forth with a puissant armie, and came to the streets of Roncuille, at the entrie into Pauarre, and obtaining so much friendship of the king of Pauarre, as to haue the passages of his countrey opened, they entered into his realme through the same, as friends, without finding any resistance. In this meane time, Henrie king of Spaine, hauing knowledge that the prince of Wales was thus comming against him, to restore his brother king Peter to his former degree, by aduise of sir Berthram de Clequin, got a great number of soldiers out of France, by whose aid he might the better defend himselfe against his enemies.

The king of
Pauarre taken
by the
Frenchmen.

Sir Martin
de Care.

Saint
Spuchaulc.

The king of
Spain sent
both to the
prince.

Victoria,
Uiana.

Polydon.

Now it chanced, that whilst the prince of Wales was passing thorough Pauarre, toward the entrie of Spaine, certeine of those Frenchmen, under the leading of sir Oliuer Hannie, took the king of Pauarre prisoner, as he was riding from one towne to another. Hannie maruelled at that chance, and some there were that thought he suffered himselfe to be taken for a cause, because he would not aid the prince of Wales any further, nor conduct him through his realme, as he had promised to do. But the prince nothing dismayed herewith, passed forward, by the guidance of a knight of Pauarre, called sir Martin de Care, and finally came to the confines of Spaine, and lodged at Victoria, not far from his enemies. For king Henrie of Spaine, understanding which waie the prince drew, came forward to encounter him, and fight downe his field, not far from the borders of his realme, at a place called saint Spuchaulc: and thus were both the hosts lodged within a small distance the one against the other.

King Henrie had sent to the prince an herald of armes with a letter, requiring to know of him for what cause he moued warre against him, sith he had neuer offended him. The prince taking deliberation for answer of this letter, kept the messenger with him, and perceiving that king Henrie came not forward, but laie still at saint Spuchaulc, strongly incamped, he remoued from Victoria, and came to a towne called Uiana, where he staid two daies to refresh his people, and after went forward, and passed the river which diuideth the realmes of Castile and Pauarre, at the bridge of Croigne. King Henrie aduertised hereof, departed from saint Spuchaulc, and came before the towne of Pauarret, situate on the same river. Not manie daies before the prince passed the river at Croigne, king Henrie had sent forth two of his brethren, the earle Dom Telle, and the lord Sandes, with sir hundred horsemen, to view the princes host.

They chanced to encounter two hundred English

horsemen, whom after long and sharpe fight, they distressed, & slew sir William Felton, one of the chiefe leaders of those Englishmen, and took sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Hugh Hastings, and diuerse other, both knights and esquires. Whether that king Henrie was greatly encouraged by this good lucke in the beginning, or that he trusted through the great multitude of his people, which he had there with him, to haue the upper hand of his enemies, true it is, that he counted sore to giue them battell: and although he might haue wearied the prince, and constrained him for want of vittels to haue returned, or to haue fought with him at some great aduantage, if he had deferred the battell, as the marshall of France had done, yet he would needs fight in all the hast, and therefore did thus approach his enemies.

The prince perceiving that his aduersarie came forward to encounter him, dispatched the herald with an answer to the letter which he had of him received, containing in effect, that for great considerations, he had taken vpon him to aid the rightfull king of Spaine, chased out of his realm by violent wrong, and that if it might be, he would gladly make an agreement betwixt them: conditionallie, that king Henrie of necessity must then forsake the administration, and all the title of the kingdome of Spaine, which by no rightfull meane he could inioyn, and therefore if he refused thus to do, he was for his part resolved how to proceed. The herald departed with this answer, and came therewith vnto king Henrie, and deliuered it vnto him, as then lodged with his puissant armie at Pauarre, so that then both parties prepared themselves to battell.

The prince hauing with him thirtie thousand men of Englishmen, Gascoignes, and other strangers, ordeined three battels, of the which, the first was led by the duke of Lancaster, and with him was sir John Chandos constable of Guien, sir William Beauchampe son to the earle of Warwick, the lord Dabret, sir Richard Dangle, and sir Stephan Conston, marshals of Guien, & diuerse other. The middle ward was gouerned by the prince, and with him was the foresaid Peter king of Spaine, and diuerse other lords and knights of England, Poitou, and other countries, as the vicounts of Chatelaireault and Rochfort, the lords of Partnie, Binan, Taneboton, and others, sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Thomas Spenser, sir John Grendon, and a great sort more, whose names it would be too long to rehearse. The reterward was vnder the gouernance of the king of Galozques, & with him were associat the earls of Arminacke, Dalbret, Piergoz, Cominges, the capitoll of Buefz, sir Robert Knols, and manie other valiant lords, knights, and esquires.

On the second day of Aprill, the prince with his battell thus ordeined, remoued from Croigne, and marching that day two leagues forward, came before Pauarret, and there took his lodging, within a small distance from his enemies, so that both parties prepared to giue battell the next day in the morning, commanding that euerie man at the sounding of the first trumpet, should apparell themselves, that they might be ready vpon the next found to be set in order of battell, and to go against their enemies. The Spaniards very earlie in the morning drew into the field, and ordeined three battels in this wise. The first was led by sir Berthram de Clequin, wherein were all the Frenchmen and other strangers, to the number of foure thousand knights and esquires, well armed and appointed, after the manner of France. In the second battell was the earle Dom Telle, with his brother the lord Sandes, hauing with them fiftene thousand men on foot, and on horsebacke. The third battell and the greatest of all was gouerned by king Henrie

Sir William
Felton
Froiland.

The number
of Spanish
armie.

The duke of
Lancaster.

The capitall
of Buefz.

The number
of the prince
armie.

The chieftains
of the
same armie.

The archers.

King Peter.

The Spaniards
put to
flight.

The other
of the Spaniards.

An. Reg. 41.

The number
of Spaniards
armed.The duke of
Lancaster.The capitall
of Bous.

The archers.

King Peter.

The Spaniards
put to
flight.

Henrie himselfe, hauing in that battell seven thousand horsemen, and thre score thousand footmen, with crossbowes, darts, speares, lances, and other abilliments of war: so in all thre battells he had foure score and six thousand men on horsebacke and on foot. The prince of Wales, at the breaking of the daie was ready in the field with his people arranged in order of battell, and advanced forward with them toward his enemies, an holling pace; and as they passed a little hill, they might see as they were descending downe the same, their enemies comming likewise towards them, in good order of battell. When they were approached nere together, and ready to ioine, the duke of Lancaster's battell encountered with the battell of sir Berthram de Cleaquin, which two battells were eagerly assailed each other, so that there was betwixt them a foze conflict, and well continued. The erle Dom Melles, and his brother the lord Sandes, upon the first approach of the princes battell towards them, fled out of the field, and with them two thousand speares, so that the residue of their battell were shortly after discomfited, for the capitall of Bous otherwise Bous, and the lord Clifton, came upon them on foot, and slue and hurt manie of them, so that they brake their arraie, and fled to saue themselves.

This chance discomfited the hearts of the Spaniards right soze, but yet king Henrie like a valiant gentleman came forward, and encouraged his men all that he might, so that there was a cruell battell, and well foughten a long time. For the Spaniards with slings cast stones in such fierce manner, that they claued therewith manie an helmet and bassenet, hurt manie, and ouerthrew them to the earth. On the other part, the English archers shot freshlie at their enemies, galled and slue the Spaniards, and brought them to great confusion: yet king Henrie nothing abashed herewith, wherefoeuer he perceiued his men to shrink, thither he resorted, calling upon them, and exhorting them to remember their estimations and duties, so that by his diligence and manfull encouragement, thise that daie did he state his people, being at point to giue ouer, and set them in the faces of his enemies againe. Neither did the souldiers alone manfully behaue themselves, but the captains also stoutlie laid about them. King Peter like a lion pressed forward, coueting to meet with his brother Henrie, that he might seeke his reuenge on him with his owne hands. Cruell was the fight, and tried throughlie with most eager and fierce minds.

At length, when the Spaniards were no longer able to susteine the force and violence of the Englishmen, Calcoignes, & other which were there against them, they brake their arraie, and fled: so that neither the authoritie nor bold exhortation of king Henrie, could cause them to tarrye anie longer: whereupon, when he saw himselfe forsaken of his people, and that few abode with him to resist his enemies, he also to saue himselfe fled out of the field, being fullie persuaded, that if he had bene taken, no ransom should haue saued his life. The battell that was best fought, and longest held together, was that of the strangers, which sir Berthram de Cleaquin led. For if the Spaniards had done halfe their parts as well as the Frenchmen, & other in this battell, the matter had gone harder against the Englishmen than it did: yet finally, by the noble courage of the duke of Lancaster, and the valiant prowesse of sir John Chandos, sir Hugh Caluerlie, & others, the Frenchmen were put to flight, and their battell quite discomfited. The slaughter in this battell was great, both of them that were slaine in the field, and of those that were drowned in the riuer that runneth by the towne of Pauarret.

After that the battell was ended, and that such as had followed the chase were returned, the prince caused the fields to be searched, to vnderstand what number had bene slaine in the battell: they that were appointed to take the victo, upon their returns reported, that there was dead of men of armes five hundred and thre score, and of commons about sequen thousand, and five hundred of the English part: there were slaine of men of name, but foure knights, two Calcoignes, one Almaine, and the fourth an Englishman, and of other meane souldiers, not past fortie (as Froissard saith.) But others affirme, that there were slaine of the princes part about sixtene hundred; which should seme to be more like a truth, if the battell was fought so foze and fiercelie, as Froissard himselfe doth make report. Howbeit, there be that write, how the duke of Lancaster wan the field by great fortune and balliance, yet the prince came nere to his enemies. But howsoeuer it was, the Englishmen obtained the victorie in this battell, fought on a saturdaye being the thirde of Aprill, in the yeare 1367. There were taken prisoners, to the number of two thousand, and amongst them the erle of Dene, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the marshall Dandzeben or Ddenhen, and manie other men of name.

After the battell, king Peter went to Burgos, and was receiued into the citie, and shortly after, that is to say, on the wednesdaye following, the prince came thither, and there held his Caeter with king Peter, and tarried there about thre weekes. In the meane time, they of Asturgus, Toledo, Lisbon, Cordona, Calice, Siuill, and of all other places of the kingdome of Spaine, came in, and did homage unto king Peter, promising him to be true to him euer after: for they saw that resistance would not anuale so long as the prince should be in the countrie. After this, the prince was in hand with king Peter, for the souldiers wages, by whose aid he was thus restored into his former estate. King Peter went unto Siuill, to make shift for monie accordingly, promising to returne againe, within a few weekes, and to see euerie man paid, according as he had covenanted. For when he was driven out of his realme, and came to Burdeaur to craue aid of the prince, he promised, that so soon as he should be restored to his kingdome, he would see the souldiers contented of their wages, and bound himselfe thereto, both by his oth and writing giuen vnder his seale. But when he obtained his purpose, he forgot all frendlie dutie, and was so farre from performing his promise, that he cloaked his ill meaning with a feigned tale, and sent the prince a message spiced with hypocritie and vnthankfulnesse, two foule faults in a priuat man, much more odious in a prince and great state, as the poet wisely and truelie saith in this distichon:

*Omne animi vitium tanto confectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.*

The prince tarried for the returne of king Peter, both weekes and moneths, but could not heare any tidings of him. He therefore sent unto him, to vnderstand the cause of the state: his answer was, that he had prouided monie, and sent it by certeine of his men toward the prince, but the companions that serued vnder the prince, had met with it by the way, and taken it from them that had the conueiance of it: he therefore requiured the prince to rid the realme of those inaphances, and to leaue behind him some of his officers, to whome in name of him he would make payment of such monie as was due. This answer pleased not the prince, but there was no remedie, for other at that present he could not haue, for anie likelihood he saw: and therefore, taking order with king Peter how the payment should be made,

The number
slaine at this
battell at Pauarret.

Fabian.

Caxton.

Froissard.

Caxton.

Froissard.

King Peter's
dissimulation.

he prepared to returne into Gascoigne. The order therefore taken betwixt them, was this. Within foure moneths next ensuing, king Peter should paie the one halfe of the wages due to the soldiers for this tourne, unto such as the prince should leaue behind him to receiue the same, and the other halfe within one yeare.

Tho. Wals.

The prince put to his shifts for default of paie.

The prince was compelled to breake his plate, and to make monie thereof to paie his soldiers, namely, the companions, which he had called forth of France, so that he left himselfe bare of all riches, to keepe touch with them, although king Dampeter failed in his promise each waile forth. For where the prince should haue had in recompense towards his charges, the countie of Algezara, and other lands, by the said Dampeters assignement, so that he sent one of his knights to take seizine of the same lands, he was neuertheless disappointed, for he could not come by any peaceable possession of those lands, and so returned greaue impouerished, hauing spent in this tourne all that he could make. In the meane time the bastard Henrie, hauing escaped out of the field by flight, got him into France, and there through fauor of the duke of Anjou, so purchased for himselfe, that he got together a certaine number of Britains and other soldiers, comming to the frontiers of the princes land in Gascoigne, got a towne in Bigoze, called Bannieres, and made war vpon the princes subiects.

The prince returneth into Gascoigne.

The prince obtaining passage for himselfe and his men, of the kings of Aragon and Nauarre, returned to Burdeaur, and then did the bastard Henrie forsake his garrison at Bannieres, and went into Arragon, and there got the king of Arragons assistance: & finally, in the yeare 1369, returning into Spaine, recovered the kingdome, and due his brother king Peter, as in the historie of Spaine it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this historie of England, I doe here passe over. This yeare, in the moneth of March, appeared a blasing starre, betwixt the north and west, whose beames stretched towards France as was then marked, threatening (as might be thought) that within a small time after it should againe be wrapped and set on fire with new troubles of warre, and even then, that countrie was not in quiet, but harried in diuerse parts, by such soldiers as had bene with the prince in Spaine, & were now out of wages. The leaders of which people were for the more part Englishmen and Gascoignes, as sir Robert Biquet, sir John Tresmelle, Robert Cennie, sir Gaillard Wertueill, the bourge Wertueill, the bourge Camois of Cominges, as Denise Sauvage thinketh, the bourge of Espare, Pandon or Pandon of Bargerant, Bernard de la Salle, Dextigo, Lamut, and manie other.

The duke of Clarence goeth into France.

The ladie Molant.

In this 42 yeare of king Edwards reigne, his second son the lord Lionell duke of Clarence and earle of Ulster passed the sea, with a noble companie of lords, knights, and gentlemen, and went thorough France into Lombardie, there to marrie the ladie Molant, daughter to the duke of Millane. He was honorably receiued in all places where he came, and speciallie at Paris, by the dukes of Berrie and Burgonie, the lord Coucie and other, the which brought him to the court, where he dined and supped with the king, and lodged within the palace. On the next day he was had to a place where the queene lodged, and dined with hir, and after was conueied to the court againe, and supped that night with the king, and on the morrow following, he took his leaue of the king and queene the which gaue to him great gifts, and likewise to the noble men of England that came ouer with him, to the value of twentie thousand florens and about: he was conueied from place to place, with

certaine of the French nobilitie, till he came to the borders of the countie, and then entering into Sauoy, he came to Chamberie, where the earle of Sauoy was ready to receiue him, and there he remained foure daies, being highly feasted amongst the ladies and damoysels: and then he departed, and the earle of Sauoy brought him to Millane, to doe him the more honor, for his sister was mother to the bride, which the duke should marrie.

To speake of the honorable receiuing of him into the cite of Millane, and of the great feast, triumph, and banquetting, and what an assemblee there was in Millane of high states, at the solemnizing of the marriage betwixt him and the said ladie Molant, it were too long a proceesse to remember. The gifts that the father of the bride, the lord Galeas gaue unto such honorable personages as were there present, amounted in value to an inestimable summe. The writers of the Millane histories affirme, that this marriage was celebrated on the fiftieth daie of June, in the yeare 1367, which being true, the same chanced in the 41 yeare of this kings reigne, and not in this 42 yeare, though other authors agree, that it was in the yeare 1368. But to returne to other doings there we left.

We haue heard how the prince of Wales could get no monie of the king of Spaine, for the wages of his men of warre, which he had retained to serue him in the reducing of the said king home into his countrie: wherefore the prince hauing bene at great charges in that tourne, was neither able to satisfie them, nor mainteine his owne estate, without some great aid of his subiects, and therefore he was counselled to raise a subside called a fuage, through all the countrie of Aquitaine, to run onelie for the space of five yeares. To this payment, euerie churche or fire must haue bene contributozie, paient yearly one shilling, the rich to haue borne out the poore. And to haue this payment granted, all the states of the countrie were called together at Poirt. The Poitouins, and they of Rainsonge, Limosin, Rouergne, and of Rochell, agreed to the princes request, with condition, that he should keepe the course of his coine stable, for the terme of seven yeares.

But diuerse of the other parts of Guien refused that ordinance, as the earles of Arminake, and Cominges, the vicount of Carmaigne, the lords Dalbret, de la Barde, Carde, Pinconnet, and diuerse other great barons: but yet to depart quietlie from the assemblee, they required a time to take better aduise, and so they repairing into their countries, determined neither to returne againe according to their promises, nor to suffer any fuage to run amongst them at all, and were so much offended with the motion, that they sought occasion forthwith to reuolt from the English obedience and submission, knowing that

*Pastores condere boni haud deglubere cultris
Villosum affusant pecun.*

And therefore diuerse lords of them went to the French king, and there exhibited into the chamber of the peeres of France, their complaints of the grievous impositions & wrongs, which the prince went about to laie vpon them, affirming that their reioyng ought of speciall duty to be to the crowne of France, and to the king there, as to their lord Paramount. The French king, who would not seeme to breake the peace betwixt him and the king of England, disembled the matter, and told them that he would peruse the tenor of the charters and letters of the peace, and so far forth as he might by permission of the same, he would be glad to doe them good. The earles of Arminake, Berigourd, Cominges, and the lord Dalbret, with other that were come thither about this matter, were contented with this answer, and so

This inter-
tainment
Sauoy.

This return
into Millane.

Corio in the
historie of
Millane.

La. Meir.
Froissard.
Caxton.

Froissard.

The prince
wishes con-
tinued in his
den his sub-
jects with
fope subside.

Coinse note
be induced
not abate.

The dream
of this tour
the cause of
Calongues
reuoiting to
the French
king.

Anno Reg. 43.

The prince
answer to the
messenger.

An. Reg. 42, 43.

staid in France, till they might understand further, both of the French kings mind, and of the princes doings. This yere in October, was Simon Langham archbishop of Canturburie elected to the dignitie of a cardinal, and then William Willellie, bishop of Worcester, was removed unto the see of Canturburie.

The earle of Saint Paule

About the same time, the earle of Saint Paule, one of the hostages in England, staid from hence, without taking any leaue, or saying farewell. At his coming into France, he greatlie furthered the sute of the lords of Gascoigne, & finally so much was done on their behalfe, that the French king was contented that the prince of Wales should be appealed, and summoned to appeare before the French king as iudge in that point, for reformation of the wrongs which he offered to them that had made their resort unto him, as reason was they should. This appeale was writtten, and duly examined.

1369
The prince of Wales appeared to appeare.

The tenor of the said prince of Wales
his appeale or summons of appearance before the French king, &c.

Charles by the grace of God king of France, to our nepheue the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, send greting. So it is, that diuerse prelates, barons, knights, vniuersities, communalities, and colledges of the marches and limits of the countrie of Gascoigne, and the dwellers and inhabitants in the bounds of our realme, besides diuerse other of the duchie of Aquitaine, are resorted, and come to our court, to haue right of certeine graefes, and vnlawfull troubles, which you, by vnauised counsell, and simple information, haue purposed to do vnto them, whereof we greatlie maruell. Therfore, to withstand, and to redresse such things, we are so contoined to them, that we haue thought good, by our roiall power, to command you to repaire to our citie of Paris, in proper person, and there to shew and present your selfe before vs, in the chamber of our pères, that you may be constrained to do right to your people, concerning the graefes which they alledge that you are about to oppresse them with, who claime to haue their resort into our court: and that you faile not thus to do, in as spædie manner as ye can, immediately vpon the sight and hearing of these present letters. In witnesse whereof, we haue to the same set our seale. Given at Paris, the five and twentieth day of Januarie.

Anno Reg. 43.

The prince of Wales came to the messenger.

These letters were given to a knight and a clerke, to beare and present to the prince, which according to that they had in charge, went to Burdeaur, and there getting licence to come before his presence, they read the letters, wherewith he was not a little chafed, and openlie told them for a plaine answer, that he meant to accomplish the French kings request, for his coming to Paris, but that should be with his helmet on his head, and threescore thousand armed men, to beare witness of his appearance. The messengers perceiving the prince to be sore offended with their message, got them awaie, without taking their leaue: but before they were passed the limits of the English dominion, they were staid by commande-

ment of the prince, and committed to prison, within the citie of Agen.

About the same time, the duke of Berrie returned into France, hauing licence of king Edward for an whole yere; but he bare himselfe so wiselie, that he returned not againe at all: for he excused himselfe, till time that the warre was open. In like manner, the more part of all the other hostages, by one meane or other were returned into France, and some indeed were deliuered vpon their ransomes, or other considerations, so that the French king being deliuered of that obstacle, was the more readie to breake with the king of England, and therefore vpon knowledge had of the princes answer, to those that he sent with the appeale, by such of the messengers seruants as were returned, and declared how their masters were delt with, he couertlie prepared for the warre. The lord John Chandois, and other of the princes counsell foresaw what would insue of leauing the suage, and therefore counselled the prince, not to proceed any further in it. But he hauing onlie regard to the releafe of his souldiers and men of warre, would needs go forward with it. And indeed, if he might haue brought it to passe, as it was denied, that euerie housholder should haue paid a franke for chymn- age, the summe would haue growne to twelue hundred thousand frankes by the yere, which had bene a great releafe, and that made him the more earnest, because he might haue bene able so to haue paid his debts.

The duke of Berrie.

The lord Chandois.

Chymnage.

Now, when it was perceiued certeinlie that open rebellion would therof insue, and that king Edward was certified of the whole state of the matter, and how diuerse of the lords of Aquitaine were withdrawn vnto the court of France, in manner as before ye haue heard, he deuised a letter, which he caused to be published through all the parts of Aquitaine the effect whereof was this: That where the people of that countrie found themselves greued for such exactions as were demanded of them, he meant therefore vpon examination of their iust complaints, to see their wrongs redressed. And further, he was contented to pardon all such as were withdrawn to the French king, so that within a moneths space they would returne home; requirring them, that in no wise they should stirre anie seditious tumult, but to remember their oths of allegiance, and to continue in the same, according to their bounden duties; and as for him, he would be readie to see them eased, that would shew by plaine proofe how they had bene otherwise greued than reason might beare. This was his meaning, and this was the aduise of all his counsellours.

A letter published by the prince to appease the Gascoignes.

But this courteous letter little anailed, for daillie the Gascoignes revolted from the prince, and turned to the French part. Moreover, another occasion of grudge chanced to renew the malice betwixt the k. of England, and the French king. For whereas ye haue heard, that the earle of Flanders had affianced his daughter and heire to the lord Edmund of Langlie, earle of Cambridge, a thift was made, namely by the earles mother the countesse of Arthois, who was all French, that notwithstanding the same affiancement, she was married to Philip duke of Burgog- nie, who was surnamed the Hardie, by this occasion, as I. Meir saith. It chanced, that whilst he was prisoner in England with his father, he was vpon a time appointed to wait at the table, where his father and the king of England sat together at meat. And because a noble man of England that was appointed likewise to attend at the same table, serued first the king of England before the king of France, this Philip vpon with his fist, and toke the English lord a blow on the eare, saying; Wilt thou serue the king

Ia. Meir.

Philip duke of Burgog- nie, who was surnamed the Hardie, by this occasion, as I. Meir saith.

The cause of his surname the Hardie.

of England first, where the French king sitteth at the same table: The Englishman out with his dagger, & would haue striken the said Philip, but the king of England straight charged him to the contrarie, and praising the deed of the young stripling, said vnto him, *from esles Philip le hardie*, Thou art (said he) the hardie Philip. And so from that date he bare that name euer after. There be other that saie, how he toke that surname, because in the batell of Poitiers he abode still with his father till the end of the battell, without shewing any token of feare, or faintnes of courage.

The earles of Arminacke & Perigord, Froulard.

The L. wake discomfited.

Fabian. The French king proceedeth against the prince in judgement of the appeal.

The earles of Arminacke and Perigord, with the other lordes of Gascoigne, that had made their appeale (as ye haue heard) to the chamber of the pères of France, when they vnderstood that the prince had imprisoned the messengers, that brought to him the French kings letters, began to make warre on the princes lands. The first enterpryse they made, was the discomfiting of the lord Thomas Wake seneſhall of Rouergne, as he was riding from Agen vnto the cite of Rodais, with threescore spears, and two hundred archers in his companie. Also the French king being now provided for the war, and vnderstanding the minds of the people within certeine towneſ vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, in his high court of parlement holden at Paris, proceeded in judgement vpon the appellacion before made by the earles of Arminacke, Perigord, and others, against prince Edward. And mozeouer he sent ouer into England the earle of Salisbury, and a knight called sir William Doorman, to signifie to the king of England, how he thought himselfe not honozable bled, & that the king of England did but slenderlie kepe the couenants of the peace, considering that he did not find meanes to reforme such of his subiects Englishmen and Gascoignes, as daile robbed and wasted the countries & lands belonging to the crowne of France.

These ambassadoꝝ were staied for the space of two moneths, & still they complained of the wrongs that the Englishmen had done, contrarie to the couenants of the peace, but the king made small account thereof, because he perceiued it was a forged matter that they alledged, and so in the end sent them auaie. At Douer being vpon their returne, there met them a Britaine that was comming with letters of defiance to the king of England from the French king, and as he had in commandement, he declared to them the effect of his message, wher vpon with all speed they passed ouer to Bullongne, and were glad they had so escaped. The Britaine came to the court, and deliuered the defiance to the king, according to the instructions which he had receiued. When the king had heard the letters read, and perceiued by good view taken of the seale and signet, that the same were of authoritie, he licenced the messenger to depart, and fell in counsell with the pères of his realme, what he should do in so weightie a matter. Wherevpon it was thought necessarie by them, that he should assemble his court of parlement, and so he did. In the which (vpon declaration made how iniuriously the French king after manie wrongfull dealings had now broken the peace, and sent his defiance vnto the king in so despitefull wise as might be) there was granted towards the maintenance of the warre thus begun, thre fifteens of the temporalitie, and thre dismes of the spiritualitie, to be paid in thre yeares.

Polydor. A parlement assembled. Thre fifteens and thre tenths granted. Fabian. Froulard.

Sir Nicholas Louaigne taken.

At the selfe same time that the defiance was made to the king here in England, the earle of St. Paule, and Gaie de Chatillon master of the crossbowes in France, entered into the countie of Ponthieu, toke Abbeille, and an English knight called sir Nicholas Louaigne seneſshall of that countie vnder the king

of England, as then being with in it. They toke also saint Valerie, Crotoie, Rue, Pont saint Renie, and to be short, reduced the whole countie of Ponthieu vnder the French obeisance, which had remained in possession of the Englishmen for the space of a hundred and twelue yeares, euer since Edward the first had the same assigned to him in name of a dowrie, with his wife queene Elianor, sister to Alfonso K. of Castile. And yet were the people of that countie ready now to reuolt to the French dominion, notwithstanding their former long continued obeisance to the Englishmen: for other wise could not the Frenchmen so easilie haue come to their purpose, but that the people were couenanted before to receiue them, and betraie those few Englishmen that were amongst them.

About the same time also, it fell so ill for the Englishmen, that the prince of Wales was troubled with a sore sicknesse, that had continued long with him, euer since his being in Spaine, by reason whereof his enemies were the more bold to make attempts against him, and daile went about to allure and invite his subiects of the marches of Guien to reuolt from him, in somuch that the cite of Cahors, and diuerse other towneſ thereabout turned to the French part. Thus was the peace which had bene so suerlie made, and with so manie solemne oths confirmed, violated and broken, and the parties fallen together by the eares againe in sundrie places, and namelie in Aquitaine, wher sundrie armies were abroad in the fields, diuers sieges laid, manie towneſ taken, often encounters and skirmishes made, sometime to the losse of the one part, and sometime of the other, and the countries in the meane time harried and spoiled, that maruell it is to consider, and too long a proceſse it should be to rehearse the tenth part of such chancas as daile happened amongst them, so that it might well haue bene said of that soꝝ & tumultuous time:

O quam difficiles sunt pace dies.

King Edward sent ouer into Gascoigne the earle of Cambridge and Penbroke, with a certeine number of men of armes and archers, the which arriuing in Britaine, passed through that countie by licence of the Duke, and came to the prince as then lieng at Angouleme in Poitou, by whom they were sent to ouerrun the earle of Perigords lands, and so they did, and after laid siege to Burdille, hauing with them about thre thousand men one and other. There came with them forth of England foure hundred men of armes, foure hundred archers, and (as Froulard saith) beside their capitains, thre earles which be nameth, to wit, the lord of Tabeſtone (or rather Bradstone as I take it) sir Brian Stapleton, sir Thomas Balaster, and sir John Trinet. Whilſt the said earles went thus to make warre against the earle of Perigord, sir Hugh Caluerlie with two thousand men of warre was sent also to ouerrun the lands of the earle of Arminacke, and of the lord Walber; sir John Chandois laie in the marches of Thoulouse at Mountaubon, & afterwards besieged Terrieres, and in the end wan it; and so like wise did the earles of Cambridge and Penbroke win Burdille, by reason of a fallie that they with in made forth, and passed so far from their foꝛtresse, that the Englishmen got betwixt them and home.

Sir Robert Knols came from such lands as he had in Britaine, to serue the prince now in these warres of Gascoigne, and was by him made cheſe gouernour of all his men of warre, who bare himselfe right loyally in that charge. The first iourne which he made at that time, was into Quercie, hauing with him beside his owne bands, certeine knights of the princes retinue, as sir Richard Donchardon, sir Stephan Cousenton, sir Poell Loring, sir Hugh Paſſings, sir John

The countie of Ponthieu taken by the French king

The prince of Wales troubled with sicknesse

The citie of Cahors

Sheweth the into Gascoigne

Burdille sieged

Aquitaine full of warre

Sir Hugh Caluerlie

Sir John Chandois

Burdille taken

The duke of Bourges

Sir Robert Knols

John Triuet, sir Thomas Spenser, sir Thomas Balaister, sir Nicholas Bond, sir William le Poine seneschall of Aigenois, sir Baldwin de Freuille, and others. At their comming into Quercie, they besieged a strong fortresse called Durmell, within the which were diuerse captains of the companions, as Aimon d'Otigo, the little Pechin, Jaques de Bray, Perot de Sauois, and Arnaudon de Bons, the which so valiantlie defended the place, that although the lord Chandois, accompanied with sir Thomas Felton, the capitall of Beuf, sir John de Dominiere, sir Thomas Percie, sir Eustace Daubrecourt, and others came with their retinues from Montaubon, to reinforce that siege, yet could they not obtaine their purpose, but raising from thence after siue weekes siege (constrained thereto through want of vittels) they marched straight to a towne called Domme, which they besieged, hauing in their armie sixtene hundred men at armes, beside two thousand archers and brigands, so called in those daies, of an armie which they ware named brigandines, vied then by footmen, that bare also targets, or pauisses, and certeine darts or sauelines to throw at their enemies.

The towne and castell of Domme were so strong of themselves, and so well provided of men of warre that were appointed to the gard of the same, with the lord thereof called sir Robert de Domme, that after the English captiues perceived they should but lose time to linger about the winning of that towne, they raised their siege, and marching further into the countrie, wan Cauaches, Freins, Kochinador, and Ville Franche, vpon the marches of Toulouzain, greatlie to the displeasure of the duke of Anion that lay at the same time in the cite of Toulouze, & could not remedie the matter. ¶ But to rectie euerie particular enterpryse, as the same was atchured by the English captiues and men of warre in that season, it should be more than the purpose of this volume might permit, and therefore I passe ouer diuerse things, which I find registred by Froissard and other writers, onlie aduertising you, that as the Englishmen thus made sore warres against their aduersaries abroad in those quarters: so the Frenchmen on the other part had assembled great numbers of men of warre, not onlie to defend their frontiers, but also by inuasions to win from the Englishmen towne and castels, and to waite such countries as would not turne to their use. Thus were all those countries in troubles of warre.

The two kings also of England and France, signified to their neighbours the causes of this warre, laying the fault either to other, and excusing themselves as cleare and innocent therein. Edward duke of Gelderland, nephew to the king of England, as sonne to his sister, and the duke of Gulihe: consine to the kings children by their mother that was daughter to the earle of Heinnault, took great despite that the French king had broken the peace, as they were throughlie persuaded, and that he had defied king Edward, as before ye haue heard. Wherevpon they sent their defiance vnto the French king, threatening to be reuenged on him to the bittermost of their powers. Duke Albert of Bavier, was once minded also to haue aided king Edward in this warre: but afterwards such persuasions were vied on the French kings part, that he chose to remaine as neuter betwixt them both, refusing to take anie part.

Among the soldiers also, called companions, which serued the prince in this season, there were three captains, right hardie and verie expert men of warre, Otigo, Bernard de Wilke, & Bernard de la Sale. These three remaining as then in Limosin, hearing that the duke of Burbons mother, which was also

mother to the French queene, late within the castell of Belleperch in Burbonnois, with a small compaignie about hir, rode thither in one daie and a night, so that in the morning they approached the castell, scaled it, and took it, with the ladie within it. And though they were after besieged in the same castell by the duke of Burbon and other Frenchmen, yet they defended it, till the earls of Cambridge and Penbroke, with sixtene hundred speares, and three thousand of other men of warre, came and offered the Frenchmen battell, lodging afoze them sixtene daies. And when they perceiued that the Frenchmen would not issue out of the basside (in which they lay) to giue battell, the earles of Cambridge and Penbroke caused all them within the castell to come forth, and to bring with them the dukes of Burbon, whome they led awate in sight of hir sonne, leauing the castell void and free for him to enioy.

The French king provided a great number of ships to assemble together at Harflew, and leuied a great power of men, minding to bestow them aboard in the same ships, that they might saile into England, and make warre against king Edward in his owne countrie. The bestie of this armie should haue bene his brother the duke of Burbon, but this iourne was broken, for the Frenchmen were eased of the paine to come to seeke the Englishmen at home in England, they comming ouer into France, and profsering them battell euen at their owne doores. For the king of England hauing lenied a power of archers, and other men of warre, sent them ouer vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Lancaster. There went with him in this iourne, the earles of Hereford and Salisburie, the lord Ros, the lord Bassett, the lord Willoughbie, the lord de la Mare, the lord de la Pole, the lord Walter of Spannie, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Thomas Grantson, sir Alane Burbul, sir Richard Sturrie, & diuerse other. They went ouer about Midsummer. And after they had rested a little, the duke set forthward and rode forth into the countrie, spoiling and harrieng the same, and when he saw time, returned againe to Calis.

The French king being at Roan, heard of the arriual of this armie at Calis, and that his countrie of Picardie was in great danger: he changed his purpose therefore of sending an armie into England, and with all speed appointed that his power should with his brother the duke of Burgognie turne toward Calis, to resist the duke of Lancaster. Wherevpon when the duke of Lancaster heard that the duke of Burgognie was thus comming toward him, he issued forth of Calis, and comming into the ballie beneath the hill of Turneham, there took his field, and fortified the place with strong hedges and rampiers, the better to be able to resist his enemies if they would assaile him. The duke of Burgognie came still forthward, till he approached verie nere to the duke of Lancasters campe, and pight downe his field aloft vpon the hill of Turneham, so that the fronts of both hostes were within lesse than a mile either of other.

There was come to the duke of Lancaster a knight of the marches of Almaine, called sir Robert de Hamur with an hundred speares: but yet the duke of Lancasters host was but one handfull of men, in respect of the huge number of the French armie, wherein were (as Froissard writeth) foure thousand knights beside others. But yet for all his great puissance and number of men, he would not aduenture to assaile the Englishmen in their lodgings, as it was thought he would haue done, but kept himselfe and his men vpon the hill, from the foure and twentieth of August, vnto the twelfth of September, and then dislodged not much to his honour, howsoeuer writers doe ex-

The duke of Burbons mother taken.

The French king prepareth a nauie.

The duke of Lancaster set into France with an armie.

The duke of Lancaster fortified his campe. The duke of Burgognie. Fabian. Froissard.

Sir Robert de Hamur.

Conclusion

The carts of
warlike.

Froissard,
The queene of
England de-
parteth this
life.

Εἰς τὴν πε-
τιτικὴν τοῦ
βασίλεως.

The praise of
queene Philip=
lip.

The quænes
colledge.

The duke of
Lancaster ma-
keth a iourneie
into France.

த. Riquier,

case it, declaring how his brother had given him
straight commandment, that in no wise he should
fight with the Englishmen: and that when he had
sent to his brother for commission either to fight, or
to remoune, he was commanded to turne with all
speed vnto Paris, and to breake vp his armie for that
time. Some there be that write, how that after both
these hostes had lien the one against the other a long
space, to the repossesse of both chieftains, it chanced that
the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike
came thitherward by sea, to be at the battell, which he
heard would shortly follovv betwene the two ar-
mies: but yer he was come to land, the Frenchmen
for feare durst no longer abide, but secretlie in the
night departed and fled towards Igedin, and so to
Paris, for the which their flight, the duke of Bur-
gognie was after blamed of his brother the French
king.

In this meane while, that is to saie, on the euen of the Assumption of our ladie, died that noble princeesse, the ladie Phyllip quene of England. It is said that when she perceived that the most needs depart out of this transitorie life, she desired to speake with the king hir husband, and when he was come to hir with a sorrowfull hart to see hir in that state, she toke him by the hand, and after courteous wordes of inuocation, she required of him to grant hir three requestes.

The first request was, that all such merchants, and other men, with whom she had bargained in any condition, might be answered of all such debts as she owght them, whether they dwelled on this side the sea or beyond.

The second request was, that all such ordinances and promises, as he had made to churches, as well within this realme, as in the parts of the further side the sea, might be performed.

The third request was, that it might please him to
chose out none other sepulchre when God should call
him out of this world, but beside his at Westminster.
fer.

This quene, to traîne the English youth into
vertuous conuerſation, & to giue occaſion that they
might be brought vp in learning and good inſtructions,
founded a colledge at Oxſord, furniſhing it with
godlie buildings, and a church, that they might both
ſerue God, and profit in their ſtudies, whereupon it is
called the quenes colledge even to this daie.

But now to returne to the duke of Lancaster. We shall vnderstand that after the departure of the French armie beside the hill of Turneham, the said duke returned to Calis, and there refreshed himselfe and his people the space of three daies. And then he set forward againe, & with him as marshals of the host, was the earle of Warwike, and the lord Roger Beauchampe, with the lords and knights before remembred. They take their iournie to S. Omers, and by Turwin, and then through the countie of saint Waule, still burning the countrie as they went. They rode not pass thre or foure leages in a daie, and keeping on their waies, they came by saint Riquier, and at the planches under Abnile passed the riuer of Some, and then entered into the countrie of Alinclo, in purpose to go vnto Harfieu, and there to burne the French kings taine. Thus passing forward thorough Alinclo, and the countie of Cwe, they entered into the archbishoppshe of Roan, and marching forth by Dêpe, came vnto Harfieu: but the earle of saint Poule, and the lord of Ffienues constable of France which had cosled the English armie in all this iournie, with a great power of men, was gotten before them, and entered into this towne, so that they knew howe they should but lose their paine, if they did assaile it, and so therefore after they had lien before it three daies, on the fourth day they dislodged, & went backe

An. Reg. 43. 44.

The duchess of Lancaster. Fabian.
daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaster, departed this life, and was buried on the north side of the high altar in the cathedrall church of saint Paule within the citie of London, where hir husband John of Gaunt was after also interred. She ordeined for hir husband and for hir selfe a solemne obit to be kept yearelie in that church, where the maiors being present with the shiriffes, chamberlaine, and sword-bearer, should offer each of them a pennie, and the maior to take vp a pound, the shiriffes either of them a marke, the chamberleine ten shillings, and the sword-bearer six shillings eight pence, and euerie other of the maiors officers two and twentie pence, and the number of eight officers belonging unto the shiriffes (and by them to be appointed) eight pence a peece. ¶ This yeare was granted to the king in parlement assembled at Westminster of the spirituall mens livings a tenth for the space of three yeares, and a fiftieth of the temporalitie during the same tearme.

Polychron.
Anno Reg. 44.
Froissard.
Polychron.

Sir Robert
Knolles with
an armie sent
into France.

Truce with
Scots.

MacMeir.
The number
of men of war
in this armie.
Froissard.

The suburbs
of Arras
burnt.

The towne of
Bop burnt.

The French
me withdraw
into their for-
tresses & strong
townes.

This yeare, after that the king had gotten together a great summe of monie, as well by bozowing of the clergie as of the laitie, he leuied an armie, & sent the same over to Calis about Apriillsummer, vnder the gouernance of that worthy cheffaine sir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the L. Fitz Walter, the lord Granton, sir Alaine Burghull, sir John Bourchier, sir William deuille, sir Geoffrey Mourlelepe, and diuerse other noblemen, knights, and worthy capteins. About the same time, the king of England concluded an abstinence of warre with the Scots for the tearme of nine yeares, yet so that the Scots might arme themselves, and at their pleasure serue and take wages, either of the English or French, by reason whereof, sir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred speares of the realme of Scotland.

When this armie had lien and rested in Calis about the space of seauen daies, sir Robert Knolles caused euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the first daie nere to the castell of Fienmes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not aboute twelue thousand men. Froissard saith, they were but fiftene hundred speares, & foure thousand archers. Within the castell of Fienmes was the constable of France, that was lord thereof, with such a number of souldiers and men of warre, that the Englishmen thought they should but lose their labour to assaile it. And so they passed forth by Turrouane, and toward Arras, riding not past foure leagues a daie, because of their cariages and footmen. They toke their lodging euer about none, and laie nere vnto great villages.

The French king had furnished all his townes and fortresses in Picardie with strong garrisons of souldiers, to defend the same against all chances that might happen either by siege or sudden assault. The Englishmen therefore thought not good to linger about the winning of anie of the strong townes, but passed by them, waiking or ransoming the countries. At Arras they shewed themselves before the barriers, and when none would issue to skirmish with them, they set fier on the suburbs, & departed. From thence they toke the waie by Baupalmes, and so came into Wermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Van in Wermendois, into the which all the people of the countie were withdrawn, with such goods as they might carie with them. And in like manner had those done which inhabited about S. Quintine, Peronne, and other strong townes, so that the Englishmen found little abroad, saving the barnes full of coyne for it was after haruett.

Thus they rode saire and easilie, two or three leagues a daie, and sometime to reconer monie of their en-

mies, they would compound with them within strong townes, to spare the countie from burning and destruction, for such a summe as they agreed vpon, by which meanes sir Robert Knolles got in that boiage about the summe of an hundred thousand frankes. For the which he was after accused to the king of England, as one that had not dealt iustlie in so doing. In this sort passing the countie, they came before Poion, and after they had rested a while afoze the towne, they went forth waiking and burning the countie, and finallie passed the riuier of Harne, and so entered into Champaigne, and passed the riuier of Aube, and also diuerse times they passed to and fro ouer the riuier of Saine: at length drawing toward Paris, and comming before that citie, they lodged there in the field a day and two nights, and shewed themselves in order of battell before the citie. This was on the twentieth fourth daie of September.

The French king was at the same time within the citie, & might behold out of his lodging of S. Paule, the fiers and smokes that were made in Gassenois, through burning the townes and villages there by the Englishmen, but yet he would suffer none of his people to go forth of the citie, although there was a great power of men of warre within the citie, both of such as had coasted the English armie in all this tourne, and also of other which were come thither by the kings commandement, beside the burgeses, and inhabitants of the citie. When sir Robert Knolles perceiued that he should haue no battell, he departed and drew toward Aniou, where they wan by strength the townes of Waas and Kuellie. But now in the beginning of winter, there fell such discord amongst the English capteins, through couetousnesse and enuie, that finallie they diuided themselves in sunder, greatlie to the displeasure of sir Robert Knolles their generall, who could not rule them.

There was a knight among them named sir John Spinsterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this armie, a good man of his hands (as we call him) but peruerse of mind, and verie deceitfull, and to sir Robert Knolles (to whom he was much beholden) most unfaithfull. This knight, perceiuing the wilfull minds of certeine yong lords and knights there in the armie, that repined at the gouernement of sir Robert Knolles, as the Romans did sometime at the gouernance of Camillus (the cheefe of whom were the lord Granton, the lord Fitz Walter, and others) did his best to picke them forward, founding them in the eare, that it was a great reproch for them being of noble parentage, to serue vnder such an old rascal as he was, each of them being able to guide their enterprise of themselves, without his counsell, by which flattering of them, and disgracing of him, the said Spinsterworth did much mischefe, for

Lingua loquax, odiosa, procax, parit omne molestrum.

Indeed this sir Robert Knolles was not descended of anie high linage, but bozne in the countie of Chester of meane offpring, neuertheless through his valiant prowesse, and good seruice in warre, growne to such estimation, as he was reputed worthy of all honour due to a noble and skilfull warrfour, so that it was thought the king could not haue made his choise of one more able or sufficient to supplie the roome of a cheffaine, than of him: but yet, although this was most true, his aduise could not be heard, nor the authoritie appointed him by the king beare anie waie. For where he counselled that they should now upon the approaching of winter draw forth of France into Britaine, and there remaine for the winter season, they would not so agree, nor obey his will. Whereby on it came to passe, that sir Berthram de Cleaguin, at that time newlie made constable of France, understanding this diuision to grow amongst the Eng-

The English
men before
Paris.

Thom. Wall.
Sir Simon
Spinster-
worth.

Bermondsey.
Sir Robert
Knolles bozne
in Cheshire.

Sir Robert
Knolles coun-
sell not fol-
lowed.

Discord what
commeth of it.
Caxton.

Froissard.
The citie of
Limoges
besieged.

Limoges tak-
en by force.

Polydor.
Froissard.

The prince
returned into
England.
Thom. Wals.

lishmen, and that they were divided into parts, set upon them so much to their disadvantage, that he distressed them, and took of due the more part of them: but sir Robert Knols with the flower of the archers and men of warre went into Britaine, and there saved himselfe, and those that followed him. ¶ Here you may see, how those that before through amitie and good agreement were of such force as their enemies durst not once assaile to annoie them, now by strife and dissention among themselves were slaine or taken by the same enemies, and brought to confusion. To which purpose it is properlie and trulie said,

Lex odium egerit, chaos concordia stringit.

In this meane time that sir Robert Knols made this voyage through the realme of France, the prince of Wales laid siege to the citie of Limoges, which was revolted to the Frenchmen. There were with him at the laying of this siege, his brethren, the duke of Lancaster, and the earle of Cambridge, sir Guichard Dangle, sir Lois de Harecourt, the lord of Pons, the lord of Partenaie, the lord of Pinane, the lord of Annaibouton, sir Percinall de Coulongne, sir Gessrie de Argenton, Poitouins: and of Gascoignes, the lord of Mountferrant, the lord de Chaumont, the lord de Longueren, sir Amerie de Tharse, the lords of Donniers, Pucident de l'Esparre, the Soudich de Lestrade, the lord of Cerond, and manie other: of Englishmen there were, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Roos, the lord William Beauchampe, sir Michaele de la Pole, sir Stephan Goullenton, sir Richard Donchardon, sir Baldwin Freuille, sir Simon Burle, sir Dangouffe, sir John Deuereux, sir William Penille or (as some copies haue) Peuille, and manie other. There was also sir Cusace Dambreticourt, and of the companions, sir Perducas Dalbreth, who in the beginning of these warres being turned French, was by the persuation of sir Robert Knols procured to returne againe to the princes service before the siege of Durmelle.

The prince being thus accompanied with these worthy capteins and men of armes, to the number of twelue hundred, beside a thousand archers and other footmen, indued by all waies he could deuise to indamage them within. In the end he caused the walles to be undermined, and quite reuerfed into the ditch, then giuing assault, entered by the breach, and made an huge slaughter of them within, in so much that of men, women, and children (for none were spared in respect of age or sex) there were slaine and beheaded that date about thre thousand. The bishop with certeine knights and capteins were taken and had their liues granted, though the bishop was in great danger to haue lost his head, because he was a cheefe dower in yielding the citie before unto the Frenchmen.

Whilest the prince lay at siege before Limoges (a little before he wane it) thither came to him his brethren, the duke of Lancaster, and the earle of Cambridge, the lord Roos, sir Michaele de la Pole, sir Robert Roos, sir John Saintlo, and sir William Beauchampe, with a faire number of men of war, spears, and archers. The prince then after he had wane Limoges, and executed some crueltie there to the terror of other; his maladie which still continued upon him, rather increased than diminished, so that he was aduised by physicians to returne into England, in hope that change of aire should restore him to health. For the which consideration and other causes of businesse which he had to do with his father, touching certeine weightie affaires he took the sea, and came ouer into England, leaving the gouernement of Aquitaine unto his brother the duke of Lancaster, as his lieutenant there: he landed at Plimmouth in the beginning of Januarie.

Moreouer in this 44 yeare of king Edward, the king of Nauarre came ouer into England, and at Claringdon found the king, and there talked with him of such matters as they had to conclude betwixt them two. But for that the king of Nauarre could not assure the king of such couenants as should haue passed betwixt them two, it was not thought meet by the kings counsell to worke too far upon his bare word, that had before time shewed apparant proofes of his inconstant dealing. And suerlie this doubt arose not without cause, as his doings shortly after declared: for although he seemed now at this present to be a verie enimie to the French king, yet shortly after he was reconciled to him againe, and became his great friend for the time it lasted. This yeare in the moneth of Februarie was a parlement called, in the which there was demanded of the spiritualtie a subsidie of fiftie thousand pounds, and as much of the laitie. The tempozall men some agreed to that payment, but the cleargie excused themselves with faire words and shifting answers: in somuch that the king took displeasure with them, and depozed certeine spirituall men from their offices of dignitie, as the chancelloz, the priuie seale, the tresuroz, and such others, in whose romes he placed tempozall men.

The bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Beauuois being both cardinals, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the kings of England and France for a peace. But albeit they did their indeuour therein, and moued both kings to the uttermost of their powers, yet their motions took none effect, and therefore was the warre pursued to the uttermost betwixt the parties, & namely in Aquitaine, where the fortresses were so intermedled one with another, some English, and some French, that one knew not how to beware of another, nor to auoid the danger, so that the countrie of Poitou and other the marches thereabout were in great tribulation. Sir Robert Knols, sir Thomas Spenser, sir John Criuet, and sir Hugh Hastings, diuiding their powers insunder, went to recouer towines, some in one quarter, and some in another, and certeine they assaied, but preuailed not: the inhabitants doubting to be punished for their vntuths, made such stout resistance.

After this, the duke of Lancaster appointed sir Robert Knols to repaire againe to Calis, and by the waie (if occasion serued) to attempt the recouerie of Donstien. Sir Robert taking his iourne through France by Paris, came into the marches of Picardie: and because in comparison to this man, all the English capteins were little feared of the Frenchmen, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the constable of France, leaving the fortresses in the marches of Aquitaine sufficientlie stocked with men of warre and munition, followed sir Robert Knols, still readie to assaile the hindermost companies, or else to set on the sides of his enimies. So that there chanced manie skirmishes betwixt them, & manie men were slaine on both parts; but at length, when sir Robert Knols saw no likelihood to atchine his purposed intent in recouerie of the towines of Donstien, as Abuille and other, he drew streight to Calis, and the constable retired backe into France.

In this 46 yeare, sir Robert Ashton was sent into Ireland as lord deputie there, and in the same yeare, the duke of Lancaster being as then a widower, married the ladie Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Spaine, which was slaine by his bastard brother Henrie (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ Also the lord Edmund earle of Cambridge married the ladie Isabel, sister to the same Constance. ¶ Their other sister named Beatrice, affianced to Don Ferdinando, son to Peter king of Portugale, was departed this

The king of
Nauarre came
methowen
to England.

Polydor.

The king of
Nauarre came
methowen
to England.

Anno Reg.
Caxton.

A subsidie.

Spiritual
men depozed.

Cardinals
appointed to
treat of peace.

Polydor.

The feast
which the
kings had at
sir Robert Knols.

Sir Berthram
de Cleaquin.

Anno Reg.

These four
last reuen-
ues came
forth of Ro-
chele to aid
the earle.

Sir Guichan
Dangle mar-
knight of the
Garre.
Polydor.
Caxton.

The earle of
Deuonshire
into Guen.

Froissard.

An. Reg. 46, 47.

life a little before this time at Baionne, where they were all three left as hostages by their father, when the prince went to bring him home into his countrie (as before ye may read.) Froissard writeth, that the duke married the ladie Constance in Gascoigne, and that shortly after he returned into England with his said wife and his sister, leaving the capitall de Buesz, and other lordes of Gascoigne and Poitou in charge with the rule of those countreies. By reason of that marriage, the duke of Lancaster, as in right of his wife being the elder sister, caused himselfe to be intituled king of Castile, and his said wife quene of the same realme.

The earle of Hereford being sent to the sea, with certaine ships of warre, was encountered by the Flemish fleet, before an haven in Britaine called the Baie, where was fought a fore battell, and long continued for the space of three houres: howbeit finally the victorie above with the Englishmen, notwithstanding that the Flemings were more in number, and better provided for the matter. There were taken of them five and twentie ships, with their Admirall John Peterfon. They had bene at Rochell for wine, and now were come to the Baie for salt upon their returne homeward, and hearing that the Englishmen would come that waie, staid for them, and first gave the onset. For ye must remember, that by reason that the earle of Flanders had married his daughter to the duke of Burgognie, which he had first promised to the earle of Cambridge, there was no perfect friendship betwixt the realme of England, and the countreies of the said earle of Flanders.

Sir Guichard Dangle a knight of Poitou, that was come over with the duke of Lancaster, to procure the king to send some new aid into Aquitaine, was for his approved valiance and tried truth to the king of England, made knight of the garter. And moreover at his instance the king rigged a navie of ships, and appointed the earle of Penbroke as general, to saile with the same into Aquitaine, and there to remove the siege which the Frenchmen had laid to Rochell. The earle according to his commission toke the sea with a fleet of fortie ships prepared for him: but yet he could enter the haven of Rochell, he was assailed by an huge fleet of Spaniards, and there vanquished, taken prisoner, & led into Spaine. The Spaniards had for captains foure skillfull warriours, Ambrose Bonquenege, Cabete de Wake or Wakebent, Dom Ferand du Bion, and Rodrigo de la Rochell, who had under their government fortie great carruells, and thirtene trim barkes thoroughly furnished and appointed with good mariners and men of warre.

The earle of Penbroke had with him nothing the like number of ships, nor men: for (as Froissard writeth) he had not past two and twentie knights with him, or (as other haue) not past twelve, being for the more part of his owne retinue or household: and yet those few Englishmen and Poitouvins that were there with him, bare themselves right valiantlie, and fought it out to the uttermost. There were slaine sir Simon Housagre, sir John de Portague, and sir John Tushet; and there were taken prisoners, besides the earle himselfe, sir Robert Huxford, sir John Curson, sir Dhes de Grandson, sir Guichard Dangle, the lord of Pinane, sir John de Criueres, sir Jaques de Surgiteres, the lord of Annaibouton, sir John de Hardane, and others. This battell was fought on Epiphanner euen, in this sir and fortith yeare of king Edwards reigne. The earle had (as Froissard writeth) treasure with him, to haue waged three thousand men of warre, which neuer did arise man god, for (as he was informed) the ship wherein

he was aboard, perished with diuerse other being burnt or sunke. The English writers saie, that it was no maruell though this mishap chanced vnto him, because he had in parlement spoken against men of the church, in giuing counsell that they might be constrained to paie greuous subsidies, towards the maintenance of the kings warre, and that no lesse beaue payments and subsidies should be imposed vpon them, than vpon the secular sort. Wherein he seemed to bewraie a malicious mind against the clergie, who as in no age they haue wanted foes, so in his time they found few friends, being a generation appointed and ordeined in their cradels to be condemned of the world, speciallie of great men, of whose sauour and goodwill it is truelie & rightlie said,

Gratia magnatum nescit habere statum.

By reason of this misfortune thus happened to the English fleet, the Frenchmen recovered manie towines and castels out of the Englishmens hands, in the countreies of Poitou, Saintonge, Limosin, and other the marches of Aquitaine.

About the same time the French king sent foure thousand men to the sea, vnder the guiding of one Yuans a banished welsh gentleman, the which landing in the Ile of Gernesey, was encountered by the captain of that Ile called sir Edmund Rous, who had gathered eight hundred men of his owne souldiers together, with them of the Ile, and boldlie gaue battell to the Frenchmen: but in the end the Englishmen were discomfited, and foure hundred of them slaine, so that sir Edmund Rous fled into the castell of Coynet, & was there besieged by the said Yuans, till the French king sent to him to come backe from thence, and so he did, leaving the castell of Coynet, and sir Edmund Rous within it as he found him. The Frenchmen this yeare recovered the citie of Poitiers, Rochell also, and the most part of all Poitou, and finally laid siege to Towars in Poitou, wherein a great number of the lordes of that countrie were inclosed, the which fell to a composition with the Frenchmen to haue an abstinence of warre for themselves, and their lands, till the feast of saint Michael next ensuing, which should be in the yeare 1362. And in the meane time they sent to the king of England their souereigne lord, to certifie him what conditions they had agreed vnto, that if they were not aided by him, or by one of his sonnes within the said tearme, then they to yeld them and their lands to the obedience of the French king.

Not long before this, the capitall of Buesz was taken prisoner, and sir Thomas Percie, with diuerse other Englishmen and Gascoignes before Soubise by sir Yuans of Wales and other French captains, so that the countreies of Poitou and Saintonge were in great danger to be quite lost, if speedie succours came not in time. Whereupon king Edward advertised of that agreement which they within Towars had made, raised an armie, rigged his ships, and in August toke the sea, purposing to come before the day assigned, to the succours of that fortress: but the wind continued for the space of nine weekes contrary vnto his intent, that he was still driuen backe and could not get forward toward the coast of Rochell, where he thought to haue landed, so that finally when the daie of relieving Towars came, he nor any of his sonnes could appeare in those parts, and so to his great displeasure he returned home, and licensed all his people to depart to their houses. By this means was Towars deliuered to the Frenchmen, which ceased not in such occasions of advantage to take time, and follow the steps of prosperous fortune.

About this season the duke of Britaine being sore displeased in his mind, that the Englishmen suffer

Froissard.
Yuans a
welsh gen-
tleman.

Sir Edmund
Rous.

The prosper-
ous successe
of the French
men in Poit-
ou.

Towars in
danger to be
lost.

Th. Walsing.

I 373
Anno Reg. 47.
The duke of
Britaine.

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171
Reg.
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Wine.

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of peace,

Sir Guichard
Dangle made
knight of the
Garter.
Polydor.
Caxton.

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The earle of
Penbroke set
into Saen.

Froissard.

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Went
leaving.

373
Reg. 46

These
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the
the earle.

ned darlie losses in the parts of Aquitaine, would glaolice haue aided their side, if he might haue got the nobles of his countrie to haue ioined with him, but the lordes Clifton and de la Male, with the vicount of Roan, and other the lordes and barons of Britaine, so much fauoured the French king, that he perceiued they would revolt from him, if he attempted any thing against the Frenchmen. He therefore meaning by one way or other to further the king of England his quarell, and fearing to be attached by his owne subiects, and sent to Paris, dispatched messengers to R. Edward, requiring him to send some power of men of warre into Britaine, to defend him against the malice of such as were altogether French and enemies to England.

The lord Percill sent into Britaine.

Englishmen discomfited by the constable of France.

Townes wonne by him.

The constable of France sent into Britaine

Sir Robert Anols.

The duke of Britaine cometh ouer into England.

The earle of Salisburie.

Polydor. The duke of Lancaster sent ouer into France with an armie.

La. Meir. Froissard.

Noble men that went with him in that iourne.

King Edward forthwith sent ouer the lord Percill, with foure hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, the which arriving at saint Matthewes de sine Poterne, remained there all the winter. Whereupon the Britaines being soze offended therewith, closed their townes and fortresses against their duke, and shewed much euill towards him. The constable of France sir Berthram de Cleaquin, laicng siege to the towne and castell of Sireth in Poitou, discomfited a number of Englishmen that came to raise his siege, by means whereof he got not onelie Sireth, but also Pfort, Lucignen, and all other the townes and fortresses which the Englishmen held till that day within Poitou, Kaintonge, and Rochelois. Shortly after this, the constable returned into France, and was appointed by the king there to go with an armie of men of warre into Britaine, and there to take into his hands all such townes and fortresses as belonged to the duke of Britaine, because he had alied himselfe with the king of England, and receiued Englishmen into his countrie, to the preiudice of the realme of France.

The duke being aduertised of the constables coming, was counselled by sir Robert Anols (whom the king of England had sent to aid him) that he should passe ouer into England, and there to be a suter in his owne cause for moze aid to be sent into Britaine, to resist the Frenchmen that now sought to bring the whole countrie into their possession. The duke inclining to this aduise, went ouer into England, and in the meane time the constable came and tooke the most part of all the townes and fortresses of that duchie, except Bress, where sir Robert Anols was, and certeine other. The earle of Salisburie with a great nauie of ships, well furnished with men of armes and archers, laie vpon the coast of Britaine all that time, and greatlie comforted them within Bress, in so much that he came on land, and offered battell to the constable if he would haue come forthward & receiued it.

In the moneth of Iulie in this seuen and fourtith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the duke of Lancaster was sent ouer into Calis with an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) but as Froissard saith, they were but thirtene thousand, as thre thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers. This voiage had bene in preparing for the space of thre yeares before. The duke of Britaine was there with them, and of the English nobilitie, beside the duke of Lancaster that was their generall, there were the earles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke, the lord Edward Spenser that was constable of the host, the lordes Willoughbie, de la Pole, Basset, and diuerse others. Of knights, sir Henrie Percie, sir Iewes Clifford, sir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robertfart, Walter Helwet, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Stephan Coughington, sir Richard Ponchardon, and manie other.

When they had made readie their cariages and other things necessarie for such a iourne which they

had taken in hand, that is to say, to passe through the realme of France into Burdeaur, they set forthward, hauing their armie diuided into thre battels. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke did lead the foreward: the two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine, the middle ward or battell, and the rereward was gouerned by the lord Spenser constable of the host. They passed by S. Omers, by Curronne, and coasted the countrie of Arthois, and passed the water of Some at Corbie. They destroyed the countries as they went, and marched not past thre leagues a day. They assailed none of the strong townes, nor fortresses. For the French king had so stuffed them with notable numbers of men of warre, that they perceiued they should trauell in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Hermandois, they rested them seuen daies, and at their departure set fire on the towne, because they could not win the church which was kept against them. From thence they drew towards Laon, and so marched forthward, passing the riuers of S. Saire, S. Saine, S. Saine, and S. Saine. The Frenchmen coasted them, but durst not approch to giue them battell.

Peere to Ribamont, about 80 Englishmen of sir Hugh Caluerlies band were distressed by 120 Frenchmen: & likewise beside Soissons, 120 English speares, or (as other writers haue) fiftie speares, and twentie archers were vanquished by a Burgonian knight called sir John de Tienne, that had with him thre hundred French speares. Of moze hurt by anie encounters I read not that the Englishmen sustained in this volage. For the Frenchmen kept them aloof, and meant not to fight with their enemies, but onelie to keepe them from bittels, and fetching of forage abroad, by reason whereof the Englishmen lost manie horses, and were in dead bidden to great scarcitie of bittels. When they had passed the riuier of Loire, and were come into the countrie of Berrie, they vnderstood how the Frenchmen laid themselves in sundrie ambushes to distresse them, if they might espie the aduantage: but the duke of Lancaster placing his light horsemen, with part of the archers in the foreward, and in the battell the whole force of his footmen with the men at armes, diuided into wings to coner that battell, wherein he himselfe was, the residue of the horsemen with the rest of the archers he appointed to the rereward, and so causing them to keepe close together, marched forth till he came into Poitou, & then in reuenge of the Poitouins that had revolted from the English obedience, he began a new spoile, killing the people, wasting the countrie, and burning the houses and buildings euerie where as he passed, & so finally about Christmas came to Burdeaur.

Whilest the duke of Lancaster was thus passing through the realme of France, pope Gregorie the eleventh sent the archbishop of Hauenna and the bishop of Carpentras as legats from him, to treat for a peace betwixt the realms of England and France. They rode to & fro betwixt the French king and his brethren, and the duke of Lancaster: but the duke and the Englishmen kept on their waie, and so finally keeping forwards about Christmas came to Burdeaur. The legats pursued their treatie, but the parties were so hard, that no reasonable offers would be taken. The two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine laie in Burdeaur all the residue of the winter, and the Lent following. The same yeare that the duke of Lancaster made this iourne thorough France, the king of England sent certeine ambassadors to the pope, requiring him not to meddle with the reservations of benefices within his realme of England, but that those which were elect bishops might inioy their sees, and be confirmed of their metropolitane,

The French king sent into England to demand the ransom of the duke of Lancaster.

Fabian.

The French king sent into England to demand the ransom of the duke of Lancaster.

Polydor.

The duke of Lancaster sent into France with an armie.

The duke of Lancaster sent into France with an armie.

The duke of Lancaster sent into France with an armie.

Cathedral churches.

Commissioners appointed to meet and commune of peace.

Death of the archb. of Can.

Simon Sudb. elected archbishop.

The beginning of the statute of P. Edmund.

metropolitane and archbishop, as of ancient time they had bene accustomed.

The pope would not at that present determine any thing herein, but commanded them that were sent, that they should certifie him againe of the kings pleasure and further meaning, in those articles and other touching him and his realme. Also this yeare it was decreed in parlement, that cathedrall churches might inioy the right of their elections, and that the king should not hinder them that were chosen, but rather helpe them to their confirmations. ¶ In the same parlement was granted to the king a disline of the cleargie, and a fiftenth of the laitie. ¶ Moreover at the sute of the popes legats, a respite of war was granted betwixt the kings of England and France, but so that the Englishmen lost in Calcoine a great number of castles and towines, by reason of a composition made before, that if they were not rescued by the middes of August, they should then yield themselves French: and because the truce was agreed upon to indure till the last of August, the Englishmen took no heed to the matter. It was further agreed upon, that in the beginning of September, there should meet in the marches of Picardie, the duke of Lancaster, and other of the English part, as commissioners to intreat of peace; and the duke of Anion and other on the French part, the popes legat to be there also as mediator. When this agreement was thus accorded, the duke of Lancaster, and the duke of Britaine, with the earls of Warwike, Suffolke and Stafford, the lords Spenser, Willoughbie and others, took the sea at Burdeaur the eight of Julie, and returned into England.

This yeare the fifth of June, died William Willelmy archbishop of Canturburie, after whose death the monks chose to that see the cardinal of Winchester, with which election the king was nothing contented, so that after much monie spent by the monks to obtaine their purpose, at length they were disappointed, and doctor Simon Sudberie was admitted to that dignitie, who before was bishop of London, being the seauen and fiftith archbishop that had ruled that see. He was chosen by the appointment of the king, and consent of the pope. For alredie was that decre woone out of vse, whereby the elections of bishops haue rested in the voices of them of the cathedrall church: for not onelie this Simon archbishop of Canturburie, but other also were ordeined bishops from thenceforth, by the will and authoritie of the popes and kings of this realme, till at length it came to passe, that onelie the kings instituted bishops, and the bishops ordeined other gouernours vnder them of meaner degrees.

Thus the popes within a while lost all their authoritie, which they had before time within this realme in the appointing of bishops, and other rulers of churches; and in like manner also they lost shortly after their authoritie of leuening tenths of spirituall promotions, the which they in former times had vsed, to the great detriment of the realme, which lost nothing by this new ordinance: for the English people were not compelled afterwards to depart with their monie vnto strangers, so largelie as before, to content the greedinesse of that conuozant generation of Romanists, whose insatiable desires would admit no stint, as infected with the droppe of filthy auarice, for

omnia des cupido sua non perit inde cupido;

Quo plus sunt pot. e. plus succuntur aqua.

This restraining reformation concerned the benefit of the whole land verie much: for the third was the first that caused an act to be made, that none vnder a great penaltie should seeke to obtaine any spirituall promotions within this realme of the pope, or by any other lutes to his court, except by waie

of appeale: and that those that were the aiders of any such offenders against this act, should run in danger of the same paine, which act by those kings that succeeded was not onelie commanded to be kept, but also confirmed with new penalties, and is called the statute of Prymunie.

About Candlemasse there met at Buges as commissioners for the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king, the dukes of Anion, and Burgognie, the earle of Salezbuce, and the bishop of Amiens with others. Finally, when they could not agree upon any good conclusion for peace, they accorded upon a truce, to indure to the first of Maie next ensuing in all the marches of Calis, and vp to the water of Some; but the other places were at libertie to be still in warre: by report of other writers, the truce was agreed vpon to continue till the feast of All saints next ensuing. About the same time that the foresaid commissioners were at Buges intreating of peace, the duke of Britaine did so much with his father in law king Edward, that about the beginning of Aprill he sent ouer with him into Britaine the earles of Cambridge, March, Warwike, and Stafford, the lord Spenser, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nicholas Camois, sir Edward Twiford, sir Richard Bonchardon, sir John Lellesles, sir Thomas Grandson, sir Hugh Hastings, and diuerse other worthie captains with a power of three thousand archers, and two thousand men of armes, all verie well furnished to fight.

They landed at saint Mattheus or Mahe de fine Poterne, where they took the castell by force, and the towne by surrender. From thence they went to Pole de Lion, and wan it likewise by force of assault, and then went to Bieu de Clair, a towne stronglie fenced, and well manned. In hope yet to win it, the duke of Britaine and the English lords laid siege to it, but hearing that an English knight, one sir John Deureux was besieged in a fortrell which he had newlie made, by the vicount of Roan, the L. Clifton, and other of the French part, they raised from Bieu de Clair, and hastied forward to the succor of sir John Deureux, earnestlie wishing to find their enemies in the field, that they might giue them battell: but the British lords hearing that the duke and the Englishmen approached, made no longer abode, but got them with all speed vnto Campellie a towne of great strength not farre off, and therein closed themselves for their more safetie. The duke of Britaine hearing that they were fled thither, folloved them, and laid siege round about the towne, inforcing himselfe to obtaine the place, and so had done in deed by all likelihood verie shortly, if at the same time, by reason of a truce taken for twelue moneths, he had not bene commanded by the duke of Lancaster, without delaye to cease his war, and breake vp his campe: as he did.

There were sundrie meetings of the commissioners for this treatie of peace, and still they took longer time for continuance of the truce. And because that Britaine and all the other countreies of France (as should seme) were included in this truce, it seemeth that this was some second truce, and not the first truce, which included onelie the marches of Calis, and those parts vp to the water of Some. But howebeit it was, the duke of Britaine being in a great forwardnesse to haue recovered his duchie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to haue reduced his rebellious subiects vnder due obersance againe, was not by this truce concluded out of time, greatlie disappointed, and so brake vp his siege from before Campellie, and sent home the English armie. He went himselfe to Aulroie, where his wife was; and taking

Caxton.

1375
Anno Reg. 49.

The commissioners met at Buges.

A truce taken betwixt England & France.

Fabian.

Froissard.

Tho. Wals. In armie sent ouer into Britaine with the duke.

Townes won

Sir John Deureux.

This truce was concluded to indure from midsummer in this 1375, vnto midsummer in 5 yeares next ensuing.

Tho. Wals.

The duke of Britaine disappointed by the truce.

order

passed to the south

Cathedrall churches.

Commissioners appointed to meet and communicate of peace

French sent fight the summer

Death of the archb. of Can.

Simon Sudberie archbishop.

order of the of streets in

with the

orders the countreys of

order for the fortifying and keeping of those places, which were in his possession, he came backe againe into England, and brought his wife with him.

A little before the concluding of this truce, the Englishmen and others within the fortress of saint Sauour le vicount, in the Ile or rather Close (as they call it) of Constantine, which had bene long besieged, made a composition, that if they were not rescued by a certaine daie, then should they yeld by the place to the Frenchmen. Now because this truce was agreed before the daie appointed for the rescue of that place, with condition that either part should intop and hold that which at that present they had in possession, during the terme of the truce; the Englishmen thought that saint Sauour le vicount should be saved by reason of that treatie: but the Frenchmen to the contrarye avouched, that the first covenant ought to passe the last ordinance. So that when the daie approached, the French king sent thither sir thousand speares, knights, and esquires, beside other people: and because none appeared to giue them battell, they had the towne deliuered to them.

In this 49 yeare of E. Edwards reigne, a great death chanced in this land, and in diuerse other countries, so that innumerable numbers of people died and perished of that contagious sicknesse. Amongst other the lord Edward Spenser died the same yeare, a man of great renowne and valiantnesse. Also the earle of Penbroke, hauing compounded for his ransom, as he was vpon his returne from Spaine, comming homewards through France, he fell sicke, and being brought in an hoastelitter to Arras, he died there, on the 16 daie of Aprill, leaving a sonne behind him not past two yeares of age, begot of the countesse his wife called Anne, daughter vnto the lord Walter de Spennie. Polydor mistaking the matter, saith that Marie the countesse of Penbroke, who builded Penbroke hall in Cambridge, was wife to this John Hastings earle of Penbroke, whereas in deed she was wife to his ancesor Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke (as John Stow in his summarie hath trulie noted.) She was daughter to Guy earle of Saint Polle, a worthy ladie and a vertuous, tendering so much the wealthefull state of this land (a great part wherof consisteth in the good bringing vp of youth, and training them to the knowledge of learning) that for maintenance of students she began the foresaid commendable foundation, about the yeare of Christ 1343, vpon a plot of ground that was hir owne, hauing purchased licence thereto of the king, to whom she was of kin.

During that greuous mortalitie and cruell pestilence before remembred, the pope at the instant request of the English cardinals, granted vnto all those that died in England, being thriuen and repentant of their sinnes, cleane remission of the same, by two buls inclosed vnder lead. The duke of Lancaster about the feast of All saints met with the French commissioners againe at Wuges. There was with him the duke of Britaine, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king there appeared the duke of Burgognie, the earle of Salebrich, and the bishop of Amiens. And at saint Omers laie the duke of Aniou, the archbishop of Rauenens, and the bishop of Carpentras toke great paine to go to and fro betwene the parties: but they were so far at ods in their demands, and as it were of set purpose on the French behalfe, that no good could be done betwixt them. The French king required to haue Calis rased, and to haue againe fourtene hundred thousand franks, which were paid for the ransom of king John. The king of England demanded to haue all the lands restored to him in Gascoigne and Guienclerelle exempt of all reloxis. So when

nothing could be concluded touching a small peace, the truce was renewed to indure till the feast of St. John Baptist next ensuing, which should be in the yeare 1376.

In this fiftith yeare, king Edward assembled his high court of parlement at Westmister, in the which was demanded a subsidie of the commons for the defense of the kings dominions against his enemies. Wherevnto answer was made by the common house, that they might no longer beare such charges, considering the manifold burthens by them suffered in time past. And further they said, it was well knowne the king was rich enough to withstand his enemies, if his monie and treasure were well imploied: but the land had bene of long time euill guided by euill officers, so that the same could not be stored with chaffer, merchandize, or other riches. The commons also declared whom they toke and iudged to be chiefe causer of this disorder, as the duke of Lancaster, & the L. Latimer lord chamberleine to the king; also dame Alice Perers, whom the king had long time kept to his concubine; and also one named sir Richard Sturrie, by whose sinister meanes and euill counsell the king was misled, and the land euill gouerned. Wherefore the commons by the mouth of their speaker sir Piers de la Mere, required that those persons might be remoued from the king, and other moze discreet set in their romes about his person, and so put in authoritie, that they might see to his honour and weale of the realme, moze than the other had done before them.

This request of the commons by support of the prince was allowed, and granted, so that the said persons and other of their affinitie were commanded to depart the court, and other (such as were thought meet by the prince, and the sage pères of the realme) were placed in their steads. Shortly after, the commons granted to the king his whole request, so that he had of euerie person, man and woman, being above the age of fourtene yeares, foure pence, poze people that liued of almeste onelie excepted. Likewise the cleargie granted, that of euerie beneficed man, the king should haue twelue pence, and of euerie priest not beneficed foure pence (the foure orders of friers onelie excepted.) But per this monie could be leuied, the king was constrained to borrow certaine great summes in sundrie places, and therefore he sent to the cite of London for foure thousand pounds. And because Adam Staple the mayor was not diligent in furthering that lone, he was by the kings commandement discharged on the 22 daie of March, and Richard Whittington mercer chosen in his place.

On the eight of June being Trinitie sundae (the parlement yet continuing) that noble and famous prince Edward the kings sonne departed this life within the kings palace at Westmister. His bodie was conueied to Cantarburie with great solemnitie, and there honozable buried. He died in the 46th yeare of his age: a prince of such excellent demeanour, so valiant, wise and politike in his doings, that the verie and perfect representation of knightlyd appeared most liuelie in his person, whilest he liued, so that the losse of him stroke a generall sorrow into the hearts of all the English nation. For such was his towardeesse, or rather perfection in princelie gouernement, that if he had liued and attained to the crowne, euerie man iudged that he would surely haue excelled the glorious renowne of all his ancesors. This princes death is briefely touched by C. Okland, who (after mention made of the great victories atchieued by his father the king against his enemies, and concluding him to be verie happy and fortunate in the issue of his attempts) saith

S. Sauours le vicount yielded.

Thom. Walf. Fabian.

The lord Spenser departed this life. Polydor. The earle of Penbroke deceaseth.

John Stow.

Froiffard. Commissioners estoones met to communion of peace.

The demands on both parts.

1377 Anno Reg. E. 3. p. 122.

The lord Latimer. Dame Alice Perers. Sir Richard Sturrie.

The request of the commons.

Froiffard.

Dr. Piers de la Mere. Fabian.

The truce prolonged. Polydor.

Polydor.

Dr. Piers de la Mere. Caxton.

The nobles come to the prince of Wales.

1377 Anno Reg. E. 3. p. 122. Froiffard. Commissioners set to Wuges.

Commissioners sent to Wuges.

The black prince capote this day.

Polydor. The prince capote this day.

The truce prolonged.

Dr. Piers de la Mere. Caxton.

*inclutus ille monarcha
Vndiq; ter felix, nisi quod cruce Atropos occat
Ante diem gnati fatalia stamina vitæ.*

Froissard.

Sir Peter de
la Mere.
Fabian.The truce
prolonged.
Polydor.

Polydor.

Trot.
Canton.The nobles
swore to the
prince of
wales.1377
Anno reg. 51.
Froissard.
Commissioners
sent to HuguesCommissioners
sent to Mon-
treuil.The truce
prolonged.Sir Hugh
Caluerie
sent to Calis.1376
no Reg. 50.
parlement.re lord Le.
er.
me Alice
rem.
r Richard
urris.re request
he come
ns.re blanch
ace depon
this life.ydr.
is buried
Centur
is.

upon safe keeping of that towne, as deputie there. The earle of Salisburie, and the other commissioners returned into England, and with them the duke of Britaine. On the twelfth day of Aprill this yere, one sir John Spenserworth knight, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered at Tiboyne, being first condemned and adjudged to suffer that execution before the maior of London, and other the kings iustices in the Guildhall, for treason by him committed, in defrauding souldiers of their wages: for where he had receiued great summes of monie to make paiment thereof to them, he retained the same to his owne vse.

Tho. Walf.
Fabian.
Sir John
Spenser-
worth be-
headed.

Howeuer (as in the fortye foure yere of this king yee haue heard) he was the chiefe procurer and setter forward of the dissention that rose in the armie, which vnder the leading of sir Robert Knolles was sent into France. And then in that iournie he had lost most of his men, and was escaped himselfe into England, he laid all the blame on sir Robert Knolles, accusing him to the king of heinous treason; so as the king took no small displeasure against the said sir Robert, insomuch that he durst not returne into England, till he had pacified the kings wrath with monie, and that the knowne fidelitie of the man had warranted him against the malicious and untrue suggestions of his enemies. Whereupon the said Spenserworth perceiuing his craft to want the wished successe, he fled to the French king, and conspiring with him to annoie the realme of England by bringing the Spanishe naute to inuade the same, at length he was taken in the towne of Dampsona in Flaunde, and brought hacke into England, where he tasted the deserued fruit of his contriued treason (as before yee haue heard.)

Thom. Walf.

About this season, there rose in the vniuersitie of Orenford a learned man John Wicliffe, bozne in the north parts, who being a secular prest, and a student in diuinitie, began to propone certeine conclusions greatlie contrarie to the doctrine of the church in those daies established, speciallie he argued against monks, and other men of religion that inioined great riches, and large possessions. There were diuerse that gaue good eare to him, insomuch that sundrie learned men of that vniuersitie preached and set forth the doctrine that he taught. Amongst other articles which they held, these were the chiefe and principall.

Thom. Walf.
John Wicliffe.

1 That the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, was not the bodie of Christ, but a figure thereof.

The chiefe
articles pre-
ached by Wic-
liffe.

2 That the church of Rome was no moze head of the vniuersall church than any one other, no moze authoritie was giuen by Christ vnto Peter, than to anie other of the apostles, and that the pope had no moze power in the keyes of the church than anie other prest whatsoever.

3 That temporall lords might both lawfullie and meritoriously take the temporall goods and reuenues from the church, if it offended; and if anie temporall lord knewe the church to offend, he was bound vnder paine of damnation to take from it the temporalties.

4 That the gospel is sufficient in this life to direct by rule enerie christian man.

5 That all other rules of saints, vnder the observing whereof diuers religious doe liue, ad no moze perfection to the gospel, than washing ouer with linc doth the wall.

6 That the pope, noz anie other prelat of the church, ought to haue anie prisons wherein to punish offenders.

These and manie other opinions did these men hold and mainteine, and diuerse lords and great men

The French king kept his obsequie in most reuerend wise, in the chapel of his palace at Paris. After his death, the king called to him againe the foresaid persons, that had bene from him remoued, and the said sir Peter de la Mere that was speaker in the parlement (as before yee haue heard) for his eloquence shewed in reproving the misgouernment of the said persons (and namelic of the said dame Alice Beres) was now committed to prison within the castell of Nottingham. About the same time the truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Aprill next following. King Edward, after the deceasse of his sonne prince Edward, created the lord Richard, sonne to the said prince, as heire to him, prince of Wales, and gaue to him the earldomes of Chester & Coznewall. Howeuer, because the king waxed feeble and sicklie through languor (as some suppose) conceiued for the death of his sonne, he appointed the rule of the reline to his sonne the duke of Lancaster, ordeining him as gouernour vnder him, and so he continued during his fathers life.

A great riot happened betwixt the seruants of the earle of Marlowe, and the tenants of the abbatt of Cussham, so that manie of the said abbatts seruants were slaine and hurt. The fish-ponds and warrens belonging to the abbie were broken and spoiled, so that greater hurt would haue followed thereof, if the kings letters had not bene sent downe to the earle, commanding him to steie his men from such misdeemeanours. All the nobles of the realme were caused to sweare, that after the kings decease they shuld admit and mainteine Richard prince of Wales for their king and soueraigne lord. And vpon Chrismasse day, the king caused him to sit at his table aboue all his owne children, in high estate, as representing the personage of the heire apparant to the crowne.

This yere being the one and fiftith and last of king Edwards reigne, there were sent againe to Hugues as commissioners to treat of peace on the part of king Edward, John lord Cobham, the bishop of Hereford, and the maior of London. And for the French part thither came the earle of Salezbuch, monsieur de Chatillon, and Willibert Lespoit. And still the two legats were present as mediators betwixt the parties, mouing a marriage to be had, betwixt Richard prince of Wales, and the ladie Marie, daughter to the French king. But they departed in sunder for this time without anie conclusion. But shortly after in Lent following, there was a secret meeting appointed to be had at Montrenill by the sea, whither came from the king of England, sir Richard Dangle a Polaconne, sir Richard Stan, & Geoffrie Chauncer. For the French king there appeared the lord Courcie, and others. These commissioners treated a long season concerning the marriage, and when they had vnderstanding and felt each others meaning, they departed and made report of the same to their masters. The truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Maie.

And in the meane time, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of saint Danie lord chancellour of England, and the bishop of Hereford went ouer to Calis. In like case the lord of Courcie, and sir William Dozman chancellour of France came to Montrenill. But they durst not meet at anie indifferent place on the frontiers, for the doubt that either partie had of other, for anie thing the legats could saie or do. Thus these commissioners abode in that state till the truce was expired. And when the warre was open, then sir Hugh Caluerie was sent ouer to Calis, to remaine

of the land favoured their cause. But when these conclusions were brought before the pope, he condemned the number of 23 of those articles as vain and heretical, directing his bulls to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London, that they should cause the said Wicliffe to be apprehended, and examined upon the said conclusions, which they did in presence of the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Percie, and hearing his declaration, commanded him to silence, and in no wise to deale with those matters from thenceforth, so that for a time, both he and his fellows kept silence: but after at the contemplation of diverse of the temporall lords, they preached and set forth their doctrine againe.

Wicliffe & his fellows maintained by certain lords.

The same day that Wicliffe was convented thus at London, before the bishops and other lords, thorough a word spoken in reproch by the duke of Lancaster unto the bishop of London, straightwaies the Londoners getting them to armour, meant to haue slaine the duke, & if the bishop had not staid them, they had surely set fire on the dukes house at the Savoy: and with much ado might the bishop quiet them. Among other reprochfull parts which in despite of the duke they committed, they caused his armes in the publike street to be reuerfed as if he had bene a traitor, or some notorious offender. The duke and the lord Henrie Percie, whom the citizens sought in his owne house to haue slaine him, if he had been found, hearing of this riotous stir and rebellious commotion, forsooke their dinner and fled to Benington, where the lord Richard, sonne to the prince, together with his mother then remained, exhibiting before their presence, a grievous complaint of the opprobrious injuries done unto them, by the wilfull outrage of the Londoners. For this and other causes, the citizens were sore hated of the duke, in so much that he caused the maior & aldermen that then ruled to be discharged of their offices, and other put in their places.

The duke of Lancaster in danger by the Londoners.

The lord Percie.

The king being more grievously vexed with sickness from daie to daie, either increasing by the course thereof, or renewed by some new surfeit, finally this peace departed out of this transitorie life at his manour of Sheene, now called Richmond, the 21 daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1377, after he had liued 65 yeares, & reigned fiftie yeares, foure moneths, & 28 daies. His corpe was conueied from Sheene by his fourre sonnes, namelie Lionell duke of Clarence, John of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodstoke earle of Cambridge, with other nobles of the realme, and solemnlie interred within Westminister church, with this epitaph in his memoriall:

*Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum praeclitorum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum,
Tertium Edvardus, regni complens subileum,
Inuictus parvis, pollens bellis Achabeum.*

Tho. Walsl.
The deceasse of K. Edward the third.

Fabian, pag. 262, 263.

His issue.

He had issue by his wife quene Philip 7 sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, William of Hatfield that died young, Lionell duke of Clarence, John of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie earle of Cambridge & after created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstoke erle of Buckingham after made duke of Glocester, and an other William which died like wise young. He had also three daughters, Marie that was married to John of Mountford duke of Britaine, Isabell wedded to the lord Coucie earle of Bedford, and Margaret coupled in marriage with the earle of Denbroke.

His praise.

This king, besides other his gifts of nature, was aided greatly by his semelie personage. He had a poudent wit, sharpe to conceiue and understand: he was courteous and gentle, doing all things sagelie and with god consideration, a man of great temperance and sobrietie. Those he chiefly favoured and

advanced to honour, and comes of high dignitie, which excelled in honest conuersation, modestie, and innocencie of life, of bodie well made, of a comely stature, as neither of the highest nor lowest sort: of face faire and manlike, eyes bright and shining, and in age bald, but so as it was rather a semelie to those his ancient yeares than any disfiguring to his visage; in knowledge of martiall affaires verie skilfull, as the enterprises and worthy acts by him achieved do sufficientlie witnesse.

In what estimation he was had among strangers it may appeare, in that he was not onelie made vicar of the empire by the emperor Lewis of Baviere, but also after the decease of the same emperor, diuerse of the electours, as Lewis marques of Brandenburg, Robert or Rupert count Palatine of the Rhene, and the young duke of Saronie, with Henrie archbishop of Spantz, elected him to succede in place of the said emperor Lewis. Peruerteresse, he giuing them hartie thanks for the honour which they did unto him herein, refused to take the charge upon him, alledging that he could not haue time to supplie the same, by reason of the warres that he had in France, to recouer his right which he had to that realme.

This is noted by writers to be a token of great wisdome in this noble king, that would not go about to catch more than he might well gripe. Examples of bountious liberalitie, and great clemencie he shewed manie, and the same verie notable; so that in manner he alone amongst all other kings was found to be one, subiect to none, or at the least, to verie light and small faults. But yet he was not void of euill haps: for whereas, during the terme of fortie yeares space he reigned in high felicitie, and as one happy in all his doings: so in the rest of his time that followed, he felt a wonderfull change in fortune (whom writers compare to the mone for hir variablenesse, and often alterations, as neuer at a state, saing,

*Pulsu fortuna variatur imagine luna,
Crescit, decrescit, in eodem siliere nefcit*)

Shewing his selfe forward to him in most part of his proceedings: for such is the state of this world, felidome doth prosperitie continue, and guide the sterne of our woollie doings, as it well appeared by this noble prince. For in the first yeares of his reigne, after he once began to gouerne of himselfe, he recovered that which had bene lost in Scotland, by great victories obtained against his aduersaries in that land, and passed further into the same, than euer his grandfather king Edward the first had done before him, subduing the countie on each hand, so that he placed gouernors, and bestowed offices, lands, and liutings in that realme at his pleasure.

Amongst other (as I remember) there is yet remaining a charter under his great seale containing a grant made unto John Cure and his heires for his god seruice done in those parts, of a manour called Ketnes in the countie of Forfar (which lieth in the north of Scotland) with a market euerie mondaie, and a faire for three daies together at Epiphallmasse, as the euene, the daie, and the morrow after. Also he granted to the same John Cure, free warren throughout the same lordship. This John Cure was ancestor unto the lord Cure that now liueth, who hath the same charter in his possession. As for this kings victories in France, the same were such as might seeme incredible, if the consent of all writers in that age confirmed not the same. But as these victories were glorious, so yet they proued not so profitable in the end: for whereas he had sore burdened his subiects with taxes and subsidies, at length they wearied wearie, and began to withdraw their forward minds to helpe him with such summes

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as had bene requisite for the maintenance of the warres, which the Frenchmen prolonged of purpose, and refused to trie their fortune any more in pight fields, wherby when he was constrained to be at continuall charges in such lingering warres; to defend that which he had erst gotten by force, and covenants of the peace; the finewes of warre, to wit monie, began to faile him, and so the enemies recovered a great part of that which before time they had lost, both on the further side the seas, and likewise in Scotland.

This must needs be a great graefe unto a prince of such a stout and valiant stomach, namelye fith he had bene so long time before accustomed to find fortune still so favourable unto him in all his enterprizes. But finallye the thing that most graued him, was the losse of that most noble gentleman, his deere sonne prince Edward, in whom was found all parts that might be wished in a worthy gouverneur. But this and other mishaps that chanced to him now in his old yeares, might seme to come to passe for a reuenge of his disobedience shewed to his father in vsurping against him, although it might be said, that he did it by constraint, and through the aduise of others. But whether the remorse hereof, or of his other offenses moued him, it may seme (as some write) that the consideration of this worlds mutabilitie, which he tried to the full, caused him (as is thought) to haue in mind the life in the world to come, and therefore of a pure deuotion founded the church and colledge of saint Stephen at Westminster, and another at Cambridge called The kings hall, giuing thereunto lands and reuenues, to the maintenance of them that would giue themselves unto learning.

Towards the maintenance of his warres, and furnishing forth of such other charges and expences as he toke in hand to beare out, he had some helpe by the siluer mines in Devonshire and Cornewall, in like manner as his grandfather king Edward the first had. For one Matthew Crowthorne keeper of his mines in those parts, yeldeb diuerse accounts of the siluer and profits of the same, betwene the second and fifteenth yeare of his reigne, as well for the siluer as for the lead, after the siluer was fined from it. Also John Moneron succeeding in the same office, accomptant of the profits of the same mines, from Michaelmasse in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne, unto the second of Nouember in the thre and twentieth yeare, yeldeb vpon his accounts, both the siluer and the lead thereof remaining. Moreover he let by indenture in the two and thirtieth yeare of his reigne, unto John Ballancer, and Walter Goldbeater, his mines of gold, siluer, and copper, in the countie of Devonshire, for terme of years. There is an account thereof remaining, and by the same (as it appeareth) was answered for the first yeare twentie markes. The second yeare the patentees died, and the king then disposed the same to others. In the eight and twentieth yeare of his reigne, he committed by indenture his said mines in Devonshire, to one master John Hamner, and one Herman Kainethorpe of Wiche, minours, yeldeb to the king the tenth part of the oare, as well of the gold and siluer, as of the lead and copper that should be gotten forth of the said mines.

In this kings daies, there liued manie excellent men, both in learning, in vertue, and in martiall prowesse, as partlie is touched in this discourse of his reigne; and first, the said noble and most valiant king, the prince of Wales his sonne surnamed the blacke prince, the duke of Lancaster John of Gaunt sonne to the king, and his father in law duke Henrie, Comund earle of Cambridge, and after duke of

Porke, the earles of Marwarke, Huntingdon, Salisburie, Stafford, Northampton, Arundell and others; the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Bassett, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Walter de Hanne and Henuier, the lord Edward Spenser, the lord John Chandois, the lord James Audley, Sir John Copland, sir Thomas Felton, sir Robert Knolles, who (as I haue said) being borne in Cheshire of meane parentage, through his manlie prowesse, and most skillfull experience in the warres, grew to be right famous.

Moreover, sir Hugh Caluerlie borne in the same shire, the capitall de Beuse a Gascoigne, sir Thomas Percie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Baldwin Freuill, sir John Barleston, sir James Pipe, sir Thomas Dagworth, & that valiant English knight sir John Hawkewood, whose fame in the parts of Italie shall remaine for euer, where (as their histories make mention) he grew to such estimation for his valiant achieved enterprizes, that happie might that prince or common-wealth accompt themselves, that might haue his seruice, and so liuing there in such reputation, sometimes he serued the pope, sometimes the lords of Millane, now this prince or common-wealth, now that, and other whiles none at all, but taking one towne or other, would keepe the same, till some liking entertainment were offered, and then would he sell such a towne, where he had thus remained, to them that would giue him for it according to his mind. Barnabe lord of Millane gaue unto him one of his base daughters in marriage, with an honorable portion for his dowry.

This man was borne in Essex (as some write) who at the first became a tailor in London, & afterwards going to the warres in France, serued in the roome of an archer, but at length he became a capteine and leader of men of war, highly commended and liked of amongst the souldiers, in so much that, when by the peace concluded at Bretaignie, in the yeare 1360, great numbers of soldiers were discharged out of wages, they got themselves together in companies, and without commandement of any prince, by whose authoritie they might make warre, they fell to of themselves, and soze harried and spoiled diuerse countries in the realme of France, as partlie ye haue heard: amongst whom this sir John Hawkewood was one of the principall capteins, & at length went into Italie, to serue the marques of Monferrato, against the duke of Millane: although I remember that some write, how he came into that countrie with the duke of Clarence, but I thinke the former report be true: but it may well be, that he was readie to attend the said duke at his coming into Italie. And thus much concerning such famous capteins as serued this noble king Edward the third, although for breuenesse I passe ouer diuerse other, no lesse famous and worthy for their high manhood and tried valiance to be remembred, than these afore mentioned.

Of learned men, these we find by Iohn Bale registred in the Centuries; John Baconthorpe borne in Blackney in Northfolke, a frier Carmelite, and prouinciall of his order, so excellentlie learned, as well in diuinitie, as in both the ciuill and canon lawes, that he proceeded doctor in either facultie at Orenford and Paris, and wrote diuerse treatises, to his high and singular commendation; William Drham, John Worham a Carmelite frier, Nicholas Triuet borne in Northfolke, sonne to sir Thomas Triuet knight, & one of the kings iusticiers, prouid excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and amongst other, two histories, and one booke of annales, he was by profession a blacke frier, and departed this life about the second yeare of this king

Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1328; William Alnecliffe bozne in Northumberland, in the towne whereof he toke name, a frier Spinoz; John Tanet bozne in the Ile of Tanet, an excellent musician, and a monke in Canturburie; Hugh of saint Peol, a Carmelite frier in Hertfordshire, a notable diuine as those daies gaue; William Alton bozne in Hampshire, a blacke frier and a diuine.

Furthermore, Richard Stradley bozne in the marches of Wales, a monke and a diuine, writing certeine treatises of the scripture; William Herbert a Welchman and a frier Spinoz, wrote also certeine goodlie treatises of diuinitie; Richard Comington a frier of the order of the Cordeliers, a preacher, and a writer of diuinitie; William Greter a doctor of diuinitie, and a prebendare canon in Exeter, whereas it is thought he was bozne; Lucas Borden a wessterne man, and by profession a Carmelite frier; Thomas Walleys a Dominike frier, a great diuine, as by such bookes as he wrote it may appeare; Thomas Pontius a monke of Canturburie, John Kidelwall a grate frier, Henrie Coffesay or Coffey a frier Spinoz, Gessrie Aleuant bozne in Northeshire, a frier Carmelite; John Guerden, a monke in Burie in Suffolke, an historiographer; Simon Burneston, a doctor of the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, and prouinciall of the friers Dominike or blacke friers, as they called them here in England; Walter Burlie a doctor of diuinitie, who in his youth was brought vp, not onlie in Martine college in Oxford, but also in the Uniuersities and scholes abroad beyond the seas, in France and Germanie, & afterwards for his wisdome, goddemeane & learning, he was retained with the bishop of Almes in Suabenland, a region in high Germanie.

Amongst other treatises which he compiled, being mantle, and namelie of naturall philosophie, he wrote a commentarie of the ethikes of Aristotle, and dedicated the same vnto the said bishop, a worke which hath bene highlie esteemed, not onelie in the Uniuersities of Italie, Germanie and France, but also here in our Uniuersities of England. To conclude, such was the fame of this doctor Burlie, that when the ladie Philip, daughter to the earle of Helnauld should come ouer into England to be married to king Edward, this doctor Burlie was retained by hir, and appointed to be hir almoner, and so continued in great estimation, in so much that after Edward prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Edward commonlie called the blacke prince, was bozne, and able to learne his booke, the said Burlie among other was commanded to be one of his instructors.

By reason hereof, sir Simon Burlie, of whom I haue made some mention heretofore in this kings life, and more intend to speake, as occasion serueth in the next king, being sonne to sir John Burlie, nere kinsman to the said doctor Burlie, was admitted among other yong gentlemen, to be scholeselow with the said prince, by occasion whereof he grew in such credit and fauour with the said prince, that afterwards when his son Richard of Burdeaur, that succeeded king Edward his father, was bozne, the said prince for speciall trust and confidence which he had in the said sir Simon Burlie, committed the gouernance & education of his son the said Richard vnto him, whereby he was euer after highlie in fauour with the said Richard, and no lesse aduanced by him, when he came to introy the crowne of this realme.

But now to other learned men of that age. John Barwik a frier Spinoz, and reader to his fellowes of that order in Oxford; William Pottingham, Roger Clacton, bozne in Huntingdonshire, an Augustin frier; John Polested bozne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Ipswich; Cipestwich as they write it;

Walter Bingham a frier also of the order of those Dominikes, which they called pied friers; Roger of Chester a monke of that cite and an historiographer; Thomas de Hales a frier Spinoz, Robert Elphat a grate frier, Gessrie Grandfield an Augustine or blacke frier, Hugh Wiclie a Carmelite frier of Ipswich, William Cincourt a blacke frier of Boston, Hugh Ditton bozne in Cambridgeshire a frier preacher, Adam Carthusianus a doctor of diuinitie, John Luttrell an excellent philosopher and well scene in the mathematical, Walter Cotton and Thomas Eckleson both grate friers, John Folsam a Carmelite frier in Ipswich, Benet of Northfolke, William Southhampton so called of the towne where he was bozne, a blacke frier.

Moreouer, John Burgh a monke wrote an historie, and certeine homilies; Adam Ridyard a master of art, Edmund Albon, Robert Counton a grate frier, William Lisse a frier Spinoz, John Kepingale bozne in Lincolneshire a Carmelite or white frier, as they called them; Christopher Pothulensis a blacke frier, Richard Aungerulle bozne in Suffolke, who was bishop of Exeter, and lord chancellor of England; John Pandurith, Walter Hemingford a canon of Ely bozne an historiographer, John Dnie bozne in Gloucestershire, in an Ile so called, whereof he toke his surname a Chartreux monke; Thomas Staueshatw a frier Spinoz in Wyke, Robert of Leicester taking that surname of the towne where he was bozne, a Franciscane or grate frier; John of Northampton bozne in that towne, and a Carmelite frier, an excellent mathematician.

Adde to the foresaid learned men, Robert Wolsop bozne in Northeshire, and a blacke frier in Eickill; William Buntard a blacke frier, Richard Chichester, a monke of Westminster wrote an excellent chronicle, beginning the same at the coming in of the Saxons, about the yeare of our Lord 449, and continued it till the yeare 1348; Richard Rolle also Hampole an excellent diuine wrote many treatises; John Guent a Welchman, a Franciscane frier, and prouinciall of the order; Kobulph Radiphtus a frier Spinoz, Robert Holcosh a blacke frier, bozne in Northampton, excellentlie learned, and wrote manye workes, both of diuinitie and other arguments; William Spiluerie a logician or rather a sophister, John Tenkesburie, Thomas Bradwardin bozne in Warwiche, a towne within the diocesse of Ely, archbishop of Canturburie succeeding John Dord, he wrote against the Pelagians; Richard Wethereset, William Byeton a grate frier, a Welchman bozne, as Bale suppoeth; John of saint Faith, bozne in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier of Bzurnham.

Furthermore, John Godwicke bozne also in Northfolke, an Augustine frier of Lin; William Kothwell a blacke frier, Gessrie Waterton monke of Burie, Richard Fitz Rafe, whom some take to be an Irishman, but a student in Oxford, and scholer to John Baconthorpe profited highlie, & wrote manye treatises, he was first archdeacon of Lichfield, and after chancellor of the Uniuersitie of Oxford, and at length archbishop of Ardmachan in Ireland; Richard Bilington a doctor of diuinitie, William Grisant a notable physician, surnamed of the countrie where he was bozne Anglicus, he led the later end of his life at Parfeilles in Pouance, & had a son that was abbat of the regular canons of that cite, who at length was aduanced to gouerne the see of Rome, & named Urbane the fift; John Paschall bozne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Cipestwich, and by h. Edward the third preferred to the bishopricke of Landaffe; Adam Woodham a frier Spinoz, Simon Denton a blacke frier, William de Pagula; of John Wiclicke ye haue heard before,

moreouer,

[illegible]

furthemore, Simon Hey, founder of Cantur-
burie collodge in Drenford, wrote diuerse treatises,
he was archbishop of Canturburie, as befoze wee
haue heard; George Chable, John of Timmouth be-
car of that towne in the bishoppike of Durham, Pe-
ter Babion, Walter Wilbozne. or Wilmbozne, Pi-
cholas de Lin bozne in the towne of that name in
Northfolke, a Carmelite frier by profession, but as
excellent an astronomer as was in those daies :
John Widington bozne in Lincolneshire a frier mi-
nor in Stafford, Adam a monke of the Cisterior-
der, Roger Wilshepale a mathematician, Simon de
freuertham parson of Birton in Kent, Mattheu
Welfmonasterienles, who wrote the booke called
Flores historiarius ; John Clin a Carmelite bozne in
Northfolke, liued in these daies, but departed this
life in king Richard the seconds daies ; Thomas de
Sturey an Augustine frier, Hertoxious Gualensis
a Welfman bozne.

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To conclude, John Spauentille knight, that great
traveller, liued in those daies, and departed this life
at Alege, the seventeenth of Nouembur, in the yeare
1372. Thomas of Dotter a monke of the abbeteiie of
here, Henrie Knighton wrote an hystorie intituled
De gestis Anglorum, John Stokes bozne in Suffolke
an Augustine frier, John Homebie a frier Car-
mite of Bolton, Henrie Deuerike (as our father
will) of Worre an Augustine frier, Simon Alcocke
a diuine, Utrud Walton bozne in the marches of
Wales a monke of Durham, William Jordan an
Augustine frier, John Hilton a frier minor, Willi-
am de Lincoln a Carmelite, bozne and professed in
that citie, whereof he toke his surname, Adam Sar-
lingham a frier of the same order, but bozne in
Norfolke; Simon Speham a prebend of Ciche-
ster, and a great diuine; John Winton a Car-
mite, and student in Cambridge; John Wylkingham
a gray frier; and diuerse other, which for that we
are not certein in what age they liued, we here
passe ouer.

*Thus farre Edward the third, sonne to Edward the
second and queene Isabell.*



Richard the second, the second
sonne to Edward prince of Wales.

Richard, the second of that name, and sonne to prince Edward, called the blacke prince, the sonne of king Edward the third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, began to reigne over the realme of England the two and twentieth daie of June, in the yeare of the woold 5344, of our Lord 1377, after the conquest 310, about the two and thirtieth yeare of the emperour Charles the fourth, and in the fourteenth yeare of Charles the sixt king of France, and about the seventh yeare of the reigne of Robert the second king of Scotland;

he was named Richard of Burdeam; because he was borne at Burdeam in Calcoigne, whilst his father reuled there. The day before it was understood, that his grandfather king Edward was departed this life, being the one and twentieth of June on which date neuerthelesse he deceased; the citizens of London hauing certeine knowledge that he could not escape his sickness, sent certeine aldermen vnto Kingston, where the prince with his mother the princeesse then late, to declare vnto the said prince their readie good wills, to accept him for their lawfull king and gouernour; immediatlie after it should please God to call to his mercie his grandfather, being now past hope of recouerie of health. Wherefore they

D. ii. besought

Thom, Walf

The Londoners sent to R. Richard, commending themselves to his fauour before the death of R. Edward.

D g.t.

besought

before him, to have the citation read, and he said to his godson, and that it should please him to quit the same with his power, of which the interest is in all sorts to God, and to the king, and to the lord lived and dwelt in his castle, if he required, and if not, they be sought him, that it might please his grace to take no more of the same, but to the citizens, and the duke of Lancaster, which through the malice of some had bene valued, to the commodity of money, to the discommodity of divers. When John Holland, one of the said aldermen, that had the words in all their names, benched his seat, he was answered by the prince and his council, that he should endeavour himself in all things to satisfy their requests, and so were they sent home to bring a full answer of their message to the city. The morrow after, there were sent to London from the king, the lord Latimer, sir Nicholas Bond, sir Simon Burle, and sir Richard Aderburie, knights, to bring them full news of the assured death of king Edward, who (as we have said) oppressed the happy fore; but comfortable news again, of the great fortitude and god meaning of the young king, who promised to love them and their city, and to come to the same city, as they had desired him to do. And further, that he had spoken to the duke of Lancaster in their behalf, and that the duke had submitted himself to him in all things touching the cause, whereby on the kings pleasure was, that they should likewise submit themselves, and he would do his endeavour, that an agreement might be had to the honour of the citizens, and profit of the city.

John Holland
pot.

The duke of
Lancaster &
the Londoners
submit their
quarrels to the
kings order.

The citizens liked not of this forme of proceeding in the dukes matter, because the king was young, and could not give order therein, but by substitutes: yet at length with much ado, they were contented to submit themselves, as the duke had done before; though not, till that the knights had undertaken upon their oath of fidelitie and knighthood, that their submission should not rebound to the temporal or bodily harme of any of them, consenting to the kings will in this point. And so with this caution they took their journey towards Shene, where they found the new king with his mother, the duke of Lancaster and his brethren, uncles to the king, and diverse bishops, about the bodie of the deceased king. When it was known that the Londoners were come, they were called before the king, by whom the matter was so handled, that the duke and they were made friends. After this, when the king should ride through the city towards the coronation, the said duke and the lord Percie riding on great horses before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, used themselves so courteously, modestly, and pleasantly, that where before they two were greatly suspected of the common people, by reason of their great puissance in the realme, and huge rout of retainers, they ordered the matter so, that neither this day, nor the morrow after, being the day of the kings coronation, they offended any manner of person, but rather by gentle and sweet demeanour they reclaimed the hearts of many, of whom before they were greatly had in suspicion, and thought evil of. What note, if we are entered into the matter of this kings coronation, we have thought good briefly to touch some particular point thereof (as in Thomas Walsingham we find it) though nothing so largely here, as the author himselfe setteth it forth, because the purpose of this worke will not so permit.

The king, in riding thorough the city towards Westminster, on the 15. day of Julie being wednesday, was accompanied with such a traine of the nobilitie and others, as in such case was requisite. Sir Simon Burle bare the sword before him, and sir

John Holland bare the same before him, by the handle on foot. Behind him were pumps and other instruments, which were all going forth, and he carried a bag of gold, and the bag that he bore long looked for, because it was supposed that in it were the high treasures and good jewels of the king, which through the roughness of the age, and the death of the king, and the death of those that ruled about him, had bene long hidden, should not be neglected and hidden againe in the city, but to be used in all sorts of right. The water conductes in the city, for the space of three houses together in the upper end of the city, was a certain castle made with four towers, out of the which castles, the four sides of it, there are four wine abundant. In the towers were placed four beautiful virgins, of stature and age like to the king, apparelled in white vestures, in euerie tower one, the which blew in the kings face, at his approaching nere to them, leanes of gold; and as he approached also, they threw on him and his horse showers of gold counterfeit.

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When he was come before the castle, they took cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the spouts of the castle, presented the same to the king and to his nobles. On the top of the castle, betwixt the four towers, stood a golden angel, holding a crowne in his hands, which was so contrived, that when the king came, he bowed downe & offered to him the crowne. But to speake of all the pageants and shewes which the citizens had caused to be made, and set forth in honour of their new king, it were superfluous; for one in their quarters striving to surmount other, and so with great triumphing of citizens, and top of the lords and noble men, he was conveyed unto his palace at Westminster, where he rested for that night. The morrow after being thursdaie, and the 16. day of Julie, he was fet to the church with procession of the bishops and monks, and coming before the high altar, where the pavement was covered with rich clothes of tappetrie, he there kneeled downe and made his prayers, whilst two bishops song the Letanie, which being finished, the king was brought to his seat, the quere singing an anthem, beginning, *Firmetur manus tua.*

That done, there was a sermon preached by a bishop touching the dutie of a king, how he ought to behave himselfe towards the people, and how the people ought to be obedient unto him. The sermon being ended, the king received his oath before the archbishop and nobles: which done, the archbishop having the lord Percie Percie lord marshall going before him, turned him to euerie quarter of the church, declaring to the people the kings oath, and demanding of them, if they would submit themselves unto such a prince & gouernor, and obey his commandments: and when the people with a loud voice had answered that they would obey him, the archbishop using certaine prayers, blessed the king; which ended, the archbishop came unto him, and tearing his garments from the highest part to the lowest, stripped him to his shirt. Then was brought by earles, a certaine coverture of cloth of gold, under the which he remained, whilst he was annointed.

The archbishop (as we haue said) having stripped him, first annointed his hands, then his head, breast, shoulders, and the ioints of his armes with the sacred oile, saying certaine prayers, and in the meane time did the quere sing the anthem, beginning, *Incipit regem Salomonem, &c.* And the archbishop added another prayer, *Deus Dei filius, &c.* Which ended, he and the other bishops song the hymne, *Veni creator spiritus,* the king kneeling in a long vesture, & the archbishop with his suffraganes about him. When the hymne was ended, he was lift up by the archbishop, and clad first with the coate of saint Edward, and after with his mantel,

The manner
order of the
kings coronation.

mitted a shoale being cast about his necke, the arch-
bishop in the meane time, saleng certeyn prelates ap-
pointed for the purpose. After this, the archbishop and
bishops delivered to him the sword; saleng, *Accipe gla-*
dium, etc.

When that word was ended, the archbishop gived
him with the sword, which done, the archbishop gave
to him by accels, saleng, *Accipe munus, etc.* After
this, the archbishop bowed upon him on uppermost
knee, called a pall, saleng, *Accipe pallium, etc.* In
the meane time, whilst the archbishop blessed the
kings crovone, he to whose office it appertained, did
put spurs on his heeles. After the crovone was bles-
sed, the archbishop set it on his head, saleng, *Cornu te*
Domi, etc. Then did the archbishop deliver to him a
ring, with these words, *Accipe anulum, etc.* Immedi-
atlie herewith came the lord Furnival by vertue of
his office, offering to him a red glove, which the arch-
bishop blessed, and putting it on his hand, gave to
him the scepter, with these words, *Accipe sceptum, etc.*
Then did the archbishop deliver to him in his other
hand a rod, in the top whereof stood a dove, with these
words, *Accipe virgam virtutis, etc.* After this the arch-
bishop blessed the king, saleng, *Benedicte de Deu, etc.*

These things done, the king kissed the bishops and
abbats, by whome he was lead afterwards unto his
seat, the bishops beginning to sing (*Te deum*) which
ended, the archbishop said to him, *Sta et retine amodo*
locum, etc. When these things were finished, they be-
gan masse, the bishop of Worcester read the epistle,
and the bishop of Ely the gospel. At the offertorie,
the king rose from his seat, and was brought to offer.
He therfore offered first his sword, and after so much
gold as he would, but no lesse than a marke, by rea-
son of the custome; for more he might offer to God
and St. Peter, but lesse he could not. After this, he of-
fered bread and wine, with which he and the archbi-
shop did after communicate. This done, the earle, to
whome it appertained to, heare the sword before the
king, redeemed the sword which the king had offered
with monie, and receiving the same, bare it afore the
king. When masse should be song, the king was
brought againe to the altar, & there kneeling downe,
and saleng *Confiteor* to the archbishop, did communi-
cate, and so was brought backe to his seat. The war-
dens of the cinque ports by their office, as well in
time of the procession, as when he was annointed al-
so at masse time, and as he returned from the church
to the palace to dinner, held over him a large cano-
pie of blew velvet, fastened unto foure stauces at the
four corners.

In the meane time, sir John Dimmoche, that clai-
med to be the kings champion, had been at the kings
armorie and stable, where he had chosen according to
his tenure, the best armour saue one, and the best
sadd saue one: albeit, sir Baldwine Freuill claimed
the same office, but could not obtaine it; so that the
said sir John Dimmoche hauing armed himselfe,
and being mounted on horsebacke, came to the ab-
bie gates, with two riding before him, the one carri-
eng his speare, and the other his shield, staing there
till masse should be ended. But the lord Henrie Per-
cie lord marshall, appointed to make waie before the
king with the duke of Lancaster lord steward, the
lord Thomas of Woodstoke lord constable, and the
lord marshals brother sir Thomas Percie, being all
mounted on great horses, came to the knight, and
told him, that he ought not to come at that time, but
when the king was at dinner, and therefore it should
be good for him to tynarne himselfe for a while, and
take his ease and rest, till the appointed time were
come.

The knight did as the lord marshall willed him,
and so after his departure, the king hauing those

loves riding afore him, was brought into his choul-
der into his palace, and so had to his chamber, where
he rested a while, being somewhat faint with trauell,
and took a small rest. After this, coming into
the hall, he came into foure new castles, before he sa-
boured to meat; to wit, his burle the lord Thomas
of Woodstoke, earle of Buckingham, and to whome he
gave a thousand markes a peece out of his treasury;
till he provided him selfe lands to the like value: the
lord Piershardre, earle of Huntingdon, to whome he
gave a thousand markes a peece; till he
was provided of lands of like value. The lord Spoto-
byate was created earle of Northampton, and the lord
Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland. He made
also nine knights the same daie.

To shew what roiall seruice was at this feast, it
passeth our understanding to describe; but to con-
clude, the fare was exceeding sumptuous, and the ser-
uice princelie in all things, that if the saute should
be rehearsed, the reader would perhaps doubt of the
truth therof. In the midst of the kings palace was
a marble pillar raised hollow vpon steps; on the top
whereof was a great gilt eagle placed; under whose
feet in the chapter of the pillar, diuers kinds of wine
came gushing forth at foure severall places: all the
daie long, neither was anye forbidden to receiue the
same, were he neuer so poore or abject. On the mor-
row after the coronation, there was a generall pro-
cession of the archbishop, bishop, and abbats then
present, with the lords, and a great multitude of
people, to praise for the king and the peace of the
kingdome.

At the going forth of this procession, the bishop of
Rochester preached, exhorting them, that the dissenti-
ons and discords which had long continued betwixt
the people and their superiours, might be appeased
and forgotten, prouing by manie arguments, that
the same highlie displeased God. He admonished the
lords, not to be so extreme and hard towards the peo-
ple. On the other part, he exhorted the people in ne-
cessarie causes, for the aid of the king and realme,
cherefullie, and without grudging, to put to their
helping hands, according to their bounden duties.
He further exhorted those in generall that were ap-
pointed to be about the king, that they should forsake
vice, and studie to liue in cleanness of life and vertue.
For if by their example the king were trained to
godnesse, all should be well; but if he declined through
their sufferance from the right waie, the people and
kingdome were like to fall in danger to perish. After
the sermon and procession were ended, the lords and
prelats went to their lodgings.

But now, because the Englishmen should haue
their soles mingled with some foreigners, it chanced
that the Frenchmen (which about the same time that
the kings grandfather departed this life, were was-
ting on the seas) within sir or seauen daies after his
deceasse, burnt the towne of Rie. Whereupon, imme-

diatlie after the coronation, the earles of Cambridge
and Buckingham were sent with a power unto Do-
uer, and the earle of Salisburie unto Southampton;
but in the meane time, to wit, the one and twentieth of
August, the Frenchmen entring the Ile of Wight,
burnt diuerse townes in the same. And though they
were repelled from the castell, by the valiant man-
hod of sir Hugh Tirrell capitaine thereof, who lade no
small number of them on the ground; yet they con-
stained the men of the Ile to giue them a thousand
marks of silver to saue the residue of their houses
and goods, and so they departed from thence, sailing
still along the coasts, and where they saw advantage,
set on land, burning sundrie townes nere to the shore,
as Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimmouth.

¶ q. ii.

They

Froissard.
Rie burnt by
the Frenchmen

Tho. Wallf.
The French-
men spoile
the Ile of
Wight.
Sir Hugh
Tirrell.

Froissard.
Tho. Wallf.
Portsmouth,
Dartmouth,
Plimmouth,
burnt by the
French.

Hastings
burnt.

An over-
throw given
by the French
to the Eng-
lishmen.

Polydor.

The duke of
Lancaster &
the earle of
Cambridge
appointed
protectors.

In Angl. prel.

Froissard.

Berwikke ca-
stell swone by
the Scots.

Berwikke ca-
stell recou-
red by the
Englishmen.

They made countenance also to have let on South-
hampton, if Sir John Arundell, brother to the earle of
Arundell had not bene ready there with a number
of men of armes and archers, by whom the towne
was defended, and the enemies chaſed to their ships
from thence. The Frenchmen departed, and sailing
towards Dover, burnt Hastings, but William the
first could not win; being valiantly defended by the
abbat of Beſtall, and others. After this, they landed
one day not far from the abbey of Lewes, at a place
called Rottington, where the prior of Lewes, and two
knights, the one named Sir Thomas Cheine, and the
other Sir John Falleſte, having assembled a number
of the countrie people, incouered the Frenchmen;
but were overthrowen; so that there were slaine a-
bout an hundred Englishmen; and the prior, with the
two knights, and an esquier called John Brokas,
were taken prisoners, but yet the Frenchmen lost a
great number of their owne men at this conflikt, and
so with their prisoners retired to their ships and gal-
lies, and after returned into France.

But now touching the doings about the new is-
sue, you shall understand, that by reason of his young
yeares, as yet he was not able to gouverne himselfe,
and therefore John duke of Lancaster, and Edmund
earle of Cambridge, with other pères of the realme,
were appointed to haue the administration. He was
of good disposition and towardeſſe, but his age being
readie to incline which way ſoeuer a man should bend
it, those that were appointed to haue the gouverne-
ment of his person, did what laie in them now at the
first, to keepe him from all manner of light demeanour.
But afterwards, when euerie one began to studie
more for his owne private commoditie, than for the
aduancement of the common-wealth, they set open
the gates to other, which being readie to corrupt his
good nature, by little and little grew familiar with
him, and dimming the brightnesse of true honour,
with the counterfeit shine of the contrarie, so make-
red his understanding, that in the end they brought
him to tract the steps of lewd demeanour, and so were
causers both of his and their owne destruction. This
saemeth to be touched by C. Okland, who speaking of
the death of the old king and the erection of the new,
saith of him according to our annales, as followeth:

*Indecum puer hic nondum tranſegerat annum,
Cum iuuenile caput geſſit diademate cinctum.
Qui poſtquam princeps iuſſu adoleuerat annis,
Dicere non facile eſt quantum diſtaret auitis
Moribus atque animo, fuit hic quam diſparemẽte,
Diſſimili ingenio clara matricque patrique.*

The Frenchmen not ignorant of such miſchiefs
as were like to grow in England, suffered no time to
paſſe, but toke occasions of advantage when they
were offered. ¶ Among other enterpriſes I find,
that shortly after the decaſſe of king Edward, the
duke of Burgogne wan Arde, and two or three other
fortreſſes in thoſe marches. The Scots this yeare al-
ſo wan the caſtell of Berwikke by ſtealth one mo-
ning, but shortly upon knowledge had, the earles of
Northumberland and Nottingham, the lords Spe-
nill, Lucie, Craſſoke, & Stafford, with other lords,
knights, and eſquiers, came with their powers in all
haſt thither, and entering the towne, beſieged the ca-
ſtell, and finally, aſſaulting them that kept it, wan it
of them by force, and ſue all thoſe Scottiſhmen which
they found within it, except Alexander Ramſie their
capitaine. When the Englishmen had thus recovered
the caſtell, they entered into Scotland, in hope to find
the Scots, and to fight with them whom they knew
to be assembled.

The English hoſt was three thousand men of
armes, & ſeuẽ thousand archers, but they ſent forth
Sir Thomas Spilgrave with three hundred ſpeares,

and three hundred archers to ſpurre, to ſee if he
might diſcover any thing of the Scots in thoſe
parts, with whom the whole Engliſh, having ſent
him three hundred ſpeares, and three hundred of
other called pomen with glaives and other weapons,
incouered by ſtealth, and ſo ſuddenly, that his com-
paignie, Sir Thomas Spilgrave himſelfe, and ſome
other, were taken prisoners, beſides thoſe that were
ſlaine; the reſt ſcaped by flight, making the beſt
they could for the ſeaſon. The lord Spilgrave, Sir
Thomas Ramſie, Sir William de la Pole, and ſome of
other valiant capitaine of England, were ſent into
Calſaigne this yeare, which firſt landed at Burde-
aux, and on the ſeaſon of the ſtation of our laſte, where
after they had reſted ſome while, they went and rai-
ſed the ſiege, which the Frenchmen had held before
Poſſaigne in Poitou a long time before.

Gouverneur of this ſiege at the firſt, was John of
Dover of Wales, but he was murdered one mo-
ning as he ſat alone viewing the caſtell, and com-
bing his head, by one of his owne countreimen,
which under colour to ſerue him, was become with
him verie familiar. This John of Dover whether
ye will (for all is one) was ſonne to a noble man of
Wales, whom Sir Edward had put to death for ſome
offenſe by him committed, where this John got him
into France, being as then verie young, and was
brought up in the French court, and proved an ex-
pert man of warre, ſo that great lamentation was
made for his death by the Frenchmen. But the Eng-
liſhmen, although they miſliked the manner of his
death, yet they were not greatlie ſorrowfull for the
chance, ſith they were rid thereby of an extreme en-
mie.

After that the Englishmen had raiſed the French
men from the ſiege of Poſſaigne, they returned to
Burdeaux, and after recovered ſundry caſtels and
fortreſſes in the marches of Burdelois, and about
Batonne. Alſo they aſſeſſed the king of Navarre, a-
gainſt the king of Caſtile, and made a road into the
confinnes of Caſtile. But shortly after, a peace was
concluded betwixt thoſe two kings, ſo that the lord
Charles of Navarre ſhould marrie the daughter of
the king of Caſtile upon certaine conditions: and ſo
the Englishmen had their waiges trulie paid them
to their full contentation, and thereupon returned.
About Michaelmas began a parlement that was
ſummoned at Weſtmiſter, which continued till the
feſt of ſaint Andrew. In this parlement the ſecond
ſir Peter de la Mere and other: the knights that had
bene ſo earneſt againſt dame Alice Peres in the
laſt parlement holden by king Edward the third, ſo
proſecuted the ſame cauſe now in this parlement,
that the ſaid dame Alice Peres was baniſhed the
realme, and all hir goods moueable and immoveable
forſeited to the king, becauſe contrarie to that ſhe had
promiſed by oth in the ſaid laſt parlement, ſhe had
preſumed to come within the court, and to obtaine of
the king what ſoeuer was to hir liking.

There were two tenths granted by the clergy to
the king in this parlement, and two fifteens of the
temporalitie, to be paid the ſame yeare; and two citi-
zens of London, William Malworth, and John
Whilpot were appointed to haue the keeping of that
monie, to the end it might be imploied to the kings
neceſſarie uſes, for the deſenſe of the realme. Sir
Hugh Caluerlie being deputie of Calis, comming
one morning to Bullongne, burnt certaine ſhips
which laie there in the haven, to the number of ſix and
twenty, beſides two proper barks, being veſſels of
no ſmall account: and having ſpoiled and burnt the
moſt part of the baſe towne, he returned to Calis
with a great rich bootie of goods and cattell.

Alſo, where the caſtell of Sparke, in abſence of the
capitaine

An over-
throw given
by the French
to the Eng-
liſhmen.

Parke ca-
stelled
though d-
rie, the
me due
was loſt.

The ſiege of
Poſſaigne
raiſed.

137

John Wic-
liſſe.

Ben de Kni-
ſſe canon at
Leiceſt. in an
Ab. de Rich,
ſecond.

¶ parles
Thom. Wic-

Two citizens
of London
appointed to
haue the ke-
eping of the
ſame monie
by parliament.

¶ Sir Hugh
Caluerlie
baniſhed
Calis.

The name
of the tow-
ne, and is be-
come by t-
ime.

An. Reg. 1.

capitaine sir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer into England, was lost through negligence of them that were left in charge within it, the same sir Hugh Caluerlie made such speed in the matter, that he recovered it againe the same daie it was lost, by force of assault, taking the Frenchmen prisoners that were gotten into it, and hanging certaine Picards sherpardie soldiers in the said castell, vnder the said sir Robert de Salle, for that whilst the Englishmen were gone forth, to see the shooting of a match which they had made amongst themselves, a little off from the castell, those Picards being left within, that the gates against them, and receiued in the Frenchmen, with whom they had practised in treason, keeping the Englishmen forth, to whom the safe keeping of that castell was committed.

This yeare was a bull sent from the pope vnto the vniuersitie of Orentford, to apprehend John Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, within the diocesse of Lincolne. Also, there were other bulles to the same effect, sent vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London. Likewise to the king were letters directed from the pope, to requite his fauour against the said Wickliffe, so greuouslie was the pope incensed against him, and not without cause, for if his conclusions in doctrine toke effect, he well perceived his papistcalle authoritie would shortly decaye. As for the popish cleargie, to them not onelie the sect but also the name of Wickliffe was so odious, that in recording his opinions and searices, they exceded the bounds of all modestie, aggravating such reports as they infer concerning him or his with more than hyperbolicall lies: as appereth by that long and tedious discourse which he wrote, that compiling certaine annales intituled *De eventibus Anglie*, prefixed this verse in the front of his volume, in letters of red vermilion, as desiring to haue his name notoziouslie knowne to the world;

Hic de Knight
in canon abbat.
Linc. in anno
1382, de Rich.
secundo.

Autoris nomen capitales littere pandunt:
He (I say) in that copious treatise having spoken as maliciouslie & viperouslie as he might both of Wickliffes life, which he concludeth to be lewd; of his opinions, which he avoucheth to be hereticall; and of his fauourers and followers, to whom (at his pleasure) he giueth vnreuerent epithets (all which to prosecute at length, as by him they are in ample sort laid downe, would but detect the mans malignitie, and procure an ouerthrow of credit to be attributed vnto his declarations) he maketh by his mouth with a triffling of poeticall imitation, to bring Wickliffe and his adherents into perpetuall obloquie and defamiation, saying as followeth in verse and prose;

*Si totum membrana solum, calamus nemus omne,
Et Thetis encaustum, scriptor & omnia homo,
Istorum facinus scribere non poterunt.*

*Maledictus commentus eorum, quoniam perti nax, propterea
Deus destruat eos, in sinem euellas, & emigrare faciat de
tabernaculo fidelium suorum, & radicem eorum de terra
regni; & hoc videant iusti, & latentur; ut dicere possint;
Ecce populus qui se exaltauit super electos doctores Domini,
& sperauit in multitudine vanitatis sue: confundantur
& pereant cum doctrina eorum in aeternum, &c.*

But of Wickliffes life and doctrine to read at large, I remit the reader to the acts and monuments of the church, published by maister Iohn Fox: and now will we returne to matters of state and policie. There went forth this yeare a verie great naue of ships to the sea, vnder the guiding of the earle of Buckingham, the duke of Britaine, the lord Latimer, the lord Fitz Walter, sir Robert Banolles, and other valiant capitaine, meaning to haue intercepted the Spanish fleet that was gone to Sluse in Flanders, but thorough rage of tempest, and contrary winds, they were diuinen home, although twice

they attempted their fortune: but sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, slept not his business, doing still what displeasures he could to the Frenchmen. Shortly after Christmasse, he spoiled the towne of Chaples the same daie the faire was kept there, to which a great number of merchants of Ballongne were come to make their markets, but the sellers had quicke utterance, for that that might easilie be carried awaie, the Englishmen laid hands on, and caused the owners to redeme the residue with great sums of monie, which they undertooke to paie; or else sir Hugh threatened to haue burnt all that was left, together with the houses.

We haue heard, how at the first the duke of Lancaster was one of the chiefe about the young king in gouernement of his person and realme, who prouidentlie considering, that sith there must needs be an alteration in the state, & doubting least if any thing chanced otherwise than well, the fault and blame might be chiefele imputed to him, and thanks (how soeuer things went) he looked for none, he gaue therefore the slip, obtaining licence of the king to depart, and so got him home to his castell of Killingworth, permitting other to haue the whole swaie: for before his departure from the court, there were with his consent ordeined such as should be attending on the kings person, and haue the rule and ordering of matters pertaining to the state, as William Courtine, then bishop of London (though shortly after removed to the archbishops see of Canturburie) Edmund Spoximer earle of March, & diuerse other, of whom the people had conceiued a good opinion: but yet because the bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Latimer were admitted amongst the residue, the commons murmured greatlie against them.

The earle of Northumberland resigned his office of lord marshall, in whose place succeeded sir John Arundell, brother vnto the earle of Arundell. The duke of Lancaster, although retired from the court, yet desirous to haue the monie in his hands that was granted the last parlement, at length obtained it, vpon promise to defend the realme from inuasion of all enemies for one yeares space: he therefore prouided a great naue to go to the sea, hiring nine ships of Basonne, to assist his enterpryse herein, the which in making saile hitherwards, encountered with the Spanish fleet, and toke fouretene vessels laden with wines and other merchandize. But in the meane time, one Spencer a Scottishman, with certaine saile of Scots, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, came to Scarburgh, and there toke certaine ships, and led them awaie to the sea, as it were in reuenge of his fathers imprisonment, named John Spencer, who before being caught by certaine ships of the north parts, and deliuered to the earle of Northumberland, was committed to prison within the castell of Scarburgh.

John Philpot that worshipfull citizen of London, lamenting the negligence of them that should haue prouided against such inconueniences, made forth a fleet at his owne charges, strongly furnished with men of warre and munition necessarie: the men of warre meeting with the same Spencer, accompanied with his owne ships, and fiftene other Spaniards that were newlie ioined with him, fet vpon them, and so valiantlie behaued themselves, that they toke the said Spencer with all them that were then in his companie, so recovering againe the ships that were taken from Scarburgh, besides great riches which were found aboard, as well in the fiftene Spanish ships, as the other that were of the old retinue, belonging to the same Spencer. John Philpot was afterwards blamed of the lords, for presuming thus far, as to set forth a naue of men of warre, without the

Exploits
done by sir
Hugh Cal-
uerlie.

The duke of
Lancaster
mitting the
maners of the
court, getteth
himselfe home
to his castell of
Killingworth

John Philpot
Alderman of
London set-
teth forth a
fleet at his
own charges,
to recover cer-
taine Eng-
lish ships tak-
en by the
Scots.

The naue
set forth,
and is beaten
backe by tem-
pest.

the aduise of the kings counsell: but he made his answer in such wise vnto the earle of Stafford, and others that laid the fault to his charge, that he was permitted to depart, without further trouble for that matter.

Before all such prouision as the duke of Lancaster prepared for his iournie to the sea could be readie, the earles of Salisburie and Arundell sailed ouer into Normandie, where, by such composition as was taken betwixt the king of England and the king of France, who of new was become enemie to the French king, the towne of Cherbourg was deliuered vnto the said earles, who sending knowledge thereof backe into England, there were sent ouer such as should haue in charge the keeping of that towne; and so the two earles returned. ¶ We find, that the king of France, hauing bene here in England with the king and his counsell, had agreed with the king for a certeine yearelie rent, to demise vnto him the said fortreffe of Cherbourg, whereby the Englishmen might haue free entrie into Normandie, when they should, as well to aid the king of France in his necessitie, as to worke any enterprise that should be thought expedient to the aduantage of the king of England as occasion serued. But the obtaining of possession of Cherbourg brought not so much joy to the English nation, as the mishap that happened at the going forth of the said earles did cause lamentation and heauinesse.

For vpon the first entring into the sea, it fortuneth that sir Philip, and sir Peter Courtenie, disconcred a certeine number of ships that were enemies, and vndiscretlie entered amongst them, there suddenlie came vpon them the Spanish fleet, so that the English ships that were in companie with the said Philip and sir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in somuch that finalie after that sir Philip had lost diuerse of his men that were there slaine, he got auaie by flight himselfe, though greuouslie wounded, but sir Peter was taken prisoner with a few other knights that were with him; and the most part of all the valiant esquiers of Summerseithire & Devonshire, being there abroad with him, were slaine and drowned, which was esteemed no small losse to the whole common-wealth.

Thus were the Englishmen occupied in this first yeare of king Richard with troubles of warre, and not onelie against the Frenchmen, but also against the Scots. For euen in the beginning of the same yeare, the Scots burnt Rokeburgh, in reuenge whereof the new earle of Northumberland entered Scotland with ten thousand men, and sore spoiled the lands of the earle of March for the space of thre daies together; because the said earle of March was the chiefe author and procurer of the burning of Rokeburgh, & so for that time the Englishmen were well reuenged of those enemies. But at an other time, when the Northerne men would needs make a road into Scotland, entring by the west borders, they were encountered by the Scots and put to flight, so that manie of them being slaine, the Scots took the more courage to inuade the borders, till at length, Edmund Mortimer earle of March came at the daie of truce, and took an abstinence of warre betwixt both nations for the time, though the same continued not long.

Anon after Midsummer, the duke of Lancaster with a strong power took the sea, and landing in Britaine, besieged the towne of Saint Mallo de Lisle, a fortreffe of great importance. Where went ouer with him the earles of Buckingham, Warwick, Stafford, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie, the which made their approaches, and fiercelie assailed the towne, but it was so valiantlie defended, that in the

end, the duke with his armie fallen from thence, and returned without atchiuing his purpose. ¶ About the same time; there was a notable and bairous murder committed within saint Peters church at Westminster, by occasion of variance betwene the lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers on the one partie, and two esquiers, the one called Robert Hall and the other John Shakell on the other partie, about a prisoner which was taken at the battell of Magers in Spaine, called the earle of Deane, who (as some write) was taken by one sir Franke de Hall at the said battell; and because he remained in his hands at the death of the said sir Franke, he bequeathed him vnto his sonne the said Robert Hall esquier.

But as other write, the said earle was taken by the said Robert Hall himselfe & John Shakell jointly, and iudged to be their lawfull prisoner, by the sentence of the prince of Wales, and sir John Chandois that was master to the said esquiers. Whereupon afterwards the said earle obtained so much fauor, that by leaving his sonne and heire in gage for his ransom, he returned into Spaine, to prouide monie to discharge it; but he was so slow in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life before he made any payment, and so his lands fell to his sonne that remained in gage for the monie with the two esquiers. Whereupon it happened afterwards, that the duke of Lancaster, desirous to haue the yong earle in his hands (in hope through his means the better to accomplish his enterprise which he meant to take in hand against the king of Castile, for the right of that kingdome) procured his nephue king Richard to require the said earle of Deane, at the hands of the said esquiers.

But they refused to deliuer him, keeping their prisoner forth of the waie, so that none wist where he was become: the esquiers therefore were committed to the tower, out of the which they escaped vnto Westminster, and there registred themselves for sanctuary men. The duke of Lancaster was herewith sore offended, and their enemies the said lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers took counsell together, with sir Alane Borhull and others, how they might be reuenged of this despite. This sir Alane Borhull was constable of the tower, and therefore it grieved him not a little, that the esquiers had broken from him, and kept themselves thus at Westminster, vnder protection of that privileged place. Whereupon it was concluded, that sir Rafe Ferrers, and the said Alane Borhull, taking with them certeine men in armour, to the number of fiftie persons, should go and fetch them by force from Westminster, vnto the tower againe.

The morrow therefore after saint Laurence daie, being the eleuenth of August, these two knights accompanied with certeine of the kings seruants and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the church at Westminster, whilist the said esquiers were there hearing of high masse, which was then in celebrating; and first laung hands vpon John Shakell, bled the matter so with him, that they drew him forth of the church, and led him straight to the tower. But when they came to Robert Hall, and fell in reasoning with him, he would not suffer them to come within his reach, and perceiving they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falchion or short sword which he had girt to him, and therewith laid so frælie about him, traueling twise round about the monks quier, that till they had beset him on eche side, they could do him no hurt.

Howbeit, at length when they had got him at that aduantage, one of them cloue his head to the verie braines, and an other thrust him through the bodie behind with a sword, and so they murdered him among them.

Cherbourg deliuered to the Englishmen.

Additions to Adam Merimouth.

The English name is overmatched and overcome by the Spanish fleet.

Rokeburgh burnt by the Scots.

Anno Reg. 2. The duke of Lancaster saileth into Britaine with a great power. Additions to Adam Merimouth.

Hall & Shakell

Polyd.

Thom. W.

parlement Gloucester.

The pope writeth to the king for aid.

How the castle was taken by the Scots.

How the castle was taken by the Scots.

them. They shew also oile of the monkes that would haue had them to haue saued the equiers life. And thus about this matter, for the breaking thus of the sanctuary, in somuch that the archbishop of Canturburie, and five other bishops his suffragans, openly pronounced all them that were present at this murder accursed, and likewise all such as aided or counselled them to it, chieflie and namele sir Alan de Borsall, and sir Raife Perreters; captains and leaders of them. The king, the queene, and the duke of Lancaster were yet excepted by speciall names. The bishop of London a long time after, euerie sūdate, wednesday, and friday, pronounced this excommunication in the church of S. Paule at London.

The duke of Lancaster (though excepted in the same) yet in behalfe of his friends was not a little offended with the bishops doings, in so much that in a counsell holden at Windsor (to the which the bishop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet cease the pronouncing of the curse, albeit the king had requested him by his letters) the duke said openly, that the bishops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (saith he) if the king would command me, I would gladlie go to London, and fetch that disobedient prelat, in despite of those ribaulds (for so he termed them) the Londoners. These words procured the duke much enill will, as well of the Londoners, as of other: for it was commonlie said, that whatsoever had bene done at Westminster, concerning the murder there committed in the church, was done by his commandement.

A parliament
at Gloucester.

About the feast of S. Luke, a parlement was holden at Gloucester, for the displeasure (as was thought) which some of the counsell had conceived against the Londoners, or rather (as some take it) for feare of them, least if any thing were done contrarie to their minds, they should be about to hinder it, if the parlement had bene kept nere them: for manie things (as some iudged) were meant to haue bene put forth and concluded in this parlement, albeit few in effect came to passe of those matters that were surmised, sauing that it was enacted, that the king should haue a marke of the merchants for euerie sacke of their woolles, for this present yeare; and for euerie pounds worth of wares that was brought in from beyond the seas, and here sold, six pence of the butlers. Also, certeine priuileges were granted in this parlement to merchant-strangers, that they might buy and sell in grosse, or by retails within this realme, as in the printed booke of statutes it appeareth.

The pope
sendeth to the
king for aid.

Sir Robert
Kousa was
captaine by
the Scots.

This yeare came messengers from the new elected pope Urbane, with letters to require the kings assistance and aid against such cardinals as he named schismatikes, that had elected an other pope whome they named Clement, which cardinals sent likewise their messengers with letters, to beseech the king to aid them with his fauourable assistance: but through perswasion of the archbishop of Canturburie, Urbans request was granted, and Clements rejected. About the same time, to wit, on thursdaie before the feast of S. Andrew the apostle, the Scots by stealth entered by night into the castell of Berwik, and slue sir Robert Bointon, a right valiant knight, that was constable thereof, permitting his wife, children, and seruants to depart, with condition, that within three weekes next ensuing, they should either paie them three thousand marks, or else yeld their bodies againe to prison.

The morrow after, the same Scots fetched a great bottie of cattell out of the countries next adioining, but immediatlie after the earle of Northumberland being aduertised hereof, hasted thither with foure hundred armed men, and assauleing the castell on each side, after two houres defense, wan it, slaying of the

defendants about eight and fortie, reseruing onelie one of the whole number alive, that he might informe the Englishmen the thought of the Scottismens purposes. At this enterprise was the earle of Northumberland eldest sonne, spreading there first his banner, and doing so valiantlie, that he deserved singular commendation; as likewise did sir Alan de Beton, and sir Thomas de Alderton, with those of the surname of the Berons, euerie of these hauing their quarters assigned to assault. Thus was the castell recovered the ninth daie after the Scots had entered the same, so that they enioied not long that victorious exploit.

And because this enterprise was taken in hand against the covenant of the truce, the earle of Northumberland, before he attempted to recover the castell, sent to the earle of March in Scotland, to understand if he would auow that which his countrymen had done, touching the winning of that castell, who sent him knowledge againe, that he neither understood of their enterprise, nor would be partaker with them therein: but if it so pleased the earle of Northumberland, he would come himselfe, and helpe to recover it to the R. of Englands use, out of those Scottismens hands, which without publike authoritie had made that exploit. This yeare, sir Robert Kous, capteine of Chierburg, was called home, after he had taken sir Oliuer de Clifton, and atchued manie other worthie aduentures against the kings enemies. In his place was sent sir John Herleson, to remaine upon the gard of that castell. Also, sir Hugh Caluerlie, depute of Calis, that had so valiantlie bozne himselfe against the Frenchmen, was likewise discharged; and comming home, was made admerall, being ioined in commission in that office with sir Thomas Percie.

Sir Robert
Kous a valiant
capteine.

1370

Sir William Montacute earle of Salisbury was sent ouer to Calis, to be the kings lieutenant there, who shortly after his comming thither fetched a great bottie of cattell out of the enemies countrie adioining, so that Calis was furnished with no small number of the same. Sir Hugh Caluerlie, and sir Thomas Percie, going to sea, toke seauen ships laden with merchandise, and one ship of warre. The archbishop of Castile in Ireland, returning from Rome, brought with him large authoritie of binding and loosing, granted to him by pope Urbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London, in a sermon which he preached, he declared to the people, how the French king, holding with the antipape Clement, was denounced accursed; and therefore now was the time for Englishmen to make warre in France, hauing such occasion, as greater could not be offered; speciallie, sith it was like that the excommunicated king should haue no courage to make resistance. This is I will not saie the diuinitie (for what heauenlinesse can there be in such damnable doctrine, to set people together by the eares?) of the Romanists; so farre off are they from the studie of peace and concord betwixt man and man, that they set whole monarchies and empires vp to the mid leg in streams of blood, imitating their great grandfather sathan, who hath bene a makebate and a murderer from the beginning: renouncing the softsteps of Christ with open mouth, and forswearing to follow him either in demeanour or doctrine, and therefore;

*Quis nisi mentis inops, ut sanctum tale probabit?
Hecine mens Christi? Talia nulla docet.*

In a parlement holden at Westminster this yeare after Easter, it was ordeined, that the priuileges and immunities of the abbey of Westminster should remaine whole and inuiolate; but yet there was a proviso against those that toke sanctuary, with purpose to defraud their creditors, that their

The sanctua-
rie at West-
minster con-
firmed by
parlement.

lands

A subsidie to be paid by the great men, & the commons go for.

lands & goods shuld be answerable to the discharging of their debts. In the same parlement was granted to the king a subsidie, to be leyed of the great men of the land. To the end the commons might be spared, the dukes of Lancaster and Britaine paid shewentie markes, euery earle six markes, bishops and abbats with miters as much, and euery monke three shillings foure pence: also, euery iustice, shiriffe, knight, esquier, parson, vicar, and chapleine, were charged after a certeine rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laitie.

Anno Reg. 3.
A notable exploit done by sir John Harleston.

We haue heard how sir John Harleston was sent to Chierburg as capteine of that fortreffe, who issuing abroad on a day, with such power as he might take forth, leaving the fortreffe furnished, came to a place, where within a church and in a mill, the Frenchmen had laid up, as in storehouses, a great quantitie of vittells, for prouision; which church and mill the Englishmen assaulted so ballantlie, that notwithstanding there were within a good number of the enemies, that did their best to defend themselves, yet at length they were taken, and sir John Harleston with his companie, returned with the vittells towards Chierburg, but by the way they were incountried by one sir William de Bourdes, whome the French king had appointed to lie in Mountburg with a strong power of men of war, to countergarison Chierburg.

Whereupon ensued a fore conflict, and manie an hardie man was beaten to the ground. And although it seemed that the Englishmen were ouermatched in number, yet they stucke to it manfully. Their capteine sir John Harleston, fighting in the foremost presse, was killed, and laie on the ground at his enemies feet in great hazard of death. The Englishmen neuertheless continued their fight, till at length sir Geoffrie Morsie, with a wing of armed footmen with axes, came to the rescue (so) to that end he was left behind, of purpose to come to their aid if need required) with whose comming the Frenchmen were so hardlie handled, that to conclude, they were broken in sunder, beaten downe and wholie vanquished: there were of them slaine about six score, and as manie taken prisoners, among which number was their chiefe capteine sir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg with the residue, and there put in safe keeping. This exploit was atchieued by the Englishmen, on saint Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of king Richard his reigne.

Sir John Clarke a valiant capteine.

But least any ioy should come to the English people in that season, without some mixture of griefe, one sir J. Clarke a right balliant knight, & fellow in armes with sir Hugh Caluerlie, chanced this yeare to lie in garrison in a castell in Britaine, where was an haven, & diuers English ships lieng in the same, whereof the French gallies being aduertised, came thither, to set those ships on fire, appointing one of their gallies first to attempt the feat, and if fortune so would, to traine the Englishmen forth, till they should fall into the laps of foure other gallies which they laid as it had bene in ambush. Now as the enemies wished so it came to passe, for the Englishmen perceiuing their vessels in danger to be burnt of the enemies, ran euerie man aboard to saue the ships and goods within them; and amongst the rest, sir John Clarke their capteine, meaning to take such part as his men did, got aboard also, and freight falling in pursute of the gallee that withdrew for the purpose aforesaid, the Englishmen were shortly inclosed with the other gallies before they were aware, not knowing what shift to make to auoid the present danger.

Sir John Clarke, perceiuing how the case stood, laid about him like a giant, causing his companie still to draw backe againe, whilst he resisting the enemies, did shew such proofe of his balliance, that they

were much astonished thereat. To be short, he so manfully behaved himselfe, that the most part of his companie had time to recover land; but when he that had thus preserved others, shuld leape forth of the ship to saue himselfe, he was stricken in the thigh with an arrow, that downe he fell, and so came into the enemies hands, being not able to recover that hurt, for his thigh was almost quite cut off from the bodie, so that he died of that and other hurts presentlie, leaving a remembrance behind him of manie worthie and through his balliance atchieued, to his high praise and great commendation. The barke of Morke was also lost the same time, being a proper vessel, and now taken suddenlie, sanke with all that were aboard in hir, both Englishmen, and the enemies also that were entered into hir, thinking to carrie hir auaie.

About the same time the duke of Britaine returning into his countrie, vnder the conduct of sir Thomas Percie and sir Hugh Caluerlie, landed at a haven not far from saint Malo, the fourth day of August, being receiued with unspeakable ioy of the Britaines, as well lords as commons, so that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the king of England had caused his subjects, in fauor of France, to keepe him manie yeares forth of his dukedome as a banished prince, but at length, they being overcome with irkesomnesse of his long absence, with generall consents sent for him home, so that there were but few of the British nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and those were onlie such as firmerlie linked in seruice with the French king, were loth to forgoe such romes and dignities as vnder him they inioied; namelie, the constable of France, sir Berthram de Cleauin, the lord Clifton, the lord de Rothen, and the lord Rochfort, and certeine others.

The lord de la Mall amongst other, came to him (as we find in Thomas Walsingham) offering him his seruice as well as the residue. At his landing, he was likelie to haue lost all such furniture, as well of vittells, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or his traine had brought with them. For the French gallies espieng their time, immediately as he and his companie were set on land, before the ships in which the said furniture was fraught, could enter the haven, which was somewhat freight and narrow, came vpon them, and had them at such advantage, that if sir Hugh Caluerlie with his archers had not caused the master of his ship, to uen against his will to returne againe to the rescue, the gallies had taken and gone auaie with the other ships; but through the manfull prowes of sir Hugh, the gallies were repelled, & the ships saued: for according to his wonted balliance he would not returne, till he saw all other in safetie, & then defending himselfe so well as he might, withdrew into the haven, and landed safelie with the residue.

About the same time was an heinous murder committed in London, of a merchant Genowes, whom certeine English merchants vpon spite and enuie, which they bare towards him, caused to be slaine one euening in the street before his owne gates. The cause that moued the merchants so to procure his death was, for that he undertooke to furnish this land, hauing the staple allowed him at Southhampton, of all such wares as came forth of Leuant, so plentifully as was to be had in any place in all the west parts of chrestendome. In the summer of this yeare, a greuous mortalitie afflicted the north parts of this land, so that the countrie became almost desolate. And to the increase of that miserie, the Scots thinking the time to serue their turne, invaded the borders, and most cruelly harried, robbed, and spoiled the

The barke of Morke was taken suddenly.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

notable exploit of a valiant prince.

An heinous murder of a merchant.

Great need in the north countie.

Great need by the Scots in the west.

The English were scattered by a cruel stamp.

the same, not letting passe any part, of most cruell murdering of the people that were left alive; and not made abate by that soze contagious sicknesse. The number of cattell was infinite which they droue out of the land with them, not sparing herds of swine which they toke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of cattell before that present.

Before the Scots made this iournie into Eng-
land, whilest the mortalitie was most in force, they calling to certeine of the English borderers, asked of them how it came to passe, that so great a death reigned amongst them. The Englishmen, as good, plaine, and simple meaning men, told them, that trulle they knew not the cause, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in such behalfe. But one thing they knew, that all calamitie, death, and aduersitie that chanced vnto them, came by the speciall grace of God, to the end that being punished for their sinnes, they might learne to repent and amend their wicked liues. The Scots hearing this, when they should enter this land, understanding lewdlie that the Englishmen had told them concerning the disease, and the grace of God, deuised a blessing forsooth to be said euerie morning, of the most ancient person in euerie familie, as; *Benedicite*, said he: *Dominus*, said the residue. When began he againe, saying; God and saint spango, saint Romane and saint Andro, sheld vs this daie fra Gods grace, and the fewle death that Englishmen dien vpon. Thus the senselesse men misconstruing this word the grace of God, praied for their owne destruction, which if not in this world, yet for their brutish crueltie vled at that present, against the miserable creatures, whom the hand of God had spared in time of that greuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, least in another world it came to them, as the verie words of their praiers imposed.

About the same time, John Schakell esquier was set at libertie, the king compounded with him for his prisoner, giving fise hundred marks in redie monie, and lands to the value of a hundred marks by peare. When he should bring forth his prisoner, and deliuer him to the king, this is to be noted, as a thing verie strange and wonderfull. For when he should appeare, it was knowne to be the verie grome that had serued him in all the time of his trouble, and would neuer vtter himselfe that he was before that time, hauing serued him as an hired seruant all that while in prison, and out of prison, in danger of life, when his other master was murdered, where, if he would haue vttered himselfe, he might haue bene entertained in such honorable state, as for a prisoner of his degree had bene requisit, so that the faithfull loue and assured confidence in this noble gentleman was highlie commended and praised, and no lesse marvelled at of all men.

About the feast of S. Nicholas, in this third yeare of king Richards reigne, there went to sea an armie of men, that should haue passed ouer into Britaine, to the aid of the duke there, vnder the conduct of sir John Arundell, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Thomas Percie, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Mowbray, sir Thomas Banester, & manie other knights and esquires, so long to rehearse, a sufficient powder vndoubtedlie to haue done a great enterprise: but they were no soner on the sea, but suddenlie there arose such an hideous tempest of wind and stormes, that they looked presentlie to be all cast awaie, they were scatterred here and there, and driuen they wist not whither. The ship wherein sir John Arundell was aboard, chanced to be cast on the coast of Ireland, and there driuen to soake his ship, that was ready to be broken in peeces by rage of waues, beating it there against the rocks: he was drowned before he could

win to land, in an Ile, nere to the which they had thrust in the ship.

To the like end came sir Thomas Banester, sir Nicholas Trumpington, and sir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt forth of the ship: also one Musard an esquire, a most semelie personage and a bold; and an other esquier named Weni-oke, being almost out of danger, were fetched awaie by the surges of the sea, and so perished, with manie other. Robert Rust a cunning seaman, belonging to Blackie in Dorsetholke, & maister of the ship where in sir John Arundell was imbarked, was the first that got to land, giuing example to others how to shift for themselves. But when he saw his cheefe captaine, the said sir John Arundell got forth to the lands, and as one thinking himselfe past all danger, to shake his wet garments about him; the said Rust waileing the dangerous state wherein the said sir John Arundell yet stood, came downe, and raught to him his hand, inforcing himselfe to plucke him to the shore: but whilest he toke care for an other mans safetie, and neglected his owne, he lost his life, and so they both perished together; for through a mightie billow of the raging seas, they were both ouerthrowne, and with returning of the waues backe, drowne into the deepe, so that they could neuer recover foot-hold againe, but were drowned.

The said Rust was much lamented, because he was not onelie knowne to be a skilfull maister, but also counselled the said sir John Arundell in no wise to go to sea, at what time he would needs set forward, forking the said Rust and the mariners to hoist vp sailes and make awaie. They that escaped to land in that Ile, found nothing there to releue their miseries, but bare ground, so that diuerse starued through cold, wanting fier and other succour: the residue that were lustie and wise withall, ran vp and downe, and sometime wrestling, and otherwise chasing themselves, remained there in great miserie, from the thursdaie, till sundaie at none next insuing. At what time, when the sea was appeased and waen calme, the Irishmen that dwelled ouer against this Ile on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and releued them the best they could, being almost dead, through trauell, hunger, and cold.

The said sir John Arundell lost not onelie his life, but all his furniture and apparell for his bodie, which was verie sumptuous, so that it was thought to surmount the apparell of any king. For he had two and fiftie new sutes of apparell of cloth of gold or tisse, as was reported, all the which, together with his horses & geldings, amounting to the value of ten thousand marks, was lost at the sea. And besides this, there were lost at the same time fise and twentie ships, with men, horses, and other riches, which attended him in that voyage. Yet sir Thomas Percie, and sir Hugh Caluerlie, with sir William Elmham, and certeine others escaped, but cruellie tormented with vnmerrifull tempest: and before sir Thomas Percie could get to land, after the sea was quieted, he was assaulted by a Spaniard, against whome he so defended himselfe, that in the end he toke the Spanissh vessel, and brought hir, with all that he found aboard in hir, vnto the next shore, and sold the same for an hundred pounds, and without long delate, toke the sea, & passed ouer to Wexell, of which fortresse he was captaine, iointlie with sir Hugh Caluerlie, and therefore doubting least some inconuenience might chance thereto now in both their absence, he made the more hast, not taking rest till he came thither, notwithstanding his passed painefull trauels. Sir Hugh Caluerlie was neuer in his life in more danger of death, than at that time: for all that were in his ship (as Froissard writeth) were drowned, except

The excessive and sumptuous apparell of sir John Arundell.

There were drowned above a thousand men in one place and other, as the additions to Ad. Merimuch do testifie.

e Duke of
lancaster
to his
adome,

r Hugh
merit.

A notable ex-
ample of a
faithfull pri-
soner.

hainous
the ch
chant
ngert.

at death
be most
sire.
at spole
be shod
be death

The English
maie scatter-
ed by a terri-
ble tempest.

Outragious
wickedness
in this pun-
ishd.

cept himselfe & seauen mariners. We find, that there were drowned in one place & other, about a thousand Englishmen in that most unluckie voyage. ¶ Some writers impute this calamitie to light on the said sir John Arundell & his companie, for the lascivious and filthy rule which they kept before their setting forth, in places where they laie, till their prouision was ready; who not content with that which they did before they took ship, in rauishing mens wiues, maids and daughters, they caried them aboard, that they might haue the vse of them whilst they were vpon the sea,

*(Sena libido firens, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quidue tuo non est violabile telos?)*

and yet when the tempest rose, like cruell and vniuersall persons they threw them into the sea, either for that they would not be troubled with their lamentable noise and crying, or for that they thought so long as they had such women aboard with them (whome they had abused so long) God would not cease the rage of the tempest. But it should appeare that this tempest was generall, for where the Spanish and French fleets were abroad at the same time, being assembled together to annoie the coasts of this land, their ships were likewise tossed and turmoiled, so as no small number of them were lost, in so much that the damage which they sustained, was thought far to passe that which hapned to the English naue.

1380

Sir John
Deuereux
made deputie
of Calis.

In this yeare about Christmasse, sir William de Spontacut earle of Salisbury, after he had remanent twelue moneths space at Calis, the kings lieutenant there was called home, & sir John Deuereux a right valiant knight, and an old man of warre, was sent thither in his place. ¶ Also, sir John Harleston was called home from Chierburg, and sir William Windeshore a noble knight was sent thither to be capteine of that fortreffe. ¶ After the Epiphanie, was a parlement called at London, which continued till the beginning of the kalendes of March. ¶ Also there as the yeare before there had bene certeine bishops, earles, barons, and iustices appointed, to haue the gouernement and rule about the king; now at the request of the lords and commons in this parlement assembled; the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick was chosen to remaine continually with the king, as chiefe gouernour, both of his person, and to giue answer to all strangers that should come hither about any businesse whatsoever, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of those that were chosen thereto before: it was perceiued that they had sought to enrich themselves, & had done little to the aduancement of the kings honor, or state of the common-wealth, but rather emptied the kings coffers.

The archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie made
lord chancel-
lor.

In this parlement also, the lord Richard Scrope gaue ouer the office of chancelor, and Simon Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie toke it vpon him. ¶ In this parlement was granted a tenth by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the laitie, with condition that from henceforth, to wit, from the kalends of March, to the feast of S. Michaele, which then should be in the yeare 1381, there should be no more parlements, but this condition was not performed, as after appeared. In the octaues of Easter, the lord Waleran earle of saint Paule married the kings halfe sister, the ladie Jone de Courtne: the solemnization of this marriage was holden at Windesore, with great triumphing. ¶ The princeesse that was mother to the hyde, was greatlie against the marriage, but the hyde hir selfe had such a liking to the earle, that the king was contented that they should marry together, and set him free of his ransom which he should haue paid, for that he had bene taken prisoner in the marches of Calis, and further, gaue with his sister by waie of endowment, the towneship and manour

The kings
halfe sister
married the
earle of saint
Paule.

of Bielest.

On the seventh of June, a combat was fought afore the kings palace at Westminster, on the pavement there, betwixt one sir John Annelie knight, and one Thomas Battrington esquier: the occasion of which strange and notable triall rose herof. The knight accused the esquier of treason, for that where the fortreffe of saint Sauour within the Ile of Constance in Normande, belonging some time to sir John Chandois, had bene committed to the said Battrington, as capteine thereof, to keepe it against the enemies, he had for money sold and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was sufficientlie prouided of men, munition and vittels, to haue defended it against them; and fifth the inheritance of that fortreffe and landes belonging thereto, had apperteined to the said Annelie in right of his wife, as neereff couline by affinitie vnto sir John Chandois, if by the false conueiance of the said Battrington, it had not bene made awaie, and alienated into the enemies hands: he offered therefore to trie the quarrell by combat, against the said Battrington, whereupon was the same Battrington apprehended, and put in prison, but shortly after set at libertie againe.

Whilst the duke of Lancaster, during the time that his father king Edward late in his last sickness, did in all things what liked him, & so at the contemplation of the lord Latimer (as was thought) he released Battrington for the time, so that sir John Annelie could not come to the effect of his sute in all the meane time, till now. Such as feared to be charged with the like offenses staied the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and ancient knights it was defined, that for such a foren controuersie that had not risen within the limits of the realme, but touched possession of things on the further side the sea, it was lawfull to haue it tried by battell, if the cause were first notified to the constable and marshall of the realme, and that the combat was accepted by the parties. Whereupon was the day and place appointed, and all things prouided ready, with lists railed and made so substantiallie, as if the same should haue endured for euer. The concourse of people that came to London to see this tried, was thought to exceed that of the kings coronation, so desirous men were to behold a sight so strange and vnaccustomed.

The king, his nobles, and all the people being come together in the morning of the daie appointed, to the place where the lists were set by, the knight being armed and mounted on a faire courser (himselfe trapped, entered first as appellant, staing till his aduersarie the defendant should come. And shortly after was the esquier called to defend his cause in this forme: Thomas Battrington defendant, come and appeare to saue the action, for which sir John Annelie knight and appellant hath publikelie and by writing appealed thee. He being thus called thise by an herald at armes, at the third call did come armed likewise; and riding on a courser trapped with traps imbodered with his armes, at his approaching to the lists he alighted from his horse, lest according to the law of armes the constable should haue challenged the horse if he had entered within the lists. But his shifting nothing auailed him, for the horse after his maister was alighted beside him, ran vp & downe by the railes, now thrusting his head ouer, and now both head & breast, so that the earle of Warwick, because he was high constable of England, claimed the horse afterwards, swearing that he would haue so much of him as had appeared ouer the railes, and so the horse was adiudged vnto him.

But now to the matter of the combat (for this challenge of the horse was made after, as soon as the esquier was come within the lists) the indenture was

Triall by
battell in
this cause

The esquire
ouer-
come.

The esquire
the combat

The esquire
the combat

was brought forth by the marshall and constable, which had bene made and sealed before them, with consent of the parties, in which were contained the articles exhibited by the knight against the esquier, and there the same was read before all the assemble. The esquier (whose conscience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, and therefore seemed full of troublesome and grudging passions, as an offender already convinced, thought (as full well he might)

Multa misere timeo, quia feci multa proterue

went about to make exceptions, that his cause by some means might have seemed the sounder. But the duke of Lancaster hearing him so state at the matter, swore, that except according to the conditions of the combat, and the law of armes, he would admit all things in the indentures comprised, that were not made without his owne consent, he should as guiltie of the treason forthwith be had forth to execution. The duke with those words tooke great commendation, and avoided no small suspicion that had bene conceived of him as parcial in the esquiers cause. The esquier hearing this, said, that he durst fight with the knight, not onelie in those points, but in all other in the world whatsoever the same might be: for he trusted more to his strength of bodie, and fauour of his friends, than to the cause which he had taken upon him to defend. He was in deed a mightie man of stature, where the knight among those that were of a meane stature was one of the least. Friends to the esquier, in whom he had great affiance to be bozne out through their assistance, were the lordes Latimer and Basset, with others.

Before they entered battell, they toke an oth, as well the knight as the esquier, that the cause in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witchcraft, no art magike, whereby they might obtaine the victorie of their aduersarie, no; had about them any herbe or stone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians vse to triumph ouer their enemies. This oth receiued of either of them, and therefore having made their prayers deuoutlie, they began the battell, first with speares, after with swords, and lastlie with daggers. They fought long, till finally the knight had bereft the esquier of all his weapons, and at length the esquier was manfullie overthrown by the knight. But as the knight would haue fallen upon the esquier, through sweat that ran downe by his helmet his sight was hindered, so that thinking to fall upon the esquier, he fell downe stoeling himselfe, not coming nere to the esquier, who perceiving what had hapened, although he was almost overcome with long fighting, made to the knight, and threw himselfe upon him, so that manie thought the knight should haue bene overcome: other doubted not but that the knight would recover his feet againe, and get the victorie of his aduersarie.

The king in the meane time caused it to be proclaimed that they should staie, and that the knight should be raised vp from the ground, and so meant to take up the matter betwixt them. To be short, such were sent as should take up the esquier; but coming to the knight, he besought them, that if might please the king to permit them to lie still, for he thanked God he was well, and mistrusted not to obtaine the victorie, if the esquier might be laid upon him, in manner as he was earst. Finally, when it would not be so granted, he was contented to be raised up, and was no sooner set on his feet, but he cheerfullie went to the king, without anie mans helpe, where the esquier could neither stand nor go without the helpe of two men to hold him up, and therefore was set in his chaire to take his ease, to see if he might recover his strength.

The knight at his coming before the king, be-

fought him & his nobles, to grant him so much, that he might be effones laid on the ground as before, and the esquier to be laid aloft upon him: for the knight perceiued that the esquire through excessive heat, and the weight of his armour, did maruellouslie faint, so as his spirits were in manner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceiving the knight so couragiously to demand to trie the battell forth to the uttermost, offering great summes of monie, that so it might be done, decreed that they should be restored againe to the same plight in which they laie when they were raised up: but in the meane time the esquire fainting, and falling downe in a swoone, fell out of his chaire, as one that was like to yeld by his last breath presentlie among them. Those that stood about him cast wine and water upon him, seeking so to bring him againe, but all would not serue, till they had plucked off his armour, & his whole apparell, which thing proued the knight to be vanquisher, and the esquier to be vanquished.

After a little time the esquier began to come to himselfe, and lifting up his eyes, began to hold up his head; and to cast a ghoslie loke on euerie one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no piece since the beginning of the fight) and speaking to him, called him traitor, and false perjured man, asking of him if he durst trie the battell with him againe: but the esquier hauing neither sense nor spirit whereby to make answer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euerie one might go to his lodging. The esquier immediately after he was brought to his lodging, and laid in bed, began to war raging wood, and so continuing still out of his wits, about nine of the clocke the next day he yelded up the ghost. ¶ This combat was fought (as before ye haue heard) the seventh of June to the great reioicing of the common people, and discouragement of traitours.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Oliver de Clisson, with a number of ships and gallies of France and Spaine, toke the sea, and coming on the coast of England, landed in diuerse places of the west countrie, and also in the south parts, spoiling and burning sundrie towne, taking such ships and vessels as they might laie hold upon, and so continued to indamage the English people that inhabited nere to the sea side, all that summer following. ¶ In the beginning of the fourth yeare of this king, Thomas of Woodstocke earle of Buckingham, vncle to the king, with an armie of seauen or eight thousand men of armes and archers, was sent ouer to Calis, that he might invade France, and passe through the same to come into Britaine unto the aid of the duke there. ¶ You haue heard how the French king had seized into his hands the more part of the duchie of Britaine, because that the duke had joined himselfe in league with the king of England: but yet there were diuerse of the good towne, and also manie of the barons and nobles of the countrie which kept themselves as neuters a long season; but at length, longing to see the returne of their naturall lord and duke, sent for him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to see to the quieting of the troubled state of his countrie.

The duke being thus earnestlie desired to returne home, by the aduise of the king of England and his counsell, granted to their request that had so instantlie required him, both by letters and messengers: whereupon he toke the sea, and sailing forth, arrived in Britaine, hauing with him sir Robert Knolles, and a certeine number of Englishmen both armed men and archers (as before ye haue heard.) The king also promised to send him a great

The esquier fainteth.

The knight is iudged the vanquisher.

The French men spoile a burne diuerse towne in the west countre.

Anno Reg. 4.

Froissard. The earle of Buckingham sent into Britaine to aid the duke against the French king.

supplie verie shortlie, which was not forgotten. But fortune was so contrarie, that sir John Arundell general of those that were sent, and manie of his companie, were drownded by force of tempest, and the other driven backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the duke of Britaine with aid of his subiects, did manfully defend his townes and countrie against the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppressed by the great puissance of the Frenchmen, if aid came not the sooner. Which being signified ouer into England, moued the king and his counsell to appoint the earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this boiage. He landed at Calis thre daies before the feast of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the earls of Staffoꝝd and Deuonshire, the lord Spenser constable of the host, the lord Fitz Walter marshall, the lord Basset, the lord Darcie, sir William Windsoꝝe, the lord Poole, the lord Darcie, sir William Windsoꝝe, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Hugh de la Sente, sir Thomas Percie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Hugh Tirell, sir William Farrington; sir John and sir Nicholas Daubizicourt, Thomas Camois, Rafe Beuill sonne to the lord Beuill, sir Henrie bastard Ferrers, sir Hugh Broe, sir Gervise Mourlie, sir William Clinton, sir Iuan Fitz Warren, and diuerse other. After they had rested them at Calis two daies, they remoued the third day out of the towne, and came to Parquaignes, where they remained thre daies, till all their companie, cariages, and prouisions were come to them out of Calis: from thence they remoued and came before Arde, where the earle of Buckingham made knights these that follow: the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Poole, the son of the lord Fitz Walter, sir Roger Strange, sir John Ipe, sir John Colle, sir James Tirell, sir Thomas Hamston, sir John Beuill, and sir Thomas Ros or Kollie, as some copies haue. These persons were made knights, because they went in the vaward, which was sent to win a strong house called Jollant, which the owner had fortified against them. But though he defended himselfe manfully for a time, yet in the end both he and all his companie were taken prisoners.

After this the duke passed by saint Omers, theuing himselfe (about a mile off) with his host in order of battell aloft vpon a mountaine. Some of the Englishmen rode to the barriers, requiring that some of them within would come forth and breake stanes with them, but they could not be answered. The same day that the Englishmen thus came before S. Omers, the earle of Buckingham made againe new knights, as sir Rafe Beuill, sir Bartholomew Bourchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Cobbet, sir Thomas Dangleure, sir Rafe Detipas, sir Helwes saint Albine, and sir John Hauilie or rather Hauilet. These Englishmen rode through the countrie, demanding iustis and daeds of armes, but they could not be answered. In deed the townes of the frontiers were well replenished and stuffed with men of war, and still were the Englishmen coasted, but they kept themselves so close together, without breaking their order, that their enemies could find them at none aduantage.

They passed by Cirtwine and by Bettwine, where they lodged one day. They made but easie iournies, and seemed to requite nothing but battell. They passed by Arras, by Miramont, and so to Clerie on the water of Some, and taried there thre daies, and in other places about in that countrie. The fourth day they dislodged, and dꝛe towards Cambꝛaie, and so to S. Quintines, & after vp towards Reimes. They found little riches, and small store of vittels abroad

in the countrie, for the French king had abandoned all to his men of warre, who either wasted or conuerted all things of any value into the fortresses and walled townes. The Englishmen therefore sent to them of Reimes, requiring to haue some vittels sent to the host, for the which they would spare the countrie from wasting: but they of Reimes would not consent hereunto. Wherevpon the Englishmen began to light them such candels, as their eyes within the citie asked to behold the same a far off.

Whereouer the Englishmen approached so nere to the walles and ditches of the citie, that they brought a waie twentie thousand head of cattell, which the citizens had gotten within the compasse of their ditches; and further sent to them within, that if they would not send bread and wine forth to vittell the host, in that behalfe they would burne all their coine: for doubt whereof, the citizens sent forth to the host six charets laden with as much bread and wine as they might carie. Thus was their coine saued from destruction, and the Englishmen by loss and easie iournies dꝛe towards the citie of Tꝛois, in the which was the duke of Burgognie, with the dukes of Bourbon and Bar, the earle of Cleue, the lord Coucie, sir John de Alien high admerall of France, and a great number of others of the French nobilitie. They had made a battise without the towne able to receive a thousand men of armes, but vpon the Englishmens approach to assault it, they did forsake that strength, and withdꝛe to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a baronet. Also there were certelie new knights made, as sir Peter Berton, sir John and sir Thomas Hauilie or Hauilet, sir John de Augulie, sir Thomas Doytingues, sir John Wastecroque, sir Thomas Bzatie, sir John Bzauin, sir Henrie Wernier, sir John Colenile, sir William Ceurat, sir Nicholas Stiugulie, and sir Hugh Lunit.

The English host perceluting the Frenchmen to withdꝛe into the towne, dꝛe together, and stood in order of battell for the space of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The next day they remoued to Paillerois le vicount nere unto Sens, and there they remained two daies, and after dꝛe into Castinois, and so into Beause. They were coasted all the waie by a great power of men of war, as many or more in number as they were themselves. But the French king being a politike prince, wiselie considered what losses the realme of France had suffered afore time, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and therefore was fullie resolved, that in no wise he would giue licence to his people to fight with the earle of Buckingham; but thought better (as he had learned by good experience) to keepe his townes close against his enemies, and so in the end to locarie them, than by giuing battell to put things in hazard, where as he knew they could not take from him his countries by this kind of warre, though they soe indamaged the same for a time.

There chanced manie small skirmishes amongst those that rode forth to discouer the countrie, but no notable incounter at all. For the Englishmen in those daies were cats not to be catched without mitens (as Iacob Meir in one place saith) & againe the Frenchmen were as warie how they aduentured to come nere them, peraduenture for feare, as in the reigne of king Edward the 3. as C. O. noteth, saleng,

*Contra aciem magnam tremebundo corde Paleus
In conspectu adiunctionis & vicina coegerat arma,
Non tamen Angligenas aduersum eist ausus aperto
Tendere Marte feru confugere fortiter armis.*

Whelie they sought how to inclose them by in the countrie, and to fauillish them, that they might then fight with them at some great aduantage; but still the English host passed forward, holding on their boiage

Knights made by the earle of Buckingham at his entrie into France.

Knights againe made.

The iournie of the English armie through France.

The death of Charles the French king

Tho. Wals

The French and Spanish allies cha from the ci of England to Kingdome of Ireland as there banished.

Diuerse houses on English coast destroyed at Arde.

The abbate Battell in Kingdome of France as he do fight.

Francis de Burgh

The English host entred into Britaine

An. Reg. 4.

volage towards Britaine by Wandoune, Pont No-
laine, and so ouer the riuer of Sartre. In this meane
while the French king Charles the first was taken
with a fore sicknesse, whereof he departed this life the
same daie that the English armie passed ouer the ri-
uer of Sartre, which was on the six and twentieth of
September, his brethren the dukes of Anjou, Ber-
rie, Bourbon, and Burgognie were at Paris with
him at the houre of his death, where as a little before
they had bene abroad in the countrie with their
powders, to defend the cities and towncs of impor-
tance against the Englishmen, and meant indeed (if
they could haue espied their aduantage, and gotten
licence thereto of the king) to haue giuen their eni-
mies battell. But now they were otherwise occupi-
ed: howbeit they had left their men abroad in the
countrie to coast the Englishmen as they had done
before. All the French power was assembled in the
cittie of Paris, vnder the leading of the duke of Bar,
the lord Coucie, and others.

Tho. Wall.

The French
and Spanish
gallies chased
from the coast
of England
to Kingale in
Ireland and
there ban-
quished.

Diverse
townes on the
English coasts
destroyed and
burnt.

The abbat of
Battell in re-
fusing win-
dellie was put
to flight.

Graveland
burnt.

The English
had entred
into Britaine

In this meane while that the earle of Bucking-
ham was passing through the realme of France, the
French and Spanish gallies did much mischief on
the coast of England: but about the latter end of
June, by a fleet of Englishmen of the west countries
part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour
in an haven in Ireland called Kingale, where being
assailed of the Englishmen and Irishmen, they were
banquished, so that to the number of foure hundred
of them were slaine, and their cheefe captaines taken,
as Consaluc de Verfe, and his brother John Martin
de Gortrigo, Turgo lord of Spozants; also the lord of
Keith, Piers Martin of Cermew, John Modit of
Cermew, the seneschall of Margarie, the seneschall of
S. Andrew, Cornelis of S. Sebastiano, Paschale de
Willeke, John Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebastia-
no, and diuerse other.

There were taken foure of their barges with a bal-
lenger, and one and twentieth English vessels recou-
red, which they had robbed and taken awaie from
their owners. There escaped yet foure of their notable
capteins fro the hands of our men, Martin Grantz,
John Piers Pantago, John Pulce Citario, and
one Garcias of S. Sebastiano, so that the malice
of those robbers ceased not. For they with the French
gallies still lieng on the seas, when they espied anie
aduantage, would land their people, and do what mis-
chiefe they could, in taking preies, and burning
townes and villages, although now and then they
came thort to their vessels againe, losing sometimes
an hundred, sometimes fourescore that were over-
taken by the Englishmen that came forth against
them. But among other inuasions which they made
this summer on the coasts, we find that they burnt the
towne of Winchelfe, & put the abbat of Battell to
flight with his people, comming to succor that town
and take one of his monks that was there in armor
with the abbat. Some write also, that they burnt
Kie, Hastings, and Portsmouth. Finally, their bold-
nesse so farre increased, that in August they entring
with their gallies into the riuer of Thames, came by
to Grauesend, where they burnt the most part of the
towne, and on the other side of the riuer, as well in
Essex as Kent, they burnt and spoiled diuerse places,
and with their prisoners and booties returned without
receiving anie hurt, bringing with them to France,
both rich spoiles and good prisoners.

But to returne to the earle of Buckingham where
he left. The English armie drew still towards Bri-
taine, but with so small doubt of their adueraries,
that they laie there or foure daies sometimes still in
one place. At their approaching to the marches of Bri-
taine, they came to Warric, a towne situate at the
first entring into that countrie, and from thence

went to Chateau Blant, and there rested, whither
came to them certaine knights sent from the duke of
Britaine, which signified to the erle of Buckingham
that the dukes meaning was. And by the death
of the French king, the dukes malice was greatlie
abated towards the Frenchmen, so that he had not
much passed if the Englishmen had bene at home
againe. Howouer, his towncs were not determined
to receiue the Englishmen, as enemies to the crowne
of France: so that he was in a perplexitie how to
order his businesse. At length, to shew himselfe a sted-
fast friend to the Englishmen, and one that was no
changeling, he determined by their support, to force
all those to allow the league which he had established
with the Englishmen, who had denied to beare ar-
mour against the crowne of France. And first, be-
cause they of Poants were the ringleaders of that
rebellious demeanour, he appointed first to besiege
their citie. They having knowledge thereof, sent into
France for aid.

The dukes of Anjou, Berrie, Burgognie, and
Bourbon, brethren to the late king, and uncle to his
sonne the yong king, having the gouernance of the
realme vnder him, sent six hundred speares with all
speed to strengthen them of Poants, which defended
the citie in such wise from the puissance of the Eng-
lishmen, who enuironed the same with a strong
siege, that in the end, because the duke came not to
them (according to his promise) the siege was raised
the morrow after. The yeres daie, two moneths
and foure daies after the same was first laid. The
duke of Britaine would gladlie haue come to the
siege of Poants, in strengthening of the English
host, but he could not perswade his lords to aid him
in anie such enterprise. And therefore now that the
earle of Buckingham had broken vp his siege, he
caused him to be lodged in the citie of Vannes, & his
men abroad in the countrie, some here, and some
there, acquitting himselfe as well towards them as
he might.

But suerlie the hearts of the Britains were won-
derfullie changed, and in no wise would consent to
haue anie warre with the Frenchmen, if anie rea-
sonable peace might be concluded. For manie that ha-
ted the father, bare good will and heartie lone to
wards the sonne, whose yong yeares and great to-
wardnesse allured the hearts of manie to wish him
well. Verbpone was meanes made for a peace, which
by the duke of Anjou his consent (who bare the grea-
test rule in France in that season) a finall accord was
made, betwixt the yong king and the duke of Bri-
taine, so that the duke should come and do his ho-
mage vnto the French king, and sweare to be true
and faithfull vnto him; also that he should rid the
Englishmen out of his countrie, and helpe them
with ships and vessels to transport them home into
England.

The earle of Buckingham, when he vnderstood
of this peace, was not a little displeased in his mind,
considering that the duke of Britaine had delt so vn-
justlie with him and his nephew the king of Eng-
land. But the duke still excused him by his subtleties,
as though if he had not thus agreed, he should haue
bene in danger to haue lost his heritage of that
countrie. Finally, the earle after he had ships prou-
ided for his passage, the eleuenth of Apill departed
out of Vannes, and came to the haven where his
ships laie, and so went abroad in like manner as other
of his men did from other hauens, and shortly after
(when the wind serued) took the sea, and returned into
England, soze displeased with the duke of Bri-
taine for his great vntruth and dissimulation (as he
toke it) notwithstanding all excuses to cloake the
matter by him alledged.

Poants besie-
ged by the
Englishmen.

The siege at
Poants bro-
ken by.

A peace be-
twixt the
French king
and the duke
of Britaine.

The articles
of the peace.

The earle of
Buckingham
returned into
England.

The Scots invade the English borders and spoile whole countries carrying away great booties.

An armie lingering in the north parts greatly impoverisheth the countrie.

Additions to Adam Merisuch.

Treason in letters writt by sir Rafe Ferrers to certeine French lords.

Whilest the Englishmen were thus occupied in warres against the Frenchmen (as before ye have heard) the Scots could not rest in quiet, but in revenge for a ship, which the townsmen of Newcastle and Hull had taken on the sea, knowing them to be pirates, determined to do what mischief they could unto the English borders: for the losse of that ship grieved them, because it was esteemed to be verie rich, the goods that were in it being valued at seven thousand marks. Whereupon the Scots entring by the west borders, invaded & spoiled the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, and coming into the forest of Inglewood, they took a waite with them such a number of beasts and cattell, that they were reckoned at fourtie thousand heads of one and other. Besides this, they cruellie slew all such as they could lay hands upon, and burnt up all the townes, villages, and houses as they passed: and not content herewith, they stalle upon the towne of Penrith, when the faire was kept there, slaing, taking, and chaling a waite the people, and after gathering together all the goods and riches there found, took it a waite with them, whereof there was such plenty as might have satisfied the covetous desire of a most greedie armie. They returned by Carlisle, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the countries adjoining, they durst not staie to make any attempt against that towne, but compassed their waie to escape with their booties home into their countrie, which they did, although they lost some of their companie as they passed by an ambushment of certeine archers of Westmerland and Cumberland, that were laid for them of purpose. When the earle of Northumberland would have gone forth to revenge those injuries done to the countrie by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his counsell, to forbear till the date of truce, at what time it might be knownen what was further to be done in the matter.

About Michaelmasse the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Warwick, and Stafford, with other lords and men of honoz, having with them a great power of souldiers and men of warre, went into the north parts, and coming to the borders, they laie there till they had consumed no small summes of monie, and indamaged the countrie as much as if the Scottish armie had invaded the same. The good they did, was, that after long treatie with the Scottish commissioners, a truce was agreed upon till Easter following, which being concluded, they returned home without any more ado. For the space of halfe a score yeares together now last past, the Englishmen euerie yeare had one or two such treaties with the Scots about the incursions and rodes which they yearelie made into the English borders, soe indamaging the inhabitants of those north parts of the realme, notwithstanding any truce or abstinence of warre that might be concluded.

Whilest the armie (as ye have heard) late stole in the north parts, there were certeine letters found by a poze man about London, who delivered them unto the worshipfull citizen John Whilpot, who calling unto him certeine other worshipfull citizens, opened one of them, in which was contained matter of high treason: and perceiving by the seale that it belonged unto sir Rafe Ferrers knight, one of the kings private counsell, delivered that letter with foure other letters closed with the same seale, first to the lord chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read and the seale knowne to be the said sir Rafe Ferrers his seale, manie greatlie marvelled that so ancient a knight, and one in whom so great trust was put, should go about any such treasons.

One of the letters was directed to sir Bertram de

Cleaguin, an other to the lord de la Riuere the chamberlaine of France, an other to the lord Clifton, and an other to the patron of the gallics, and to the capitaine of the armie of Frenchmen and Spaniards, which at the same time waisting alongst the coasts, did much hurt in diuerse places of the land. For with the said Whilpot and others were sent in post from the king to the duke of Lancaster, that for so much as the said sir Rafe Ferrers was then in the north parts with him, intreating with the Scots, he should arrest him and put him in safe keeping, which commandement the duke did accomplish, and committed him to be safely kept in the castell of Duresme, but shortly after in the next parlement he was set at libertie, foure barons being bound for his forth coming, till time that he might more evidently declare his innocencie.

About the feast of S. Martine, was a parlement holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, because in that season of the yeare they were constrained to come where there was no stoe of felwell to make them fiers: and beside that, lodgings were verie streit for so great a multitude. But the cause that moved the counsell to appoint this parlement there, was to the end that they might the more easily proceed to the triall of John Kirbie a citizen of London, that had murdered the Wenzis (as before ye have heard) which Kirbie was condemned at this parlement, and drawne and hanged in the sight of the Londoners that were come thither, which execution if it should have bene done at London, the lords doubted least some tumult might have bene raised by the citizens, who were reckoned in those daies verie rash and presumptuous in their doings.

But now to the effect of this parlement. There was a new and strange subbidde or taske granted to be levied for the kings vse, and towards the charges of this armie that went ouer into France with the earle of Buckingham; to wit, of euerie prest secular or regular six shillings eight pence, and as much of euerie nunne, and of euerie man & woman married or not married being 16 yeares of age (beggars certeinlie knowne onlie excepted) foure pence for euerie one. Great grudging & manie a bitter curse followed about the leuieng of this monie, & much mischief rose thereof, as after it appeared. ¶ In this fourth yeare of king Richards reigne, immediatlie after Christmasse, Thomas Beantingham bishop of Exeter and lord tresuroz, was discharged of his office of tresurozship, and sir Robert Hales lord of S. Johns was advanced in his place, a right noble and manlie knight, but not beloued of the commons.

About this time did John Wickliffe chieslie set forth his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar, denieng the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that it ought not in any wise to be worshipped in such sort as the church of Rome then did teach. ¶ There were ambassadoz sent into Germanie, to treat with the emperor for a marriage to be had, betwixt the king of England, and the emperours sister. About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the cardinall, intituled of saint Wared, and the duke of Arllis, and other nobles that came from the emperor, to treat with the king & his counsell about the same marriage. This cardinall, when he passed the bounds of his commission and authority to him granted by the pope (as some write) whether he was furnished with such facilities, he was verie liberrall in bestowing of them abroad on all such as would come with monie. Indulgences, which the pope had vnto onelie to reserve for himselfe to be sold, this man granted the same liberrallie, both biennials and triennials. He gave also letters comel

Parlement at Northampton.

John Kirbie executed by murdering a merchant stranger.

A new subbidde.

Twelve shillings as same was.

1381 Thom. Wal.

Wickliffe's opinion.

The cardinall of Arllis.

The commons reason of the great subbidde and other poppishnesses in diuerse parts of the realme.

Comel

An. Reg. 4.

All for monie.

tionall, to all those that would paie for them, admit-
ting aswell beneficed men as other, to be the popes
chapleins. He made notaries for monie, and denied
not altars portative to any that would pay for them.
He received forie pounds, besides other gifts, of
the monks of the Cisterciur order, to grant to them a
generall licence to eat fleshy indifferentlie, as well
abroad, as they had bene accustomed to do at home
within their monasteries. To those that were excom-
municate he gave absolution: those that had bowed
to go in pilgrimage to Rome, to the holie land, or to
saint James, he would not first release them, till he
had received so much monie, according to the true
valuation, as they should have spent in their toznes:
and to be byese, nothing could be asked, but for monie
he was ready to grant it. And when he was reques-
ted to they by what power he did all these things,
with great indignation he answered, that he would
let them understand at Rome, if they would needs
know the authoritie which he had. At length his males
were so filled with siluer, that his servants disdaind
to make them any answer, except they brought gold
saing: Bring vs gold, for we are full of your siluer.
But at his departure he toke all awaie with him,
both gold and siluer in such abundance as was mar-
vellous. This hath bene the practise of the Roma-
niss from time to time, wherevpon greiv this com-
mon byword (saying the polling and shauing shifts
of that execrable see, gaping gulfe, and insatiable sea)

Curia Romana non querit ouem sine lana.

But now to returne to other matters concerning
the state of the realme. After the returne of the earle
of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduise of the
councell, that the duke of Lancasser should effones
go as ambassadoz from king Richard into Scotland,
to see if he might renew the truce (which whortlie
would have bene expired) for thre yeres longer. Al-
so whereas there was variance and open war main-
teined, betwixt John king of Castile, and John king
of Portingale, the earle of Cambridge, the lord Will-
liam de Beauchampe, the lord Botreux, and sir Spat-
thelw Courne, were sent into Portingale with five
hundred armed men, and five hundred archers to aid
the king of Portingale against the king of Castile,
who was some to the bassard Henrie: for the duke of
Lancasser refused greatlie, that he might haue such
a friend as the king of Portingale, to soine with
him in aid against the king of Castile; meaning
(as some as oportunitie would serue) to go ouer
with an armie to chalenge his right, and pursue his
claime to the crowne of Castile and Leon, against
the usurper, in right of his wife quene Constance,
eldest daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whom
Henrie the bassard as before (ye haue heard) did still
persecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and
kingdome.

It was meant therefore that if the duke of Lan-
casser could compasse his purpose, for the which he
went at that time into Scotland, to the honour of
the king and realme, then should he shortly after fol-
low his brother of Cambridge with a great power,
to trie what chance God would send to him, against
his aduersarie the king of Castile. ¶ In the meane
time other incidents fell within the realme in the
fourth yere of king Richard, soe to the disquieting
of the same, and utter disappointing for that time of
the duke of Lancassers intent. The commons of the
realme soe repining, not onelie for the pole grotes
that were demanded of them, by reason of the grant
made in parliament (as ye haue heard) but also (as
some write) for that they were soe oppressed (as they
toke the matter by their land-lords, that demanded
of them their ancient customes and seruices, set on
by some diuelliish instint & persuation of their owne

beastlie intentions, as men not content with the
state whereinto they were called, rose in diuerse
parts of this realme, and assembled together in com-
panies, purposing to enforce the prince to make them
free, and to release them of all seruitude, where-
by they stood as bondmen to their lords and superi-
ours.

Where this rebellion of the commons first began,
diuerse haue written diuerslie. One authoz writeth,
that (as he learned by one that was not farre from
the place at that time) the first beginning should be
at WERTFORD in Kent: for when those pole shillings,
or rather (as other haue) pole grotes, were to be col-
lected, no small murmuring, cursling, and repining
among the common people rose about the same, and
the more indeed, through the lewd denimour of some
vndiscreet officers, that were assigned to the gathe-
ring thereof, inasmuch that one of those officers be-
ing appointed to gather by that monie in WERTFORD
aforesaid, came to the house of one John Tiler, that
had both seruants in his house, and a faire yong maid
to his daughter. The officer therefore demanding
monie for the said Tiler and for his wife, his ser-
uants, and daughter, the wife being at home, and
hir husband abroad at worke in the towne, made an-
swer that hir daughter was not of age, and there-
fore she denied to paie for hir.

Now here is to be noted, that this monie was in
common speech said to be due for all those that were
undergrowne, bicause that yong persons as well of
the man as of the womankind, comming to the age
of fouretene or fiftene yeaeres, haue commonlie
haire growning forth about those priue parts, which
for honesties sake nature hath taught vs to couer
and keepe secret. The officer therefore not satisfied
with the mothers excuse, said he would seele whether
hir daughter were of lawfull age or not, and there-
with began to misuse the maid, and search further
than honestie would haue permitted. The mother
streightwaies made an outcrie, so that hir husband
being in the towne at worke, and hearing of this a-
do at his house, came running home with his la-
thyng staffe in his hand, and began to question with
the officer, asking who made him so bold to keepe such
a rule in his house: the officer being somewhat pre-
sumptuous, and highminded, would forthwith haue
flowne vpon this Tiler; but J. Tiler auoiding the
officers blow, raught him such a rap on the pate, that
his braines flew out, and so presentlie he died.

Great noise rose about this matter in the streets,
and the poze folks being glad, euerie man arai-
ed himselfe to support John Tiler, & thus the commons
drew together, and went to Spaldesone, and from
thence to Blackheath, where their number so increa-
sed, that they were reckoned to be thirtie thousand.
And the said John Tiler toke vpon him to be their
chefe capteine, naming himselfe Jacke Straw.
¶ Others write, that one Thomas Baker of Fob-
hings was the first that procured the people thus to
assemble togither: and that one of the kings ser-
uants named John Leg, with thre of his fellows,
practised to seele yong maids whether they were vn-
dergrowne (as ye haue hard the officer did at WERT-
ford) which dishonest and vnseemlie kind of dealing
did set the people streight in such a rage and bypaze,
that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of
such iniuries.

But Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, that the first
sparkes of this rebellion kindled in Essex, where the
inhabitants of two tostones onelie at the first, that the commons
were the authozs and first stirrers of all this mis-
chance, did send vnto euerie little towne about, that
all manner of men, as well those that were aged, as
others that were in their lustiest time and youthfull
A r. liij. yeaeres,

Wiltaines.

The begin-
ning of the re-
bellion at WERT-
ford in Kent.

In artie sent
into Portin-
gale to aid the
king there as
gauid the
at Calie.

The commons
be reason of
the great sub-
dine and other
oppressions
rise in diuerse
parts of the
realme.

The commons
at Essex begin
the commoti-
as Wal. saith.

The armos of
the rebels

peares, should come to them with speed, setting all er-
cuses apart, in their best arrate and furniture for
warre, threatening to such as came not, that their
goods should be spoiled, their houses burnt or cast
downe, and they to lose their heads when they were
taken. The terror of this threatening caused the igno-
rant people to flocke to them by heappes, leaving all
their businesse, lett ing plough and cart stand; for tak-
ing wife, children, and houses, so that in a short time
there were five thousand gotten together of those
commons and husbandmen, of which number manie
were weaponed onelie with staves, some with rustie
swords and billes, and other with smokie bowes,
more ruddie than old puerie, not hauing past two or
three arrowes, and the same happilie with one feather
a peece.

Among a thousand of those kind of persons, yee
should not haue sene one well armed: and yet by
reason of their multitude, when they were once got
together, they thought the whole realme had not beene
able to resist them; and supposed that they could with
facilltie (in respect of the aduerser part) make the states
of the land scope to them, and by their permission to
reterne or compulsion to resigne their romes of
dignitie. But the fond conceited robot considered not
the event of this insurrection, that the worst would
be their owne; for the old saieing is true, namelie;

Leditur a stimulo quicquid, fricatur ab illo.

Moreouer, to make their part the stronger, these
Esmermen sent ouer into Kent, aduertising the peo-
ple there of their enterpryse, and therefore willed
them to make them readie to ioine with them for
their obtaining of libertie, and reforming of the euill
customs of the realme. Whether the Kentishmen
through persuasions of their neighbors of Essex, by
occasion of that which had chanced at Wertford (as
before yee haue heard) or (as it may be) the same chan-
cing at that selfe time, they being moued as well by
the one as the other, by they got (as yee haue heard)
and gathering their power out of the next quarters
adjoining, by the like policie which had bene practised
by the Essexmen, they stirred by the most part of the
countrie to ioine with them, and forthwith stopping
the waie that led to Canturburie, and arresting all
such as passed by the same, they caused them to sweare
that they should be true to king Richard, and to the
commons, & neuer to receiue anie king that should
be called John. And this was for the enuie which they
bare to John of Gant the duke of Lancaster, who in
right of his wife Constance, that was daughter to
king Peter of Castile, did name himselfe king of
Castile.

The oth mi-
nistred by the
rebels to all
passengers.

Also they caused them to sweare that they should
be readie to come to them whensoever they sent for
them, and induce all their neighbours to take part
with them. And further, that they should neuer yeld
to anie tax to be leuied in the realme, except a fif-
teenth onelie. Thus it came to passe, that after it was
spred abroad that thus these Essex and Kentishmen
kept; the commons also in the counties of Sussex,
Wertford, Cambridge, Suffolke, and Dorsetolke, and
other shires about, bukked vp and ran together on
heappes, so that the number of those brutlie people
maruellouslie increased, in such wise as now they fea-
red no resistance, and therefore began to shew prou-
de of those things which they had before conceiued in
their minds, behading all such men of law, iustices,
and iuroz as they might catch, and laie hands vpon,
without respect of pitie, or remorse of conscience, al-
ledging that the land could neuer enioy hir native
and true libertie, till all those sort of people were
dispatched out of the waie.

The commons
of other shires
hearing of the
tax in Kent &
Essex, rose in
like manner.

Lawyers, iu-
stices & iuroz
brought to
blockham feast
by the rebels.

The next way
to extinguisht
right.

This talke liked well the eares of the common
vplandish people, and by the lesse conueieng the more,

they purposed to burne and destioie all records, eni-
dences, court rolles, and other muniments, that the
remembrance of ancient matters being remoued
out of mind, their landloz might not haue whereto
to chalenge anie right at their hands: Their number
still increased: for all such as were in debt or danger
of law for their misdemeanors and offenses, came
out of all coasts vnto them, so that when the Essex-
men, and other of the hither side the Thames, were
passed ouer and ioined with the Kentishmen, & those
that were assembled on that side the riuer by
Blackheath; they were esteemed to be an hundred
thousand, hauing diuerse capteins besides the said
Jacke Stratw, as William Watw, Wat Tiler,
Jacke Shepheard, Tom Spilner, and Hob Carter.
Whilste they were lodged on Blackheath, the king
sent to them certeine knights, to vnderstand of them
the cause of their gathering thus together, to whome
answer was made, that they were come together to
speake with the king, about certeine causes and bu-
sinesse, & therefore they bad the messengers returne,
and declare to the king that there was no remedie
but he must needs come and speake with them.

When this tale was told to the king, there were
some that thought it best that he should go to them,
and know what their meaning was: but Simon de
Sudburie the archbishop of Canturburie, that was
lord chancelor, and also sir Robert Hales lord of S.
Johns, and as then lord tresuroz, spake earnestlie a-
gainst that aduise, and would not by anie meanes
that the king should go to such a sort of barelegged
ribalds; but rather they wished that he should take
some order to abate the pride of such vile rascals. Af-
ter the commons vnderstood that the king would
not come to them, by reason of the contrarie aduise
giuen to him by those two persons, the lord chancel-
lor and the lord tresuroz, they were maruellouslie
moued against them, and swore that they would not
rest till they had got them; & chopped off their heads,
calling them traitors to the king and realme.

Peuerthelesse there be that write, that the king (to
cut off the branches of such mischefe now in the first
budding thereof) to satisfie in part the desire of those
rude people, went downe the riuer in his barge to
Kethereth, and there nere the shore keeping himselfe
still on the water, talked with a great number of
them that came downe to the riuer side. But forso-
much as he would not come forth of his barge to
them on land, which they seemed most to desire, they
were in a great rage, and so for that they could not
haue him amongst them (as they wished) in furious
wise they ran to the citie, and at the first approach,
they spoiled the burrough of Southwarke, brake vp
the prisons of the Sparthalsea, & the Kings bench, set
the prisoners at libertie, & admitted them into their
compante.

This was on Corpus Christi daie, as the same au-
thors write, that the king should thus talke with
them: but their first entring into Southwarke, was
on Corpus Christi euen, as Thomas Walsingham
saith, passing at their pleasure to and fro the bridge
all that night: for although the lord maior, and other
of the best citizens would gladlie haue closed the
gates against them, yet they durst not do it, for feare
of the commons of the citie, who seemed to fauour
the cause of the rebels so apparantie, that they threat-
ned to kill both the lord maior, & all other that would
take vpon them to shut the gates against the com-
mons. The Londoners liked better of the com-
mons, for that they protested the cause of their as-
sembling together, was not but to take out the trait-
tors of the realme, and when they had found them
forth, and punished them according to that they had
deserued, they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more
credit

In house
ber of Kent

Fabian,
Captaine of
the Essex
Kentishmen

The rebels
sent to the
king to come
to them
South them.

All countie

Frothard

The rebels
spoile South
warke, and
all prisoners
at large.

The commons
of London
aiders of the
rebels.

All rebels
and returne
ris but were
purpose not
to be of king
commune.

The Duke
of Lancaster
would bur
y the reb

Strange
ing of th
wels.

The fast
the rebels

The law
odgings
the temple
burnt by
rebels.

The lord
maior and
treas

credit to their satings, they suffered none of their companie to rob or spoile, but caused them to paie for that they toke.

On the morrow being Corpus Christi day, on the which day it is reported that the king should talke with them at Ketheresh (as before ye haue heard) after that they saw that they could not haue him to come and talke with them in land, as they wished, and that now they had filled their heads full with the fume of such wines as they dranke in euerie mans cellar that was set open for them, enter who would: they fell in talke with the Londoners of manie lewd deuises, as of the apprehending of traitors, and speciallie concerning such misliking as they had of the duke of Lancaster, whom they hated about all other persons. And hereupon agreeing in one mind, after diuerse other of their outrageous doings, they ran the same day to the said dukes house of the Sauoie, to the which in beautie and stateliness of building, with all manner of princelie furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in despite of the duke, whom they called traitor, they set on fire, and by all waies and means indeuoured utterly to destroye it.

The shamefull spoile which they there made was wonderfull, and yet the zeale of iustice, truth, and vpright dealing which they would seeme to shew, was as nice and strange on the other part, speciallie in such kind of misgouerned people: for in that spoiling of the dukes house, all the iewels, plate, and other rich and sumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man should see the better by it of a mite, but they all into the fire, so to be consumed; and such things as the fire could not altogether destroye, as plate and iewels, they brake and crashed in peces, throwing the same into the Thames. One of them hauing thus a faire silver peece into his bosome, meaning to conueie it awaie, was espied of his felloshes, who toke him, and cast both him and the peece into the fire; saying they might not suffer any such thing, sith they professed themselves to be zealous of truth and iustice, and not theues nor robbers.

There were 32 of them, that being gotten into the cellar of the Sauoie, where the dukes wines late, dranke so much of such swete wine as they found there, that they were not able to come forth, but with stones & wood that fell downe as the house burned, they were closed in, so that out they could not get. They laie there shewing & crying seven daies together, and were heard of manie, but none came to helpe them, and so finally they perished. Now after that these wicked people had thus destroyed the duke of Lancasters house, and done what they could deuise to his reproch; they went to the temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand vpon. Also the house of saint Johns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seven daies together. On Friday a great number of them, esteemed to 20 thousand, went to the manor of Weiburie that belonged vnto the lord of saint Johns, and setting fire on it, sought utterly to destroye the whole buildings about it.

They were now diuided into thre parts, one under the leading of Jacke Straw, toke in hand to ruiinate that house, and an other number of them lay on mile end greene, and the third companie kept vpon the tower hill, and would not suffer anye vittels to be conueied into the tower, where the king at that time was lodged, and was put in such feare by those rude people, that he suffered them to enter into the tower, where they sought so narrowlie for the lord chancellor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew

him forth together with the lord treasurer, and on the tower hill without reuerence of their estates and degrees, with great noise and fell cries, they stroke off their heads. There were also beheaded at the same tyme by those rude people, one of the kings seruants that was a sergeant at armes called John Leg, who had used himselfe somewhat extremelie in gathering vp of the pole moine, as by one wyse it appeareth. Also to make by the myeste, they beheaded a franciscane frier, whom they had taken there at the same tyme, for malice of the duke of Lancaster, because he was verie familiar with him. Some write that this frier was confessor, and other say that he was physician to the king; but whatsoeuer he was, the commons chopped off his head, to beare the other companie, not sparing for anye respect that might be alledged in any of their behalves.

On the same day also they beheaded manie others, as well Englishmen as Flemings, for no cause in the world, but onelie to satisfie the crueltie of the commons, that then were in their kingdome, for it was a sport to them, when they gat any one amongst them, that was not sworne to them, and seemed to mislike of their doings, or if they bare but neuer so little hatred to him, straightwaies to plucke of his hood, with such a yelling noise as they toke vp amongst them, and immediatlie to come thronging into the streets, and strike off his head. Neither had they any regard to sacred places; for breaking into the church of the Augustine friers, they drew forth thirtene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open streets; and out of the parish churches in the citie, they toke forth seuentene, and likewise stroke off their heads, without reuerence either of the church or feare of God.

But they continuing in their mischeuous purpose, shewed their malice speciallie against strangers, so that entring into euerie street, lane, and place, where they might find them, they brake vp their houses, murdered them which they found within, and spoiled their goods in most outrageous manner. Likewise they entered into churches (as before ye haue heard) into abbeies, monasteries, and other houses, namelie of men of law, which in semblable sort they ransacked. They also brake vp the prisons of newgate, and of both the counters, destroyed the bookes, and set prisoners at libertie, and also the sanctuarie-men of saint Martin le grand. And so likewise did they at Westminster, where they brake open the eschequer, and destroyed the ancient bookes and other records there, doing what they could to suppress law, and by might to beate downe equitie and right, as it is said,

Tunc ius calcatur violentia cum dominatur.

They that entered the tower, used themselves most presumptuouslie, and no lesse vnreuerentlie against the princesse of Wales, mother to the king: for thrusting into his chamber, they offered to kill him, and swaht downe vpon his bed, putting him into such feare, that he fell into a swoone, and being taken vp and recovered, was had to the water side, and put into a barge, & conueied to the place called the quaines wardrobe, or the tower stall, where he remained all that day and the night following, as a woman halfe dead, till the king came to recomfort him. It was strange to consider, in what feare the lords, knights & gentlemen stood of the cruell proceedings of those rude & base people. For where there were sir hundred armed men, and as manie archers in the tower at that present, there was not one that durst gainsaie their doings.

Finally, when they had eased their stomachs, with the spoiling, burning, and defacing of sundrie places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduise of such as were then about him, vpon god deliberation of counsell, offered to them pardon, and his grace,

drawne out of the tower and put to death by the rebels.

Thom. Wal.

The raging rebels make a pastime to kill men.

No respect of place with the rebels.

The outrageous dealing of the rebels.

The king offered the rebels pardon.

The Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house burnt by the rebels.

Strange dealing of the rebels.

The iustice of the rebels.

The lawiers lodgings in the temple burnt by the rebels.

The lord chancellor and the lord treasurer.

ge num rebels

ings of the rebels

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Tard.

rebels e South

rebels ondon

rebels ondon

Froissard.

peace, with condition that they should cease from burning and ruining of houses, from killing and murdering of men, and depart euery man to his home without more adoe, and there to tarrie for the kings charters confirmatorie of the same pardon. The Cistermen were content with this offer, as they that were desirous to see their wiues and children, being wearie of continuall trauell and paines which they were constrained to take. The king went forth vnto Spile end, and there declared vnto the commons that they should haue charters made to them of his grant, to make them all free. And further that euery shire, towne, lordship and libertie should haue banners of his armes deliuered vnto them, for a confirmation of his grant. Hereupon they seemed well appeased, and the king rode to the queenes wardrobe, otherwise called the tower roiall, to visit his mother, and so did comfort hir so well as he could, and taried with hir there all night.

The Cistermen satisfied with the kings promises, immediately departed homeward; howbeit they appointed certeine of their companie to remaine still and tarie for the kings charters. The Gentlemen also remained, and were as busie in manner the next day being Saturday, in all kind of mischievous dealings, as they had bene before, to wit, in murdering of men, overthrowing and burning of houses. The king therefore sent vnto them such as declared in what sort their fellows were gone home well satisfied, & from thenceforth to liue in quiet, and the same forme of peace he was contented to grant to them, if it liked them to accept the same. Hereupon their chiefe captaine Wat Tyler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much wit (if he had well applied it) said, that peace indeed he wished, but yet so, as the conditions might be indited to his purpose.

He was determined to driue off the king and his counsell (because he was of greater force than they) with cauls and shifts till the next daie, that in the night following he might the more easilie haue compassed his resolution, which was, hauing all the power lost of the citie on his side, to haue spoiled the citie, and to set fire in foure corners of it, killing first the king and the lords that were about him; but he that resisteth the proud, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the pugnacious deuises of the naughtie and lewd lozzell to take place, but suddenly disappointed his mischievous drift. For whereas diuerse formes of charters had bene drauone according to the effect of the agreement with the Cistermen, and none of them might please this lordlie rebell, at length the king sent to him one of his knights called sir John Peto, to request him to come to him, that they might talke of the articles which he stood vpon to haue inserted in the charter, of the which one was to haue had a commission to put to death all lawiers, escheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to doe with the law; for his meaning was that hauing made all those awaie that understood the lawes, all things should then be ordered according to the will and disposition of the common people. It was reported in deed, that he should saie with great pride the day before these things chanced, putting his hands to his lips, that within foure daies all the lawes of England should come forth of his mouth. The wretches had utterly forgotten all law, both diuine and humane; otherwise they would haue bene content to liue vnder law, and to doe vnto others as they would be done vnto, as the verie law of nature (than which there cannot be a better guide) teacheth,

Quod tibi vis fieri mihi fac, quod non tibi, noli,

Sic potes in terris viuere iure poli.

When therefore the said sir John Peto called vpon him to come awaie to the king, he answered as

it were with indignation: If thou (saist he) hast so much hast to retorne to the king, thou maist depart, I will come at my pleasure. When the knight therefore was come from him, he followed indeed, but somewhat slowlie. And when he was come nere to the place in Smithfield where the king then was, with certeine lords and knights, & other companie about him, the said sir John Peto was sent to him againe, to vnderstand what he meant. And because the knight came to him on horsebacke, & did not alight from his horse, Wat Tyler was offended, & said in his furie, that it became him rather on foot than horsebacke to approach into his presence. The knight not able to abide such presumptuous demeanour in that proud and arrogant person, shapd him this answer: It is not amisse that I being on horsebacke, should come to thee sitting on horsebacke.

With which words Wat Tyler taking indignation, drew out his dagger, menacing to strike the knight, calling him therewith traitor: the knight declining to be misused at the hands of such a ribald, told him that he lied falselie, and with that plucked forth his dagger. Wat Tyler being among his men, shewed that he would not beare that iniurie, and forthwith made towards the knight to run vpon him. The king perceiving the knight in danger, bad him alight from his horse, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tyler: but when that would not pacifie his proud and high mind, but that he would needs slee by on him, the maior of London William Wallworth, and other knights and esquires that were about the king, told him that it should be a shame for them all, if they permitted the knight in their presence before the eyes of their prince so to be murdered: wherefore they gaue counsell to succor him forthwith, and to apprehend the vile naughtie ribald. The king though he was but a child in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commanded the maior to arrest him. The maior being a man of incomparable boldnesse, forthwith rode to him and arrested him, in reaching him such a blow on the head, that he sore astonished him therewith: and streightwaies other that were about the king, as John Standish an esquier, and diuers more of the kings seruants drew their swords, and thrust him thorough in diuerse parts of his bodie, so that he fell presently from his horse downe to the earth, and died there in the place.

When the commons beheld this, they cried out, Our captaine is traitorously slaine, let vs stand together and die with him: let vs shote and reuenge his death manfully: and so bending their bowes, made them readie to shote. The king shewing both hardnesse and wisdome at that instant, more than his age required, set his spurs to his horse, and rode to them, saing; What is the matter my men, what meane you? Will you shote at your king? We not troubled nor offended at the death of a traitor and ribald; I will be your king, captaine and leader, follow me into the fields, and you shall haue all things that you can desire. This did the king, to the end he might appease them, least they should haue set fire on the houses there in Smithfield, and haue attempted some further mischefe, in reuenge of the displeasure which they took for the death of their chiefe leader. They moued with these the kings words, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet resolved whether they should set vpon the king and slea him, or else be quiet, and retorne home with the kings charter.

In the meane time, the lord maior of London was returned into the citie, with one man onelie attending vpon him, and cried to the citizens; Ah ye good and vertuous citizens, come forth out of hand, and helpe your king readie to be slaine, & helpe me your

The wicked purpose of the rebels.

The rebels would haue all law abolished.

Arrogant and proud words of a villen.

An. as criels and ag rebels

in armie without a captaine.

The rebels were displeased with the weapons of combat the king was in the king

William the worthy man of London a stout courageous man.

The death of Wat Tyler captaine of the rebels.

braham king out of the king on cano ecclesiastice.

The king persuaded the rebels.

William the worthy man of London a stout courageous man.

An. Reg. 4.

arms crying
for aid against
the rebels.

An armie
without a
capitaine.

The rebels
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standing in the same perill; or if ye will not helpe me for some fautes committed by me against you, yet forsake not your king, but helpe and succour him in this present danger. When the twochipfull citizens and other, that in their loiall hearts loved the king, had heard these wordes, incontinentlie they put themselves in strong and sure armoz, to the number of a thousand men, and gathering themselves together into the streets, carried but for some lord or knight that might conduct them to the king: and by chance there came unto them sir Robert Knolles, whome all of them requested that he would be their leader, least comming out of arrate and order, they might the sooner be broken, who willinglie led one part of them, and certaine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armour unto the kings presence. The king with the lords, knights and esquires, not a little reioiced at the comming of those armed men, and straightwaies compassed the commons about, as they had bene a flocke of sheepe that should have bene closed within some fold, till it pleased the shepheard to appoint forth, which should be thrust into pasture, and which taken to go to the shambels.

There was to be scene a marvellous change of the right hand of the lord, to behold how they throwing downe staves, bills, axes, swordes, bowes and arrows, humble began to sue for pardon, which a little before gloried to have the life of the king and his seruants whole and altogether in their hands, power, and disposition. The poore wretches sought to hide themselves in the coyne that grew in the fields, in ditches, hedges, and demmes, and wheresoeuer they might get out of the way, so to save their lives. The knights that were with the king would gladlie have bene doing with them, and requested licence of him to strike off the heads of some one or two hundred of them, that it might be a witnesse in time to come, that the force of the order of knightthod was able to do somewhat against the carters and ploughmen: but the king would not suffer them, alleging that manie of them were come thither by compulsion, and not of their owne accord, and therefore it might come to passe that those should die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commanded that there should be proclamation made in London, that the citizens should have no dealings with them, nor suffer anie of them to come within the citie that night, but to cause them to lie without dozes.

In the report of this commotion chonographers do somewhat varie, as by this present extract out of Henric Knighton canon of Leicester abbey, living at the time of this tumult may appeare: which Abraham Fleming hath faithfully and trulie translated out of the annales of the said canon written in parchment in old Latine letters, as followeth. Upon a Saturday, these malcontents [to wit, Thomas Baker the first mover but afterwards the principall leaders, Jacke Straw, Jacke Miller, Jacke Carter, Jacke Trewoman, and their frechetous traine] met together in Smithfield, whither also the king repaired in the morning, who although in private he was but young, yet in wisdom and discretion he was well grown. The ringleader of this tumultuous rout, whose right name was Wat Tyler, which he had now changed into Jacke Straw, approached nere the king, in so much that he might in a manner touch him, beating the mouth of all the residue, and having in his hand a yron dagger, which he tolde from hand to hand, boy-like playing with it, & waiting due time therewith, if not to kill, yet fadde to hit the king, if he denied their requests. Whereupon they that were next and about the king were greatly affraid, least his pretended mildnes should come to passe,

How he creawed of the king that all warrens, waters, parks and woods should be common, so that as well poore as rich might feelee in any place wheresoeuer practise fishing in ponds, poles, rivers, or any waters, and might hunt deere in forrests and parkes, and the hare in the fields, with diuerse other requests, which he would have granted without contradiction or gaine-saying, and exercise without controulment. How then the king in the grant hereof by deliberation used some delate, Jacke Straw drew nearer unto him, and speaking unto him certaine threatening wordes, took hold of the horses bable whereon the king rode, upon that presumptuous enterpryse he wot not. Which John Malworth a burgeise of London beholding, and fearing present death to hang over the kings head, caught a weapon in his hand, and therewith thrust Jacke Straw through the throte, which when another that was by being an esquier, named Rafe Standish did see, with his weapon also ran him through the sides; in so much that he fell flat on his backe to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro a while, at last he gaue up his unhappy ghost.

When a great clamor and lamentable outcrie was made, and heard a great while together, saying, Our guide is dead, our capitaine is dead. And indeed so he was, being dragged by the hands and feet in a vile and contemptible sort into saint Bartholomewes church hard by. Then did manie of the unrulie multitude withdraw themselves, and vanishing awaie betooke them to their heeles, being about the number (as it was thought) of ten thousand. Then the king minding to make amends and to requite received courtesie, knighted the said John Malworth, & Rafe Standish, with foure burgesses more of the citie, namelie John Philpot, Nicholas Wembze, John Laund, and Nicholas Twisseld, girding them about the waist with the girdle of knightthod, which was the manner of their graduating. Then the king having ordeined and made the foresaid six knights, commanded that the residue of the cursed crew should depart and get them into the field, that meeting together in a companie, he might fall unto a treatie of agreement with them.

The rout being there assembled, behold a multitude of armed men ran rushing out of the citie, sir Robert Knolles being their capitaine, who with these his soldiers compassed & hedged in the poore captives distressed in the field like sheepe that have lost their shepheard. When the king of his accustomed clemencie, being pricked with pittie, would not that the wretches should die, but spared them being a rash and wilful multitude, and commanded them euerie man to get him home to his owne house; howbeit manie of them, at the kings going awaie suffered the danger of death. In this miserable taking were reckoned to the number of twentie thousand. Thus saith Knighton, not as an eye-witnesse, but as taught by heare-saie, whereby he compiled the greatest part of his annales, as he himselfe confesseth, fearing so that he was so constrained, as by part of the addition at the foot of the first page, intituled *Lamentium compilatoris*, appeareth in manner and forme following.

*Sum cecum factus subita caligine tactus,
Nec opus inceptum iam corrigo forsitan inceptum.
Me memio dulium pro veris saepe locutum,
Plus audita loquor quam mihi visa sequor.*

All the foresaid villantes notwithstanding against the king and the state, tending whole to the subversion of law and euill gouernement, albeit the lawes deserved no sparke of fauour, but executed the iudgement to be executed upon them; yet (as ye haue heard) besides the great clemencie of the king, exhibited unto them in remitting their offense,

offense, and acquiting them from the rigor of the law, he granted and gave to them the charter, which they had requested, faire written and sealed, to avoid a greater mischief, & commanded it for a time to be delivered them, knowing that Cister and Kent were not so pacified, but that if they were not the sooner contented, and that partlie after their minds, they would up againe. The tenor of the charter which was gotten thus by force of the king was as followeth.

The forme of the kings charter of Manumission.

The like
there was
granted to
them of other
countries as
well as to
these of Hert-
fordshire in
the same forme,
the names of
the counties
changed.



Richardus Dei gratia rex Anglie & Francia, & dominus Hibernie: omnibus balliis & fidelibus suis, ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali manumissimus uniuersos ligeos & singulos subditos nostros & alios comitatus Hertfordie, & ipsos & eorum quemlibet ab omni bondagio exuimus, & quietos facimus per presentes, ac etiam perdonamus eisdem ligeis ac subditis nostris omnimodas felonias, prodiciones, transgressiones, & extortiones, per ipsos vel aliquem eorum qualitercunque factas sine perpetratis, ac etiam vilagariam & vilagarias, si qua vel que in ipsos, vel aliquem ipsorum fuerint vel fuerint hijs occasionibus promulgata vel promulgata, & summam pacem nostram eis & eorum cuiuslibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei testimonium, has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud London 15 die Iunii. Anno regni nostri quarto.

The townes-
men of saint
Albions not
yet quieted.

The commons having obtained this charter departed home, but ceased not from their riotous demeanour in sundrie parts of the realme, and especially at saint Albions, where after the townesmen were returned home, they kept such a coile against the abbat and monks, to haue certeine ancient charters delivered them that concerned their liberties, and to haue such new made and delivered to them as might serue their purpose; that because such old charters as they requested were not to be had, the abbat and monks looked euerie houre when their house should be set on fire and burnt ouer their heads. The prior and certeine other as well monks as laie men that were seruants to the abbat, fled for feare of the rage of those misgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadlie, and therefore looked for no courtesie at their hands. They had obtained the kings letters vnto the abbat, commanding him to deliver vnto them such charters as they had giuen information to be remaining in his hands, so that vnder colour thereof, they called for those writings in most impotunate wise, threatening sore, if they were not brought to light, vntill they destroyed the house by setting it on fire.

But to speake of all the vnrulle parts of those unrulle people, it were too long a proceesse: yet at length after they understood how their grand capteine and cheefe ringleader Wat Tyler was slaine, they began somewhat to allwaie their presumptuous attempts, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalfe of the abbat and his house, and yet they were not so calmed; but that they continued in requiring to haue charters made to them by the abbat, of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, concerning the infranchising them from bondage, where they had obtained such charters in the past times, so that they were charged of all seruices and accustomed labours, so that

they meant not to do any further works, nor yeld such customes as befoze time they vsualtie had bene accustomed to do and yeld vnto their lordes.

Neither did the townesmen of saint Albions, and the tenants of other townes and villages thereabout, that belonged to the abbey of saint Albions, thus outrageously misdemean themselves, but euerie where else the commons kept such like stir, so that it was rightlie called the hurling time, there were such hurlie burlies kept in euerie place, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of all good gouernment in this land. For euerie the selfe same saturday after Corpus Christi day, in Suffolke there were got together to the number of fiftie thousand men, by the setting on of John Wratw, a naughty lewde priest, that had bene first among the Cistermen at London, and was sent downe in all post hast from Wat Tyler, to stirre the commons in those parts to commit the like mischief as he had seene begun about London. These fellows therfore, after they were assembled together, fell to the destroing of the manors and houses of men of law, & such lawiers as they caught, they slue, and beheaded sir John Cauendish lord chiefe iustice of England, and set his head vpon the pilloie in the market place in saint Edmundsburie.

Also sir John of Cambridge the prior of saint Edmundsburie, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Mildehale, and likewise beheaded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man presuming to burie it, during the space of fife daies, for feare of the cruell commons. His head was set vpon a pole, and caried befoze John Wratw and other of those wicked people; the which coming to Burie, and entring the towne in maner of a procession, when they came into the market place where the pilloie stood, as it were in token of the old friendship betwixt the lord chiefe iustice, and the said prior, they made sport with their heads, making them sometime as it were to kisse, other whiles to sound in either others eare. After they had taken their pastime inough herewith, they set both the heads againe aloft vpon the pilloie. After this, they beheaded an other monke called Dan John de Lakinghuish, whose head was likewise set by the other two vpon the pilloie. Moreover, they caused the monks to come forth and bring vnto them all such obligations, in which the townesmen stood bound vnto the monastrie for their good abearing; likewise such charters of liberties of the towne of Burie, which king Eate the founder of the said monastrie, and his successors had granted to the same: which writings when they had brought forth, and protested that they knew of no more, the commons would scarcele beleue them, and therefore called the townesmen forth; and had them see if that there were all such writings as they thought stood with their advantage to haue brought to light. The townesmen feigned as though they had bene faine to see such rule kept against the monks, where in deed they had set the commons in hand with all these things. To conclude, the commons took this order with the monks, that if the townesmen might not obtaine their ancient liberties, by the hauing of those writings, they should declare that the same liberties were, which they were wont to inioy, and the abbat of Burie, Edmund Hammfeld, being then in prison at Nottingham whom they purposed to deliuer (so that he should celebrat diuine seruice in his monastrie on Whitsunmoe daies next) within fourte daies after his coming home, should confirme with his seale such charter as was to be desired and made concerning the same liberties of the said townesmen, and the priest should likewise put there vnto their common seale.

Moreover, they constrained the monks to deliuer vnto

The hurlie
time.

The com-
mons be-
ing of the
suffolke
rebel.

Sir John
Cauendish
lord chiefe
iustice be-
headed.

The prior
of saint
Edmunds-
burie slaine.

The earl
of Suffolke
apoth for
the rebels

The pri-
or be-
headed
for
the rebels

Sir John
Cauendish
lord chiefe
iustice be-
headed

The earl
of Suffolke
apoth for
the rebels

The pri-
or be-
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for
the rebels

unto the townesmen, a crosse and a chalice of fine gold, and other iewels that belonged to the abbey, being in value above the worth of a thousand pounds in monie, the which was to remaine in the hands of the townsmen, upon this condition, that if Edmund Spumfield being deliuered out of prison inioied the dignitie of abbat there, and with all put his seale together with the consent seale within the time limited, unto a writing that should containe the liberties of the towne, that then the same crosse, chalice, and other iewels should be restored unto the monastrie, or else the same to remaine for ever to the townesmen as forfeited. Such were the doings of those rebels in and about the towne of Wurie: and the like disorders & breach of peace followed by the commotions of the commons in Cambridgeshire, and in the Isle of Elle, resembling the others in slaughters of men, destruction of houses, and all other sorts of mischief.

John Little-
ser captaine
of the Norfolk
rebels.

The earle of
Suffolke es-
capeth from
the rebels.

In like maner in Norfolk there was assembled an huge number of those unruly countrie people, which under the guiding of a dier of cloth, commonly called John Littleser, that had dwelt in Norfolk, attempted and did all such vngratious feats, as they had heard that other did in other parts of the realme, yea and greater also, putting forth their hands unto rapine and robbery. And whereas they were wholie conspired together, and bent to commit all kind of mischief, yet esteeming their owne authoritie to be small, they purposed to haue brought William Suffolk earle of Suffolke into their felowship, that if afterwards they might happilie be impeached hereafter, for such their naughtie and most wicked doings, they might haue had some shadow or colour, as it were through him, whie they had delt in such unruly foie. But the earle aduertised of their intention, suddenlie rose from supper, and got him a waie by unknowne waies, still fleeing from the commons, till at length he got to Alborne, and so from thence to the king.

The Norfolk
rebels compell
the noblemen
& gentlemen
to be sworne
to them.

Sir Robert
Salle slaine
by one of his
owne bellaines.

The captaine
of the Norfolk
rebels
forceth the no-
blemen and
gentlemen to
serue him at
the table.

The commons missing of their purpose for the hauiing of him, laid hold vpon all such knights and other gentlemen as came in their waie, and were found at home in their houses, compelling them to be sworne to them, and to ride with them through the countrie, as the lord Scales, William lord Spolie, sir John Welwes, sir Stephan Hales, and sir Robert Salle: which sir Robert continued not long alieue among them, for he could not dissemble as the residue, but began to reproue openlie their naughtie doings, for the which he had his bzaines dasyt out by a countrie clowne, one that was his bondman, and so he ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tried his manhood and strength with them in plaine battell, had bene able to haue put a thousand of those villaines in feare, his valiancie and prowesse was such. The residue taught by his example that they must either dissemble or die for it, were glad to currie fauour, praisling or dispraisling all things as they saw the commons affected, and so comming into credit with their cheefine John Littleser, that named himselfe king of the commons, they were preferred to serue him at the table, in taking the assaie of his meats and drincks, and doing other seruises, with kneeling humbly before him as he sat at meat, as sir Stephan Hales who was appointed his caruer, and others had other offices assigned them.

At length, when those commons began to wearie of taking paines in euill doings, they toke counsell together, and agreed to send two knights, to wit, the lord Spolie, and sir John Welwes, and three of the commons, in whom they put great confidence, unto the king, to obtaine their charter of manumission and enfranchising, and to haue the same charter

more large than those that were granted to other countries. They deliuered great summes of monie unto those whome they sent, to bestow the same for the obtaining of pardon, and such grants as they suied for, which monie they had got by force of the citizens of Norwich, to saue the citie from fire and sack. These knights as they were on their iourne, at Norwich looking for any such thing, met with sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, a man more fit for the field than the church, & better skilled (as may appere) in arms than in diuinitie. This bishop had aduertised at his manor of Burlie nere to Dham in the parties about Stamford, of the sturre which the commons in Norfolk kept, and thereupon resolved straightwaies to see what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time, not passing eight lances, and a small number of archers.

The bishop meeting thus with the knights, examined them straightwaies if there were any of the traitours there with them. The knights at the first were doubtfull to betraie their associates: but at last emboldened by the bishops words, declared that two of the cheefe doers in the rebellion were there present, and the third was gone to prouide for their dinner. The bishop straightwaies commanded those two to be made shorter by the head, and the third he himselfe went to seeke, as one of his shepe that was lost; not to bring him home to the fold, but to the slaughter-house, as he had well deserued (in the bishops opinion) sith he had so mischeuouslie gone astrate, and alienated himselfe from his dutifull allegiance. These persons being executed, and their heads pight on the end of poles, and so set by at Norwich, the bishop with the knights toke their waie with all speed towards Northwalsham in Norfolk, where the commons were purposed to staie for answer from the king: and as he passed through the countrie, his number increased, for the knights and gentlemen of the countrie, hearing how their bishop had taken his speare in hand, and was come into the field armed, ioined themselves with him.

Spenser bish-
op of Norwich
goeth as cap-
taine against
the rebels.

When therefore the bishop was come into the place where the commons were incamped, he perceiued that they had fortified their campe verie stronglie with ditches, and such other stuffe as they could make shift with, as doores, windowes, boards, & tables, and behind them were all their cariages placed, so that it seemed they meant not to flie. Herewith the bishop being chafed with the presumptuous boldnesse of such a sort of disordered persons, commanded his trumpets to sound to the battell, and with his speare in the rest, he charged them with such violence, that he went ouer the ditch, and laid so about him, that through his manfull doings, all his companie found means to passe the ditch likewise, and so therewith followed a verie sore and terrible fight, both parts doing their best to banquish the other. But finallie the commons were overcome, and driuen to seeke their safegard by flight, which was sore hindered by their cariages that stood behind them, ouer the which they were forced to cline and leape so well as they might. John Littleser and other cheefe captaine were taken alieue. The bishop therefore caused the said Littleser to be arraigned of high treason, and condemned, and so he was hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

The fortifica-
eng of the re-
bels campe.

The bishop is
the first man
that chargeth
the rebels in
their campe.

The Nor-
folk rebels
banquished.

The bishop heard his confession, and by vertue of his office absolued him: and to shew some parcell of sorrowing for the mans mischance, he went with him to the galloves. But it seemed that pittie wrought not with the bishop, to quench the zeale of iustice: for he caused not Littleser onelie to be executed, but sought for all other that were the cheefe doers in that rebellion,

rebellion, causing them to be put vnto death, and so by that meanes quieted the countrie. ¶ To recite that was done in euerie part of the realme in time of those hellish troubles, it is not possible: but this is to be considered, that the rage of the commons was vniuersallie such, as it might seme they had generalie conspired together, to do what mischaunce they could deuise. As among sundrie other, what wickednesse was it, to compell teachers of children in grammar schooles to sweare neuer to instruct any in their art: Againe, could they haue a more mischeuous meaning, than to burne and destroe all old and ancient monuments, and to murder and dispatch out of the waie all such as were able to commit to memorie, either any new or old records: For it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned, and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkyorne at his side: for such sel dome or neuer escaped from them with life.

Anno Reg. 5.

The capitaine
once slaine
the soldiers
faint.An armie of
fortie thou-
sand hoxles-
men.The Kentish-
men effronies
rebell.Jack Straw
and his adhe-
rents execu-
ted.

But to returne to saie somewhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterpryses, you must vnderstand, how after that Wat Tyler was slaine at London in the presence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatlly decayed: and yet neuerthelesse, the king and his counsell being not well assured, granted to the commons (as ye haue heard) charters of manumission and infranchisement from all bondage, and so sent them awaie home to their countries: and forthwith here vpon he assembled an armie of the Londoners, and of all others in the countries abroad that bare him good will, appointing none to come, but such as were armed and had hoxles, for he would haue no footmen with him. Thus it came to passe, that within thre daies he had about him fourtie thousand hoxlesmen, as was esteemed; so that in England had not bene heard of the like armie assembled together at one time. And herewith was the king aduertised, that the Kentishmen began effronies to stir, where with the king and the whole armie were so grieuouslie offended, that they meant straight to haue set vpon that countrie, and to haue wholie destroyed that rebellious generation. But thorough intercession made by the lords and gentlemen of that countrie, the king pacified his mood, and so resolved to proceede against them by order of law and iustice, causing iudges to sit and to make inquisition of the malefactors, and especiallie of such as were authours of the mischeues.

And about the same time did the maior of London sit in iudgement, as well vpon the offenders that were citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Essex, Southser, Dorsetholke, Suffolke, and other counties, being found within the liberties of the citie; and such as were found culpable, he caused them to lose their heads, as Jacke Straw, John Kirkbie, Alane Tredera, and John Sterling, that gloried of himselfe, for that he was the man that had slaine the archbishop. This fellow (as it is written by some authours) straight waies after he had done that wicked deed, fell out of his wits, and comming home into Essex where he dwelt, tied a naked sword about his necke, that hong downe before on his brest, and likewise a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, and so went by and downe the lanes & streets about home, crying out, and protesting, that with those weapons he had dispatched the archbishop; and after he had remained a while at home, he came to London againe, for that he shuld receiue (as he said) the reward there of the act which he had committed: and so indeed, when he came thither, and boldlie confessed that he was the man that had beheaded the archbishop, he lost his head in stead of a recompense: and diuerse other both of Essex and Kent, that had laid violent hands vpon

the archbishop came to the like end at London, where they did the deed, being betwzaied by their owne confessions.

Here is to be remembred, that the king, after the citie of London was deliuered from the danger of the rebels (as before ye haue heard) in respect of the great manhood, and assured loialtie which had appeared in the maior, and other of the aldermen, for some part of recompense of their faithfull assistance in that dangerous season, made the said maior William Wallworth knight, with five other aldermen his brethren, to wit, Nicholas Bramble, John Philpot, Nicholas Twiford, Robert Aundre, and Robert Coston, also John Standish, that (as ye haue heard) holpe to slaine Wat Tyler. Whereouer, the king granted, that there should be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of London, in the right quarter of the shield, for an augmentation of the same armes, and for a remembrance of this maior his valiant act, as doth appeare vnto this daie: for till that time, the citie bare onelie the crosse, without the dagger.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to shew it selfe, to the terror of rebels; yet the commons of Essex effronies assembled themselves together, not far from Hatfield Beuerell, and sent to the king to know of him if his pleasure was, that they should enjoy their promised liberties: and further, that they might be as free as their lords, and not to come to any court, except it were to the great leet, twice in the yeare. When the king heard such presumptuous requests, he was in a great chafe, & dispatched the messengers awaie, with a sore threatening answer, saying that bondmen they were, and bondmen they should be, and that in more vile manner than before, to the terrible example of all other that should attempt any the like disorders: and forthwith, the earle of Buckingham, and the lord Thomas Percie, brother to the earle of Northumberland, were sent with an armie to repressse those rebels, whome they found fortified within woods, hedges and ditches verie stronglie, but with small adoe they were put to flight, & about five hundred of them slaine; the residue saved themselves as well as they might, by succour of the woods. There were eight hundred hoxles also taken, which those rebels had there with them, to drabe and carrie their baggage.

Those of the rebels that escaped, were not yet so tamed by that overthrow, but that assembling themselves together in a rout, they made towards Colchester: and comming thither, would haue persuaded the townesmen to haue ioined with them in a new rebellion. But when they could not bring their purpose to passe, they marched towards Sudburie. The lord Fitz Walter, and sir John Harleston, vnderstanding which waie they toke, followed them with a companie of armed men, and suddenlie setting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, due of them so manie as it liked them, and the other they saued, and suffered to depart, or else committed them to prison. After this, the king came to Haueering at the bowze, and from thence to Chelmsford, where he appointed sir Robert Triskian to sit in iudgement of the offenders and rebels of that countrie, where vpon an inquest being chosen, a great number were indicted, arraigned, & found guiltie, so that vpon some one gallowes there were nine or ten hanged together.

In euerie countrie were like inquiries made, and the chiefe offenders apprehended and put to death in euerie lordship through the realme, where anie of them were detected, by ten, twelue, twentie, thirtie, yea and in some places by fortie at once; so that the whole number grew to fiftene hundred and aboue. At the first, when the kings iustices began to sit in Essex, Kent, and at London, by reason of the multitude

The mayor
and five al-
dermen
knighth.The armes
of London
augmented,
by addition
of the dagger.The commons
of Essex re-
bell ainst.The rebels
of Essex are
draben & slaine.Fabian.
The rebels
executed in
euerie lord-
ship.The king cal-
led in his let-
ters of in-
franchising
granted to the
bondmen.The king re-
moneth to
S. Albons.

John Ball.

John Ball
his prophesie.John Ball
his sermon to
the rebels.

An. Reg. 5.

The king call-
eth in his let-
ters of im-
franchising
granted to the
bondmen.The king re-
moueth to
St. Albons.

John Wall,

John Wall
his prophetic.John Wall
his sermon to
the rebels.

inde that were to be executed, they onelie chopped off their heads, but afterwards when that kind of death seemed to close and secret for so open offenses, they proceeded according to the accustomed law of the realme, by condemning them to be drawne and hanged, and according therunto they were executed.

In the meane time, the king by the aduise of his counsell, directed his letters reuocatozie into euerie countie there, to be proclaimed in euerie citie, borough, towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without, by the which letters he reuoked, made void and frustrate his former letters of infranchising the bondmen of his realme, and commanded that such as had the same letters, should without delaie bring them in, and restore them to him and his counsell to be cancelled, as they would answer upon their faith and allegiance which they ought to him, and upon paine of forfeiting all that they had. The date of which letters reuocatozie was at Chelmsford, the second daie of Julie, in the fift yeare of his reigne.

When the king had quieted the countie of Essex, and punished such as were the chiefe stirrers of that wicked commotion in those parts, he went to saint Albons, to see iustice done upon such as had demerited themselves most presumptuously against the kings peace in that towne, namely against the abbat and his house, who sought to defend themselves under a colour of friendship, that they trusted to find in some persons about the king. But that trust deceived them, and procured the more displeasure against them, for that they would not sue for fauour at the abbats hands in time, by submitting themselves unto his will and pleasure. To be briefe, the king came thither with a great number of armed men and archers, and caused his iustice sir Robert Trissilian to sit in iudgement upon the malefactors, that were brought thither from Hertford gaile.

Whither was brought also to the king from Couentrerie, John Wall prest, whome the citizens of Couentrerie had taken, and now here at saint Albons they presented him to the kings presence, whereupon he was arreigned and condemned, to be drawne, hanged, and beheaded for such notable treasons as he was there convicted of. He receiued iudgement upon the saturdaye the first daie that the said sir Robert Trissilian sat in iudgement, but he was not executed till the mondaye following. This man had bene a preacher the space of twentie yeares, and because his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the bishops mainteined, he was first prohibited to preach in anie church or chapel; and when he ceased not for all that, but set forth his doctrine in the streets and fields where he might haue audience, at length he was committed to prison, out of the which he prophesied that he should be deliuered with the force of twentie thousand men, and even so it came to passe in time of the rebellion of the commons.

When all the prisons were broken vp, and the prisoners set at libertie, he being therefore so deliuered, followed them, & at Blackheath when the greatest multitude was there got together (as some write) he made a sermon, taking this saleng or common prouerbe for his theme, whereupon to intreat,

When Adam delu'd, and Eue span,

Who was then a gentleman?

and so continuing his sermon, went about to proue by the words of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bondage or seruitude came in by iniust oppression of naughtie men. For if God would haue had anie bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who should be bond & who free. And therefore he exhorted them to consider, that now the time was come appointed to them by God, in which they might

(if they would) cast off the yoke of bondage, & recouer libertie. He counselled them therefore to remember themselves, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the manner of a good husband that tilleth his ground, and riddeeth out thereof such euill weeds as choke and destroye the good corne, they might destroye first the great lords of the realme, and after the iudges and lawiers, quismongers, and all other whom they undertooke to be against the commons, for so might they procure peace and suertie to themselves in time to come, if dispatching out of the waie the great men, there should be an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrees of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them.

When he had preached and set forth such kind of doctrine, and other the like fond and foolish toies vnto the people, they extolled him to the starres, affirming that he ought to be archbishop and lord chancellor, where he that then enioied that rone, meaning sir Simon de Sudburie that then was alieue, was a traitor to the king and realme, and worthy to lose his head, wherefoeuer he might be apprehended. Many other things are reported by writers of this John Wall, as the letter, which vnder a kind of darke riddle he wrote to the capitaine of the Essex rebels, the copie whereof was found in one of their purses that was executed at London.

The tenor of the said seditious preests letter.

When Schæpe S. Marie prest of Porke, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John namelesse, and John the Miller, and John Carter, & biddeth them that they beware of guile in Bourrough, & stand together in Gods name, & biddeth Diers ploughman go to his worke, and chastise well Hob the robber, & take with you John Trewman and all his fellowes, and no mo. John the Miller & ground small, small small, the kings sonne of heauen shall paie for all. Beware of yee be wo, know your friend from your fo, haue enough and saie ho, and do well and better, see time and seeke peace, and hold you therein, and so biddeth John Trewman and all his fellowes.

This letter he confessed himselfe to haue written, as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, with manie other things which he had done and committed, to the disquieting of the realme, for the which he was drawne, hanged, and beheaded at saint Albons, the sixteenth of Julie, being monday, in this fift yeare of king Richards reigne. On the same daie, the kings iustice sir Robert Trissilian sat upon the rebels of saint Albons, and other of the countrie of Hertford, afoze whome, by such policie as he vsed, there were a great number indicted, and diuerse being arreigned, were found guiltie, as William Grindecob, William Cabindon, John Barboz, and certeine others, which were hanged and drawne, to the number of fiftene persons in all; diuerse chiefe men of the towne were committed to prison, as Richard Wallingford, John Carleke, William Berewill, Thomas Putoz and others of the countrie about. There were committed to prison to the number of fourescore persons, the which neuerthelesse, by the kings pardon, were released and dismissed.

The hatred which the towne men had conceived
S. i. against

John Wall
executed at
St. Albons.

The king
callith in by
proclamation
all uch let-
ters of manu-
million, as the
abbat of saint
Albons had
granted to his
bondmen.

The commons
of Berksford
thre sworne
to the king.

at ainst the abbat and convent of S. Albons, was
seerle great, and manie deuises they had to haue sa-
ued, thoie that were executed. And where as well the
townemen, as othe of the abbats and convents
tenants, both of Hertfordshire, and Buckingham-
shire, had gotten of the abbat and convent letters of
discharge, from doing anie bound service, the king
directed his letters vnto certeine commissioners, as
to John Ludowicke, John Westwicombe, John
Benting, Richard Perers, Walter Saunford, Ri-
chard Gifford, Thomas Eidon, and William Ce-
cleshall, commanding them to cause proclamation
to be made in all such townes and places as were
thought necessarie, thzough the whole countie of
Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euerie per-
son and persons that ought and had bene accustomed
to do o: yeld anie manner of seruices, customes, o:
duties, whether they were bondmen o: fre, vnto the
said abbat and convent of S. Albons, shoud do and
yeld the same seruices, customes, and duties, in such
the forme & manner, as they had bene vfed to do, be-
fore the time of the late troubles, & not to chalenge o:
claime any libertie o: priuilege which they inioied not
before the same troubles, vpon their faith & allegi-
ance in which they stood bound to him, and vpon paine
to forfeit all that they might forfeit: and in case anie
were found to do contrarie therunto, the same com-
missioners had authoritie, and were commanded to
arrest and imprison them, till for their further punish-
ment, order might be taken and agreed vpon in that
behalfie accordinglie.

On saint Margarets daie, the king being readie
to take his iourne to Berkhamssted, in the great
court of the abbey of S. Albons had all the com-
mons of the countie of Hertford before him, that had
summons there to appeare, all that were betwixt
fiftene and thre score yerres of age, where they toke
an oth together from thence forth, to be faithfull sub-
iects vnto him, and neuer to rise o: make anie com-
motion, to the disturbance of his peace; and rather to
die, than to consent vnto anie rebellious persons,
whome they shoud to the vitermost of their powers
do their best, to apprehend and deliuer them to the
kings prison, that they might be forth comming. Af-
ter they had receiued this oth, they were licenced to
depart, and the king rode to Berkhamssted, where he
remained for a time, and went to Cthamssted to re-
create himselfe with hunting, where he was infor-
med, that those which were hanged at S. Albons,
were taken from the gallowes, and remoued a good
waie from the same: with which presumption he was
so wroth, that he sent forth with his letters to the bai-
liffes of the towne of S. Albons, commanding them
vpon the sight of the same, to cause cheines to be
made, and to bring the said bodies backe vnto the
gallowes, and to hang them in those chaines vpon
the same gallowes, there to remaine, so long as one
peece might sticke to another, according to the forme
of the iudgement giuen. The text of this writ thus di-
rected to the bailiffes of saint Albons, was at Cth-
hamssted the third of August, in the fift yeare of this
kings reigne, and in the yeare of our lord a thousand
three hundred foure score and one.

The townemen of S. Albons durst not disobey
the kings commandement, and so hanged by againe
in chaines the dead bodies of their neighbors, great-
lie to their shame and reproch, when they could get
none other for anie wages to come nere the sink-
ing carcases, but that they were constrained them-
selves to take in hand so vile an office. And such was
the end of the tumults at S. Albons, where as well
as in other places, the vnrulie commons had plaied
their parts. To conclude and make an end of these
vnrulie troubles, to the end it may appeare, in what

danger as well the B. as the whole state of the realme
stood, by the mischeuous attempts of the vnrulie peo-
ple, I haue thought good to declare the confession of
Jacke Straw one of their chiefe captiues (and next
in reputation amongst them vnto Wat Tyler) when
he came to be executed in London, according to indi-
ciall sentence passed against him.

¶ At the same time (said he) that we were assembled
vpon Blackheath, and had sent to the king to come
vnto vs, our purpose was to haue slaine all such
knights, squiers, and gentlemen, as shoud haue gi-
uen their attendance thither vpon him: and as for the
king, we would haue kept him amongst vs, to the
end that the people might more boldlie haue repaired
to vs, sith they shoud haue thought, that whatsoeuer
we did, the same had bene done by his authoritie.
¶ Finally, when we had gotten power inough, that we
needed not to feare anie force that might be made
against vs, we would haue slaine all such noble men,
as might either haue giuen counsell, o: made anie
resistance against vs, speciallie the knights of the
Rhodes; and lastlie we would haue killed the king
and all men of possessions, with bishops, monks, cha-
nons, and parsons of churches, onelie friers & peni-
cants we would haue spared, that might haue suffi-
ced for ministratation of the sacraments. And when
we had made a riddance of all those, we would haue
deuised lawes, according to the which the subiects of
this realme shoud haue liued, for we would haue
created kings, as Wat Tyler in Kent, and other in
other countiees. But because this our purpose was
disappointed by the archbishop of Canturburie, that
would not permit the king to come to vs, we sought
by all meanes to dispatch him out of the waie, as at
length we did. ¶ Howouer, the same euening that Wat
Tyler was killed, we were determined, hauing the
greatest part of the commons of the citie bent to
ioine with vs, to haue set fire in foure corners of the
citie, and so to haue diuided amongst vs the spoile of
the cheefest riches that might haue bene found at our
pleasure. And this (said he) was our purpose, as God
may helpe me now at my last end.

Thus may you see, after what sort they were con-
spired to the destruction of the realme, and to haue
aduanced and enriched themselves; not considering
o: foresceing the euill successe of their tumultuous
broile, and that it would tend but little to their profit
in the end, by a common spoile to amend their state,
and to become mightie and rich with gods euill got-
ten, which though for a time (if lucke had serued them
to haue possessed) they had enioied, yet could they not
long prosper nor bring god vnto the possessors: for

Non habet euentus sordida praeda bonos.

And lest this one mans confession might seeme in-
sufficient, diuerse other of them confessed the same,
o: much what the like in effect, when they saw no re-
medie but present death before their eyes. To declare
the occasion whie such mischeues happened thus in
the realme, we leaue to the iudgement of those that
may coniecture a truth thereof, by conferring the
manners of that age & behaviour of all states then,
sith they that wrote in those daies, may happlie in
that behalfe misse the truth, in construing things
according to their affections. But truelie it is to be
thought, that the faults, as well in one degree as an-
other, speciallie the sinnes of the whole nation, procu-
red such vengeance to rise, whereby they might be
warned of their euill doings, and seeke to reforme
the same in time conuenient. But as it cometh
still to passe; when the danger is once ouerthot, re-
pentance likewise is put ouer, and is no more regar-
ded, till an other scourge cometh effronces to put
men in remembrance of their dueitie; so in like man-
ner (as seemeth) it chanced in this kings daies, as by
that

The countie
of Jacke
Straw was
the time of his
death.

struce with
Holland.
the Walli-
Holland.

The capitaine
of Berwicke
will not suffer
the duke of
Lancaster to
enter into the
countie.

The duke of
Lancaster
bargeth the
duke of Glo-
oucester
with sundrie
summes.

The countie
of the late
malis.

that whil
In thi
the botte
in Scott
he had in
ter so, as
England
knowled
for two
When he
were agi
that acco
ming th
would ru
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wherefor
land aga
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rule, & n
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An. Reg. 5.

that which followeth may more plainlie appeare.

In this meane time that these troubles were at the hottest in England, the duke of Lancaster being in Scotland, so behaved himselfe in the treatie which he had in hand with the Scots) dissembling the matter so, as if he had not understood of any trouble in England at all, that finally before the Scots had knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to endure for two yeares, or (as other haue) for three yeares. When he had made an end there, and that all things were agreed upon and passed, for the confirmation of that accord, he returned to Berwike, but at his coming thither, the capitaine sir Pattheu Kedman would not suffer him to enter the towne, because of a commandement given to him from the earle of Northumberland, lord warden of the marches: wherefore the duke was glad to returne into Scotland againe, obtaining licence of the Scots to remaine amongst them, till the realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Whereupon, the commons in England that fauored him not, took occasion to report the worst of him that might be deuised, calling him now in time of their rebellious commotions, a traitor to the realme, declaring that he had joined himselfe to the Scots, and meant to take part with them against his owne native countrie.

The king indeed had sent commandement, during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the earle of Northumberland, that he should haue good regard to the safe keeping of all the townes & castels under his rule, & not to suffer any person to enter the same, having forgotten to except the duke of Lancaster being then in Scotland: whereupon the duke took no small displeasure with the earle of Northumberland, as after he well shewed at his coming home. But before he returned forth of Scotland, he wrote to the king to vnderstand his pleasure, in what sort he should returne, humbling himselfe in such wise, as he made offer to come with one knight, one equier, and a groom, if it should please the king so to appoint him; or if it so were that by his presence it was thought the realme was like to fall in any trouble, he was ready to depart into exile, neuer to returne into his countrie againe, if so be that through his absence the king and realme might injoy peace and quietnesse.

The king hearing such offers, wrote to him, that his pleasure was to haue him to returne home, with all his whole traine; and if the same were not thought sufficient to gard him, he should take of euery towne by the which he passed, a certeine number of men to attend him vnto the next towne for his safeguard, and so it was done, the king sending him commission to that effect, and thus coming to the court, he was of the king right honorablie receiued. Within few daies after his coming, he exhibited a grievous complaint against the earle of Northumberland, for abusing him in diuerse sorts, in time of the late troubles, so as his honour was greatlie thereby touched; for which the earle was sent for, and commanded to come vnto Berkhamssted; where all the lords in manner of the land were assembled in counsell.

Where, after the duke had laid diuerse things to the earles charge, for his disobedience, vnfaithfulness, and ingratitude; the earle after the manner of his countrie, not able to forbear, brake out into reprochfull words against the duke, although he was commanded by the king to cease, where the duke kept silence in humble manner, at the first word, when the king commanded him to hold his peace, so that by reason of the earles disobedience in that behalfe, he was arrested. But yet the earls of Warwike and Suffolke undertaking for his appearance at the next parliament, he was suffered to depart, and so the counsell brake up. About the feast of All saints the par-

ment began, to the which the duke of Lancaster came bringing with him an exceeding number of armed men, and likewise the earle of Northumberland with no lesse companie came likewise to London, & was lodged within the citie, hauing great friendship shewed towards him of the citizens, who promised to assist him at all times, when necessitie required, so that his part seemed to be ouerstrong for the duke, if they should haue come to any trial of their forces at that time.

The duke laie with his people in the suburbs, and euery daie when they went to the parliament house at Westminister, both parts went thither in armour, to the great terror of those that were wise and graue personages, fearing some mischief to fall forth of that vnaccustomed manner of their going armed to the parliament house, contrarie to the ancient vsage of the realme. At length, to quiet the parties and to avoid such inconueniences, as might haue growen of their dissention, the king took the matter into his hands, and so they were made friends, to the end that some good might be done in that parliament, for reformation of things touching the state of the realme, for which cause it was especiallie called: but now after it had continued a long time, and few things at all concluded, newes came that the ladie Anne sister to the emperor Maximilian, & affianced wife to the king of England, was come to Calis, whereupon the parliament was proroged till after Christmas, that in the meane time the marriage might be solemnized, which was appointed after the Epiphanie: and forthwith great preparation was made to receiue the bride, that she might be conueied with all honour to the kings presence.

Such as should receiue hir at Douer repaired thither, where at hir landing, a marvellous and right strange wonder happened; for she was no sooner out of hir ship, and got to land in safetie with all hir companie, but that forthwith the water was so troubled and shaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance euer bene heard of: so that the ship in which the appointed queene came ouer, was terrible rent in peces, and the residue so beaten one against another, that they were scattered here and there after a wonderfull manner. Before hir coming to the citie of London, she was met on Blackheath by the mayo and citizens of London in most honorable wise, and so with great triumph conueied to Westminister, where (at the time appointed) all the nobilitie of the realme being assembled, she was solemnized in marriage to the king, and crowned queene by the archbishop of Canturburie, with all the glorie and honour that might be deuised. There were also holden for the more honour of the same marriage, solemne iusties for certeine daies together, in which, as well the Englishmen as the new queenes countrymen shewed proofe of their manhood and valiance; whereby praise & commendation of knightlie prowess was achieved, not without damage of both the parties.

After that the solemnitie of the marriage was finished, the parliament estimes began in the which many things were enacted, for the behoofe of the commonwealth. And amongst other things it was ordained, that all manner manumissions, obligations, releases, and other bonds made by compulsion, duress, and menace, in time of this last tumult and riot against the lawes of the land, and good faith, should be utterlie void and annihilated. And further, that if the kings faithfull liege people did perceiue any gathering of the commons in suspected wise; to the number of six or seauen, holding conuenticles together, they should not staie for the kings writ in that behalfe for their warrant, but forthwith it should be lawfull for

The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland came to the parliament with great troops of armed men.

The Londoners, friends to the earle of Northumberland.

The lords sit in armour in the parliament house.

The king maketh an agreement betweene the duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland.

The emperours sister affianced to the duke of Lancaster, is receiued at Douer.

The kings marriage with the emperours sister.

1382

A truce with Scotland. Tho. Wallis. Howard.

The capitaine of Berwike will not suffer the duke of Lancaster to enter into the towne.

The duke of Lancaster chargeth the earle of Northumberland with diuerse crimes.

S. l. y.

them

them to apprehend such people, assembling together, and to laie them in prison, till they might answer their doings. These and manie other things were established in this parlement, of the which, the most part are set forth in the printed booke of statutes, where ye may read the same more at large.

The sudden death of the earle of Suffolke.

In time of this parlement William Stafford the earle of Suffolke, being chosen by the knights of the shires, to pronounce in behalfe of the common-wealth, certeine matters concerning the same: the booke daie and houre in which he should haue serued that turne, as he went vp the staires, towards the upper house, he suddenlie fell downe and died in the hands of his seruants, busie about to take him vp, whereas he felt no greife of sicknesse when he came into Wellminster, being then and before merrie and pleasant enough, to all mens sights. Of his sudden death, manie were greatlie abashed, for that in his life time, he had shewed himselfe courteous and amiable to all men. ¶ The parlement shortly thereafter took end, after that the merchants had granted to the king for a subsoie certeine customes of their wools, which they bought and sold, called a maletot, to endure for foure yeares. ¶ The lord Richard Scrope was made lord chancellor, & the lord Hugh Degraue lord treasurer.

The earle of March his good seruice whilich he was deputed in Ireland, with his doctrine.

John Wylke.

About the same time, the lord Edmund Mortimer earle of March, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, departed this life, after he had brought in manner all that land to peace and quiet, by his noble and prudent gouernement. In this season, Wicliffe set forth diuers articles and conclusions of his doctrine, which the new archbishop of Canturburie, William Courteney, latelie removed from the see of London, unto the higher dignitie, did what he could by all shifts to suppress, and to force such as were the setters forth and maintainers thereof, to recant, and utterly to renounce. What he brought to passe, in the booke of acts and monuments set forth by master Fox, ye may find at large. The tuesday next after the feast of saint John Baptistine, an other parlement began, in which at the earnest sute and request of the knights of the shires, John Wylke priest that was the chiefe doer among the commons in Suffolke, at Burie, and Spildenhall, was adiudged to be drawn, and hanged, although manie belened, that his life should haue bene redeemed for some great portion of monie.

A coloprophet serued aright.

Ships of Rie win a good price.

A lewd fellow that toke vpon him to be skillfull in physike and astronomie, caused it to be published thorough the cite of London, that vpon the Ascension euen, there would rise such a pestilent planet, that all those which came abroad forth of their chambers, before they had said five times the Lords prayer, shen commonlie called the Water noster, and did not eate somewhat that morning, before their going forth, should be taken with sicknesse, & suddenlie die thereof. Spanie wols belened him, and obserued his order; but the next day, when his presumptuous Heng could be no longer faced out, he was set on horse backe, with his face towards the taile, which he was compelled to hold in his hand in stead of a bydle, and so was led about the cite, with two lordes pates about his necke, and a whetstone, in token that he had well deserved it, for the notable lie which he had made.

About the same time, certeine English ships of Rie, and other places, went to the sea, and meeting pirats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking seven ships, with three hundred men in them. One of those ships had bene taken from the Englishmen afore time, and was called the falcon, belonging to the lord William Latimer. They were all richlie laden with wine, wax, and other good mer-

chandise. This yeare the maior of London John de Poorthampton, otherwise called John de Comberton, did punish such as were taken in adulterie, heerie extremitie: for first he put them in the prison, called the tunne, that then stood in Cornhill, and after caused the women to haue their haire cut, as thous in those daies were serued that were appeachers of others, and so were they led about the streets with trumpets & pipes going before them. Neither were the men spared more than the women, being put to manie open shames and reproches. But because the punishment of such offenses was thought rather to appertene vnto the spirituall iurisdiction, than to the tempozall, the bishop of London, and other of the cleargie, toke it in verie euill part: but the maior, being a stout man, would not forbeare, but died his authority herein to the uttermost.

John de Poorthampton maior of London, a stout punisher of adulterie in his time.

The Londoners favour of Wicliffes doctrine.

The fishermen gets for his maie.

About the same time also, when the archbishop of Canturburie fate in iudgement vpon a procelle that was framed against one John Aton, a maister of art, that was an earnest follower of Wicliffes doctrine, the Londoners bzake open the doores, where the archbishop with his diuines fate, and caused them to giue ouer, so that they durst proceed no further in that matter. The same yeare were the fishmongers of London sore disquieted by the foresaid maior, who sought to infringe their liberties, granting licence to forreners to come and sell all manner of fish, as fraile and more fraile than any of the companie of fishmongers: for they might not bue it at the forreners hands to sell it againe by any meanes, and so that companie which before had bene accompted one of the chiefest in the cite, was now so brought downe, as it seemed to be one of the meanest, being compelled to confesse, that their occupation was no craft, nor worthie so to be accompted amongst other the crafts of the cite.

In this yeare, the one and twentieth of Maie being wednesday, a great earthquake chanced about one of the clocke in the after none; it was so vehement, and natielie in Kent, that the churches were shaken therewith in such wise, that some of them were overthrowen to the ground. On the saturday after, being the four and twentieth day of Maie, earlie in the morning, chanced an other earthquake, as (as some write) a watershake, being of so vehement & violent a motion, that it made the ships in the hauens to beat one against the other, by reason whereof they were sore brused by such knocking together, to the great wonder of the people, who being amazed at such strange tokens, stood a long time after it more awe of Gods wrath and displeasure than before, for these so strange and dreadfull wonders thus shewed amongst them: howbeit when these terrozs were forgotten, they followed their former dissolateness, from the which for a time they were withdraue through feare of Gods heuie hand hanging ouer their heads; but afterward like swine they wallowed afresh in their puddels of pollutions; & as dogs licked by their filthy vomit of corruption and naughtinesse, for

Sed dida natura semper sequitur sua iura.

About this season, the lord Richard Scrope lord chancellor was depofed from that roome, and the king returing the great seate at his hands, kept it a certeine time, and sealed therewith such grants and writings as it pleased him: at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braybrooke bishop of London, who was made lord chancellor. The cause why the lord Scrope was removed from that dignitie, was this. When the king vpon certeine respects had granted certeine gentlemen the lands and possessions that belounged to the late earle of March, and other that were deceased (which he, during the time of their belisminogities, ought to inioy by the lawes of the realme)

Anno Reg.

The bishop of London made lord chancellor in the last Scrope his time.

A new rebellion intended in Suffolke to be raised by one of the conspiracie before it burst out.

The commission of Flanbers rejected for want of sufficient authority.

An act against the fishermen gets within the cite of London.

Remission of sins granted to as manie as would fight against the antipope.

realme) the said lord chancelor refused to seale such grants, alledging that the king being greatlie in debt, which he was to discharge, stood in need of such profits himselfe, and therefore (as he said) he toke not them for faithfull seruants, nor dutifull subiects to his grace, that respecting their owne priuat commoditie more than his or the realmes, did sue for such grants at his hands, aduising them to hold themselves contented with such other things, as it had pleased or might please the king to bestow upon them: for suerlie he would not consent, that they should inioy such gifts as those were. They that were thus relected, made their complaint in such sort to the king, that he taking displeasure with the said lord chancelor, deposed him from his office, to the great offense both of the nobles and commons, by whose consent he was preferred vnto that dignitie.

A new rebellion intended in Dorsetshire was betrayed by one of the conspirators before it burst out.

About Michellmasse this yeare, certeine naughty disposed persons in Dorsetholke, not warned by the successe of the late rebellion, went about a new commotion, intending to murder the bishop of Dorsetholke, and all the nobles and gentlemen of that countie. And to bring their wicked purpose the better to passe, they determined to haue assembled together at St. Faithes faire, and to haue compelled all those that should haue bene present at the same faire, to haue taken part with them, or else to haue lost their liues: and this being done, they would haue taken St. Benets abbey at Holme, which they would haue kept for a fortress, to haue withdrawne into vpon anie force that had bene against them. But yer they could bring their purpose to passe, one of the conspiracie betwixt the matter, they were taken, & lost their heads at Dorsetholke, for their malicious deuises.

The commissioners of Flanders relected for want of sufficient authority.

About the same time a parlement was called, to the which certeine commissioners from the countie of Flanders came, to treat of certeine agrements betwixt the king and realme, and the states of their countie: but because those that came ouer at this time, seemed not sufficient to conclude such treatie as then was in hand, they were sent backe to fetch other more sufficient, as from euerie towne in Flanders some such as might haue full authoritie to go through, and confirme the agrements then in hand. In this parlement, the maiors of London, with a great part of the commoners of the citie, vpon suggestion by them made against the fishmongers, for vsing great deceit in vttering of their fishes, obtained to haue it inacted, that from thenceforth, none of that companie, nor anie of the vintners, butchers, grocers, or other that sold anie provision of vittells, should be admitted maiors of the citie: and so by this they sought to cut off all meanes from the fishmongers to recover againe their old former beggar. And because it was knowne well inough of what authority Sir John Philpot knight was within the citie, and that he fauoured those whome the lord maiors the said John de Dorsethampton fauoured not, he was put off from the bench, and might not sit with them that were of the secret counsell in the cities affaires, whereas neuertheless he had trauelled more for the preservation of the cities liberties than all the residue. Sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Dorsetholke, receiued bulls a little before this present from pope Urbane, to signe all such with the crosse, that would take vpon them to go ouer the seas with him, to warre against those that held with the antipape Clement, that toke himselfe for pope, and to such as would receiue the crosse in that quarrell, such like beneficiall pardons were granted by pope Urbane, as were accustomed to be granted vnto such as went to fight against the Infidels, Turkes, and Saracens, to wote the remission of sinnes, and manie other graces. The bishop of Dorsetholke that had the disposing of the bene-

Remission of sins granted to as many as would fight against Clement the antipope.

fits granted by those bulls, to all such as either would go themselves in person, or else giue anie thing toward the furtherance of that voiage, & maintenance of them that went in the same, shewed those bulls in open parlement, & caused copies to be written forth, & sent into euerie quarter, that his authoritie & power legantine might be notified to all men, for the better bringing to passe of that he had in charge. And truely it should appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accomplish the popes purpose: and on the other part yee must note, that the priuileges which he had from the pope, were passing large, so that as the matter was handled, there were diuerse lords, knights, esquires, and other men of warre in good numbers, that offered themselves to go in that voiage, and to follow the standards of the church with the bishop, and no small summes of monie were leuied and gathered amongst the people, for the furnishing forth of that armie, as after yee shall heare.

In this meane time the earle of Cambridge returned home from Portingale, whether (as yee haue heard) he was sent the last yeare, and promise made, that the duke of Lancaster should haue followed him; but by reason of the late rebellion, and also for other considerations, as the warres in Flanders betwixt the erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought conuenient that anie men of warre should go forth of the realme: and so the king of Portingale not able of himselfe to go through with his enterpryse against the king of Spaine, after some small exploits achieved by the Englishmen, and other of the earle of Cambridge his companie, as the winning of certeine fortresses belonging to the king of Castile, and that the two kings had laine in field, the one against the other by the space of fiftene daies without battell, the matter was taken by, and a peace concluded betwixt them, soze against the mind of the earle of Cambridge, who did what in him laie, to haue brought them to a set field: but when there was no remedie, he bare it so patientlie as he might, and returned home with his people, soze offended (though he said little) against the king of Portingale, for that he dealt otherwise in this matter than was looked for. He had affianced his sonne, which he had by the daughter of Peter, sometime king of Castile, vnto the king of Portingales daughter, now in the time of his being there: but although he was earnestlie requested of the said king, he would not leaue his sonne behind him, but brought him backe with him againe into England (together with his mother) doubting the slippery faith of those people.

The earle of Cambridge returned out of Portingale.

The earle of Cambridge his son affianced to the king of Portingales daughter.

1383

In the Lent season of this first yeare of king Richards reigne, an other parlement was called at London, in the which there was hard hold about the bulls sent to the bishop of Dorsetholke from pope Urbane, concerning his iourne that he should take in hand against the Clementines (as we may call them, for that they held with pope Clement) whome the Urbanists (that is, such as held with pope Urbane) toke for schismatikes. Diuerse there were, that thought it not good that such summes of monie should be leuied of the kings subiects, and the same together with an armie of men to be committed vnto the guiding of a prelat vnskillfull in warlike affaires. Other there were that would needs haue him to go, that the enemies of the church (as they toke them) might be subdued.

Clementines. Urbanists.

And although the more part of the lords of the vpper house, and likewise the knights and burgeses of the lower house were earnestlie bent against this iourne, yet at length those that were of the contrary mind, prevailed, so it was decreed, that it should forward, and that the said bishop of Dorsetholke should haue the fiftenth granted to the king in the last parliament.

Scilicet.

lement, to paie the wages of such men of warre as should go ouer with him: for soldiers without monie passed not much of pardons, no not in those daies, except at the verie point of death, if they were not assured how to be answered of their wages, or of some other consideration wherby they might gaine. ¶ The tenth that was granted afore by the bishops at Wyke, was now in this same parlement appointed to remaine to the king for the keeping of the seas, whilist the bishop should be lord of the realme in following those wars.

These things being thus appointed, the bishop sent forth his letters firmid with his seale into euerie prouince and countrie of this land, giuing to all parsons, vicars, and curats, though this realme, power and authoritie to heare the confessions of their parishioners, and to grant unto those that would bestow any parcell of their goods, which God had lent them towards the aduancing of the iourne to be made by the crossed soldiers against pope Urbans enemies, the abolition and remission of all their sinnes by the popes authoritie, according to the forme of the bull before mentioned. The people understanding of so great and grations a benefite (as they took it) thus offered to the English nation, at home in their owne houses, were desirous to be partakers thereof, and those that were warlike men, prepared themselves to go forth in that iourne with all speed possible. The residue that were not fit to be warriors, according to that they were exhorted by their confessors, bestowed liberallie of their goods to the furtherance of those that went: and so, few there were within the whole kingdome, but that either they went, or gaue somewhat to the aduancing forth of the bishop of Norwich his voyage.

The crossed soldiers.

The captains that went with the bishop of Norwich against the antipape.

Froissard.

This bishop chose diuerse to be associat with him, as captains that were expert in warlike enterprises. The first and principall was sir Hugh Caluerlie an old man of warre, and one that in all places had borne himselfe both valiantlie and politike; next unto him was sir William Farington, who stoutlie spake in the bishops cause, when the matter came in question in the parlement house, touching his going ouer with this croisie. Besides these, there went diuerse noble men and knights of high renowne, as the lord Henrie Beaumont, sir William Elmham, and sir Thomas Triuet, sir John Ferrers, sir Hugh Spenser the bishops nephew by his brother, sir Spatslew Kedman capitaine of Berwik, sir Nicholas Acreton, or Traiton, sir William Farington, and manie other of the English nation: & of Calcogne there went le sire de Chasteauneuf, and his brother sir John de Chasteauneuf, Rahmund de Sparfen, Gnilonet de Pam, Gariot Higlier, John de Cachetan, and diuerse other. Sir John Beauchampe was appointed marshall of the field, but because he was at that present in the marches of the realme towards Scotland, he was not readie to passe ouer when the bishop did. The duke of Lancaster liked not well of the bishops iourne, for that he saw how his voyage that he meant to make into Spaine was hereby for the time disappointed, and he could haue bene better contented (as appeareth by writers) to haue had the monie imployed vpon the warres against the king of Castile that was a Clementine, than to haue it bestowed vpon this voyage, which the bishop was to take in hand against the French king, and other in these neerer parts. Herevpon there were not manie of the nobilitie that offered to go with the bishop.

The statute against simoniers repealed, they are restored to their liberties.

But to saie somewhat of other things that were concluded in this last parlement, we find, that the stronger, which through meanes of the late lord marshal John of Northampton and his complices were put from their ancient customes and liberties,

which they inioied aforesaid within the citie, were now restored to the same againe, sauing that they might not keepe courts among themselves, as in times past they used, but that after the maner of other crafts and companies, all transgressions, offences, and breaches of lawes and customes by them committed, should be heard, tried, and reformed in the maiors court. ¶ All this winter the matter touching the gathering of monie towards the croisie, was earnestlie applied, so that there was leuied what of the disme, and by the deuotion of the people for obtaining of the pardon, so much as betwix to the summe of five and thientie thousand franks.

When the bishop therefore had set things in god forwardness for his iourne, he drew towards the sea side, and was so desirous to passe ouer, and to inuade his aduersaries, that although the king sent to him an expresse commandement by letters to retorne to the court, that he might conferre with him before he took the seas; yet excusing himselfe, that the time would not then permit him to staie longer, he passed ouer to Calis, where he landed the 23 of April, in this first yeare of king Richards reigne. The armie to attend him in this iourne, rose to the number of two thousand horsemen, and fiftene thousand footmen (as some write) though other speake of a far lesser number. But it should seeme that they went not ouer all at one time, but by parts, as some before the bishop, some with him, and some after him.

Now when he and the captains before named, were come ouer to Calis, they took counsell together into what place they should make their first inuasion; and because their commission was to make warre onelie against those that held with pope Clement, the more part were of this mind, that it should be most expedient for them to enter into France, and to make warre against the Frenchmen, whom all men knew to be chiefe maintainers of the said Clement. But the bishop of Norwich was of this opinion, that they could not do better than to inuade the countrie of Flanders, because that a litle before, earle Aelwes hauing intelligence that king Richard had made a confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other part expelled all Englishmen out of his dominions and countrees, so that the merchants which had their goods at Bruges, and other places in Flanders, sustained great losses. Howbeit there were that replied against the bishops purpose herein, as sir Hugh Caluerlie and others; yet at length they yielded thereto, and so by his commandement they went straight to Grauelin, the 21 day of Maie, and immediatlie wan it by assault. Wherevpon Bruckburge was yielded vnto them, the lines and goods of them within saved. Then went they to Dunkirke, & without any great resistance entred the towne, and wan there exceeding much by the spoile, for it was full of riches, which the Englishmen pilfered at their pleasure. The earle of Flanders lieng at Lille was aduertised how the Englishmen were thus entred his countrie, wherevpon he sent ambassadors vnto the English host, to vnderstand why they made him warre that was a right Urbanist.

The bishop of Norwich for answer, declared to them that were sent, that he took the countrie to appertene to the French king, as he that had of late conquered it, whom all the whole world knew to be a Clementine, or at the least he was assured that the countrie therabouts was of the inheritance of the ladie of Bar, which likewise was a Clementine: and therefore, except the people of that countrie would come and loine with him to go against such as were knowne to be enemies to pope Urbane, he would suerlie seeke to destroye them. And whereas the earls ambassadors required safe conduct to go into Eng-

The bishop of Norwich leuied forth his armie.

Polydor.

Froissard, 500 years, 115. orig.

The bishop of Norwich inuaded Flanders.

La. Meir.

Dunkirke taken & sacked by the Englishmen.

The earle of Flanders leuied forth to the bishop of Norwich to haue the cause of his inuasion of Flanders.

The herald of armes sent to the Flemings by the bishop of Norwich as follows.

Thom. Walf.

The order of the bishop of Norwich his battell against the Flemings.

The Flemings discontented by the Englishmen.

La. Meir.

Froissard.

Thom. Walf. Priests and religious men hardy soldiers.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

La. Meir.

land by Calis, to vnderstand the kings pleasure in this mater, the bishop would grant them none at all; wherefore they went backe againe to the earle their maister with that answer.

The Englishmen after the taking and spoiling of Dunkirke, returned to Grauelin and Bruckburge, which places they fortified, and then leauing garrisons in them, they went to Hardike, and toke it, for it was not closed. In the meane time, the countie-men of west Flanders rose in armour, and came to Dunkirke, meaning to resist the Englishmen: whereof when the bishop was certified, with all speed he marched thither, and comming to the place where the Flemings, to the number of moze than twelue thousand were ranged without the towne, he sent an herald vnto them to know the truth, of whether pope they held; but the rude people, not vnderstanding what appertained to the law of armes, ran vpon the herald at his approaching to them, and slue him before he could begin to tell his tale.

The Englishmen herewith inflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their herald, or to die for it, and therewith ordered their battels readie to fight, and being not aboue five thousand fighting men in all, the bishop placed himselfe amongst the horsemen, and set the footmen in a battell marshalled twogewise, broad behind and sharpe before, hauing with them a banner wherein the crosse was beater. The archers were ranged on either side: the standard of the church went before, the field gules, and two heies silver, signifieng that they were souldiours of pope Urbane. Moreover, the bishop had his pennon there silver and azure quarterlie, a freat gold on the azure, a bend gules on the silver: and because he was youngest of the Spencers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the approaching of the battels togither the trumpets blew vp, and the archers began to shot against the battell of the Flemings, the which valiantlie defended themselves, & fought egerlie a long time, but at length they were so galled with arrowes which the archers shot at them a flanke, that they were not able to indure, but were compelled to giue backe.

They were diuided into two battels, a batward, and a reuerward. When the batward began to thynke, the reuerward also bake order, and fled, but the Englishmen pursued them so fast, that they could not escape, but were overtaken and slaine in great numbers. Some saie, there died of them in the battell and chase five thousand, some six thousand; and others write, that there were nine thousand of them slaine: and Thomas Walsingham affirmeth twelue thousand. Some of them fled into the towne of Dunkirke for succour, but the Englishmen pursued them so egerlie, that they entered the towne with them, and slue them downe in the streets. The Flemings in diuerse places gathered themselves togither againe as they fled, and shewed countenance of defence, but still they were driuen out of order, and brought to confusion. The priests and religious men that were with the bishop fought most egerlie, some one of them slaying fiftene of the enimies.

There died of Englishmen at this battell about foure hundred. The Flemings had no horsemen amongst them, nor anie number of gentlemen, for they stood in such dread of English bowes, that they durst not come to anie battell with them, but keeping themselves out of danger, let the commons of the countie in hand to trie what they against the Englishmen were able to do without them. This battell was fought vpon a mondaie being the sixteenth of Maie. The countie was put in a wonderfull feare by this overthrow, so that the townes and castles were in great doubt, and some yielded themselves to

the Englishmen, as Berghen and others; some were wone by force, as the castell of Dinchan, and the towne of St. Venant. To be short, the Englishmen became maisters of all the countie alongst the sea side, euen from Grauelin to Sluis, and got such riches by pillage and spoile, as they could not wish for greater. They preuailed so much, that they wan in manner all the close townes within the bailiue-wakes of Castell, of Popering, Pessines, and Furneis, with the townes of Helwport, Blankberke, and diuerse other.

Also entring into the woods Pepsle and Kutholt, they found a great botie of shepe and beasts, and toke a great sort of prisoners of the countie people, which were fled into those woods for feare of the enimies: but the Englishmen, plaieng the part of good bloudhounds, found them out, & sent all their boties and preie vnto Grauelin and Bruckburge. On the eight daie of Iune they came before the towne of Ppres, and laid siege thereto, whereat they continued the space of nine wakes. Thither came to their aid twentie thousand Gauntiners under the leading of Francis Akreman, Peter Wood, and Peter Winter: so that they within Ppres were streiallie beseged, but there were within it in garrison diuerse valiant knights & capteins, which defended the towne right manfullie: it was fenced with a mightie rampire, and a thicke hedge, trimlie plashed and wond with thornes, as the manner of fortifieng townes was in ancient time amongst them in that countie (as Strabo witnesseth.)

During the time that the siege laie before Ppres, the Englishmen swarmed abroad in the countie, for when it was once knowne that god successe the first companie that went ouer had found, there came daile forth of England great numbers to be partakers of the gaine. Sir John Philpot that fauoured the bishops iourne, prouided them of vessels for their passage, till the bishop vnderstanding that the moze part of those that came thus ouer were vnarmed, and brought nothing with them from home, but onelie swords, bowes and arrowes, did write vnto the said sir John Philpot, that he should suffer none to passe the seas, but such as were men able and likelie to do seruice: where a great number of those that were come to him, were sit for nothing but to consume vittels, much like the popish shanelings and the Romish rascalitie, of whome the like is spoken thus:

Nos numerus sumus & fuges consumere nati.

The multitude of Englishmen and Gauntiners at this siege was great, so that diuerse skirmitches chanced betwixt them, and such as were appointed by the earle to lie in garrisons about in the countie against them: but still the victorie abode on the English side. Also there was an English priest, one sir John Bozing that went to Gaunt with five hundred English archers, by whose aid Arriold Hans one of the capteins of Gaunt overcame his enimies in battell, which were laid in a castell nere to the haue of Allost, and stopped that no vittels might safelie come out of Holland or Zeland to be conueied to Gaunt. The earle of Flanders was not well contented in his mind, that the Englishmen were thus entred into his countie, and therefore earnestlie laboured to the duke of Burgognie (that had married his daughter, and should be heire of all his dominions and seignories after his decesse) to find some remedie in the matter.

The duke, whome the matter touched so nere, did so much with his nephew the French king, that at last he raised his whole puissance, and came downe into Flanders, so that the Englishmen perceiuing themselves not of power to incounter with this huge and mightie armie, were constrained after a great assault,

The Englishmen subdued diuerse townes in Flanders, and spoile the countie.

The towne of Ppres besieged.

The manner of fortifieng townes in old time.

Hope of gaining encouraged the soldiers.

La Meir.

Anno Reg. 7.

The herald of armes sent to the Flemings by the bishop at Ppres.

Thom. Wals.

The order of the bishop of Ppres, which his battell against the Flemings.

The Flemings discombed by the Englishmen.

La Meir.

Froiland.

Thom. Wals. Priests and religious men hardly soldiers.

La Meir.

The siege at
Ypres broken
up.

Newport sacked and burnt by the Englishmen and Gauntiners.

Thom. Walc.

A courageous
 & warlike bi-
 shop.

The French king with his huge armie driue the Englishmen out of Flanders.

Buckburge
 yielded to the
 French.

The duke of
Britaine a
friend to the
Englishmen.

fault, which they gaue the eight of August, to raise their siege from Pyper the mondaie after, being S. Laurence daie, and to withdrawe into Bruckburke, Wergben, Dirincto, Newpozt, Cassell, Dunkirke, Grauelin, and other places which they had toon. But at Newpozt the towncsmen set vp the earles banner, and assailing those that were come into the towne, slue diuerse of them. The Englishmen being soze offended therewith, came running thither with certelne Gauntiners, and made great slaughter of them that had so murdered their fellows. The towne was sacked, and all the goods aswell church iewels as other were sent awaie, partlie by sea into England, and partlie by waggonns into Berge. After this, they set fire in more than thirtie places of the towne, so that there remained nothing unburnt. The Englishmen & Gauntiners that were withdrabone into Berge, got together all the waggonns in the countrie about, placing the same vpon the ditches and rampiers, to scuffle the same against their enmies.

Some write, that after the breaking of the siege at Poyes, the bishop of Norwich would gladly haue perswaded the lords and knights that were there with him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue offered the French king battell, befoze his whole puissance had bene assembled: but sir Thomas Truuet and sir William Elmham with other, would in no wise consent thereto, so that the bishop taking with him sir Hugh Caluerlie, that did neuer forsake him, bad the other farewell, and first making a road into Picardie, he after withdrew into Grauelin, whyles the other went to Buckburge. But by Froissard, and other writers it appeareth, that sir Hugh was certeinlie at Berge, with other that were retired thither, in purpose to defend it against the French king, who still followed them, and recovered diuers places out of their hands by force, as Mont Cassell, the cassell of Crinham, and other. Also at his coming to Berghen, the said sir Hugh Caluerlie, and other that were within it, perceiuing that they were not able to defend it against such a puissance as the French king had there with him, being greater than euer sir Hugh Caluerlie that ancient capteine would haue thought that France had bene able to haue set forth, departed, and left the towne to be spoiled of the Britons, and other French souldiers, which executed there all kinds of crueltie. The more part of the Englishmen went to Buckburge, but sir Hugh Caluerlie went to Grauelin, and so to Calis, as one forse displeased in his mind, so: that his counsell could not be regarded in all this voyage, which if it had bene followed, would haue brought it to a better issue than now it was, as was supposed.

The French king following the tract of good fortune, that guided his ſterne, marched forth to Burck-
burge, ſo that the batward of his armie came before
that towne on Holie roob daie in September, vnder
the leading of the earle of Flanders, the duke of
Britaine, the lord Oliuer de Clifton high conſtable
of France, and the lord Valeran earle of St. Paule,
the which demeaned themſelues in ſuch fort, that al-
though the Engliſhmen within valiantlie defended
the Frenchmens aſſault; yet the third daie after the
Frenchmens coming thither, the Engliſhmen by
composition that they might depart with bag and
bagage, yielded by the towne, which on the nineteenth
of September being ſaturdaie, as that yeare came
about, was abandoned to the French ſoldiers, to
riſe and ſpoile at their pleaſure, in the which ſea the
Britons bare the bell awaie, doing more miſchefe
vnto the poore inhabitants, than with tong can be
recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatlie to
make the composition, that the Engliſhmen might
depart in ſafetie: for the which doing he was in great

hatred and obloquie of the scouldiers, who affirmed that he was not orrelie a friend to the Englishmen, but an ennemie to his countrie, and a traitour to the common-wealth.

The Englishmen comming to Crauelin, set it on fire, and departed streight to Calis, leaving the countrie of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and so returned into England, where they were not greatlie commended for their service, but were put so farre in blame, that sir Thomas Triuet, & sir William Elmham were committed to prison within the tower of London, as men suspected of euill dealing in the deliuerie of Bruckburge and Crauelin to the Frenchmens hands: for Immediatlie after that they had left Crauelin, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortified it for a countergarison to Calis. ¶ There be that write how the French king offered to giue the bishop of Norwich fiftene thousand marks to raze the towne of Crauelin, and so to leaue it vnto him, the bishop hauing libertie with all his people and goods to depart in safetie. The bishop required to haue libertie for certeine daies, to make herevnto a full and deliberate answer : which was granted, and in the meane time he sent into England to aduertise the king in what state he stood, and how the French king late before him with a mightie armie : and therefore if he meant euer to trie battell with the Frenchmen, now was the time.

In the same summer, the king with the queene went abroad in p[ro]gresse, visiting in their waie the rich abbots of the realme, as Burie, Betsford, Po[r]twich, & other; going about a great part of the realme. And when these newes came to him from the bishop of Po[r]twich, he was at Daunterie in Po[r]thampton-shire, and being the same time at supper, he put the tale from him, and rising with all hast, got him to horse backe, and rode in post that night, changing horse diuers times, with such speed that he came to S. Albons about midnight, and making no staie there longer than he had borrowed the abbats gelding, hastied forth till he came to Westminster: so that it appeared he would neuer haue rested till he had passed the sea, and giuen battell to the Frenchmen. But after his comming to Westminster, wearied with that hastie iourne, he got him to bed, and liked so well of ease, that he thought good to send a lieutenant in his stead to passe the seas, to deliuer the bishop from danger of his enemies.

Herebyon was the duke of Lancaster sent for, that he might with such powder as was readie to passe the seas, go ouer with the same, and giue battell to the French king: but he protracted time, till the respect granted to the bishop to make answer was expired, and so the bishop when he saw no succour come forth of England, raced the towne as the covenant was: but monie he would not or did not receiue, because he thought in so doing he should offend the councill. At his comming backe into England, he found the duke of Lancaster at the sea side with a great powder of men readie to haue come ouer: although some thought that he deferred time of purpose, for that he misliked of the bishops whole enterpryse; and now because it had thus quailed, he blamed the bishop for his euill gouernement therein: but sir Hugh Caluerlie he retained with him a time, doing him all honour, by reason of the old approued valencie, that had bene euer found in him. And this was the end of the bishop of Norwich his iourneie.

The Scots in the meane while sate not still, but made roades into England, toke and burnt the castell of *Wulster*. Whereouer, whilst the siege laie before *Wyres*, the Frenchmen armed certeine vessels, and sent them to the sea, namelie five balengiers, as well to intercept such as should passe betwixt *England*

Gracelin for-
tified by the
Frenchmen
for a counter-
garrison to
Calis.
Thom. W. M.

The king &
queen in
progress.

A great heat
soon cooled.

The bishop of
Dorwich re-
turned into
England out
of flandres.

work ceased
burnt by the
Scots.

An. Reg

Diverse
French ships
taken by the
Englishmen.

parlement
at London.

The tempo-
ralties of the
bishops:ke of
Norwich sei-
zed into the
kings hands
for the bishops
disobedience.

A treatie of
peace between
England and
France,

truce taken
betweene
England and
France.

bo. Walgin.

Great conten-
on about the
tion of the
ator of Lon-
on.

These
French ships
taken by the
Englishmen.

Parliament
at London.

The tempo-
ralities of the
bishops set
into the
king's hands
for the bishops
disobedience.

Treatie of
peace between
England and
France.

A truce taken
between
England and
France.

The Wallis.

Great conten-
tion about the
election of the
mayor of Lon-
don.

land and Flanders, as also to stop such as were ap-
pointed to go over into Gascoigne, that were soldiers
also of the croisse, appointed thither under the lea-
ding of the lord Bitrigale de la Bret, and certeine
others. When they of Portsmouth understood that
these five ships were abroad, they made forth to the
sea, and meeting with their aduersaries, fought with
them a sore & cruell battell, and in the end slue all the
enimies, nine excepted, and took all their vessels. An
other fleet of Englishmen took eight French ships,
which had aboard 1500 tunns of good wines, that com-
forted the Englishmen greatly.

About the feast of All saints was a parlement
holden at London, in which was granted to the king
one moiety of a fifteenth by the laitie, and thortie af-
ter a moiety of a tenth by the cleargie. Moreover, the
king took into his hands the temporalities that be-
longed to the bishop of Norwich, because he obeyed
not the kings commandment when he was sent for
at the time when he took the seas to passe into Flan-
ders. The knights also that had not shewed such obe-
dience to the bishop as was requist in that sortie,
were committed to prison; but thortie after they
were set at libertie upon suerties that undertoke
for them. ¶ It was also decreed in this parlement,
that the erle of Buckingham the kings uncle should
go to the borders against Scotland, with a thousand
lances, and two thousand archers, to represse the pre-
sumptuous attempts of the Scots; who aduertised
thereof, sent ambassadors to treat of peace; but they
were dispatched home againe, without obtaining
that which they came to sue for.

At the motion and instance of the duke of Bri-
taine, immediatly upon the returne of the English
armie out of Flanders, there was a meeting of cer-
teine commissioners in the marches of Calis, at a
place called Elleghehen, for the treatie of a peace to be
concluded betwixt the two realmes of England and
France. There appeared for king Richard, the duke of
Lancaster, and his brother the erle of Buckingham,
sir John Holland brother to the king, sir Thomas
Percie, and a bishop. For the French king, thither
came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the bishop
of Leon, and the chancelor of France. There were
also the duke of Britaine, and the erle of Flanders.
Also there came a bishop with other commissioners
from the king of Spaine: for the Frenchmen would
do nothing, except the king of Spaine might be also
compised in the treatie and conclusion. They were
there twelke in communing of an agreement: but
when nothing else could be brought to passe, they con-
cluded a truce to indure till the feast of S. Michaell,
which should be in the yeare 1384.

The erle of Flanders was indged most in blame,
for that no peace could be accorded, because he would
not that the Gauntiners should be compised therin,
but the Englishmen would not agree either to truce
or peace, except regard might be had of the Gaunt-
iners, as their friends and allies. The kings of Spaine
and Scotland were compised in this truce as conde-
derats to the Frenchmen, which should have signified
the same into Scotland, but did not till great harme
followed through negligence bled in that matter, as
after ye shall perceive. ¶ The same yeare in the
night of the feast of the Purification of our lady,
great lightnings and thunders shaked, with pe-
rill in no small feare, so huge and hideous was
that tempest. Thortie after, there rose so small add
in the cite of London about the election of the ma-
yor: for such as favoured the late mayo John de
Borthampton, other wise called John de Cornber-
ton, stood against sir Nicholas Brounkes knight: that
was chosen to succeed the said John de Borthamp-
ton, inasmuch that a thomaker who was one of the

same John de Borthampsons partakers, presumed
through a number of voices that were ready to fa-
vour him, to take upon him as mayo: but through
the counsell of sir Robert Anolles knight, he was
suddenlie apprehended, bealoned, and beheaded, as a
rebell and troubler of the kings peace.

In the Lent season, the duke of Lancaster with
his brother the erle of Buckingham went towards
the borders, having with him a mightie power of
knights, esquieres, and archers, and after he had re-
mained a certeine time upon the borders, about Cas-
ter he entered Scotland, and coming within thre
miles of Edinburgh, he staid there thre daies, in
which meane time the Scots conveyed all their goods
out of the towne over the water of Firth: so that
when the armie came thither, they found nothing but
bare walles, which grieved the soldiers not a little.
The Scots would not come forth to give any bat-
tell to the Englishmen, but got them into woods and
mounteines, or else passed over the river of Firth,
suffering the Englishmen to fight with the behe-
ment cold weather that then sore annoied those parts,
in so much that on Easter daie at night, through
snow that fell, and such extreme cold and boisterous
stormes as sore afflicted the armie, being incamped
within the compasse of a marish ground for their
more suertie, there died above five hundred horses,
to let passe the losse of men that perished at the same
time, of whom we make no mention. To conclude,
after the duke and his brother the erle had remain-
ed a time thus in Scotland, and burned certeine
townes, they returned into England.

About the same time, to wit, in the quindene of
Easter, a parlement of the nobles was holden at
Salisbury, during the which an Irish frier of the or-
der of the Carmelits, being a bachelor in divinitie,
exhibited to the king a bill against the duke of Lan-
caster, charging him with heinous treasons: as that
he meant upon a sudden to destroye the king, and
to usurpe the crowne, shewing the time, the place,
and circumstances of the whole contrived matter.
The king being young both in yeares and discretion,
when he had heard the friers information, called too
of his chapleins unto him, one sir Nicholas Slake,
and an other, and asked their advise what they thought
good to be done in such a weightie cause. ¶ How as
they were busie in talke about the same, the duke of
Lancaster came into the kings chamber asked his
wonted manner, not understanding any thing of
the matter wherof they were in talke. The king with
a fterne countenance beheld the duke, not giving
him the honoz that he was accustomed. The duke
suspecting that the king had smitethat in his head
that touched his person, withdrew. In the morn-
ing thortie twa that were thus in counsell with the
king, fearing happlie the dukes power, rose up upon
god, with their bare towars him, persuaded the king
that in any wise he should call him to see and know
what was laid to his charge.

The duke after he had read the bill of his treason
on made such answer, and so excoised himselfe in be-
claring his innocence, that the king gave oved to
his words, and received his excuse. There with the
duke besought the king, that the frier might be kept
in safe gaw: till the time came that he might purge
himselfe of that he had charged him with, and that
lord John Holland the kings halfe brother might
have the custodie of him till the day appointed that
the duke should come to his full trial. The next mor-
row which day, the said lord Holland, and the worthy
Greene knight, came to this frier, and putting a cord
about his necke, tied the other end about his hand,
inasmuch that after hanging him by from the chancel,
laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight wherwith
and

Sir Robert
Anolles.

The duke of
Lancaster in-
vadeth Scot-
land with an
armie.

Edinburgh
left desolate.

Great death
of horses and
men in the
English host,
by reason of
extreme cold.

A parlement
at Salisbury.

An Irish frier
approacheth the
duke of Lanca-
ster of treason.

How as
they were busie
in talke about the
same, the duke of
Lancaster came
into the kings
chamber asked his
wonted manner.

The king with
a fterne countenance
beheld the duke, not
giving him the
honoz that he was
accustomed.

And thus

A miserable &
cruell torture,
and

The ships of
Barnmouth
burnt by king
Richard.

desired themselves better: for entering into the river of Swaine, they drowned foure of their enemies ships, and took other foure, with a barke of the lord Cliftons, one of the fairest that was to be found either in France or England. In these vessels the Englishmen had a rich pyrie of wines, and other merchandises. ¶ The king upon some occasion took great displeasure against William Courtnie archbishop of Canturburie, so storming against him, as few durst speake anie thing in his excuse. The lord chancellor Michaell de la Pole seeming to fauour his cause, was likewise to haue run in high displeasure. Sir Thomas Arriuet, and sir John Deuereux intreating for him, were sore rebuked at his hands. Yet at length, after that the archbishop was withdrawne, and had kept him close for a time, he was thorough mediation of some friends reconciled to the kings fauour.

Le Meir,
Jouillard.
The French
king orders
Scots against
Englishmen.

The Scots
made the
frontiers of
England.
Anno Reg. 9.

The king
goeth
with an armie
against the
Scots.

Clarence be-
trayeth sir
John Hol-
lands seruants
and the lord
Richard
Stafford.

The lord
Richard
Stafford
is slain by
sir John
Holland.

Red Boecius.

About the same time the French king sent into Scotland the admerall of France, with a thousand men of armes, knights, and esquires, besides crossbowes and other to iouine with the Scots, and to make warres in England. The Scots encouraged with this new aid, sent to them out of France, leuied a power, & so together with the Frenchmen, entered into the English confines, and began to rob & spoile, and further took certeine castles and houses of defence. The king of England aduertised hereof, assembled an huge power of men of warre, and first sent before him the duke of Lancaster with part of the armie, and afterward followed him selfe, with all conuenient speed that might be. At his comming into the parts about York, he was informed that the Scots and Frenchmen were withdrawne vpon the duke of Lancasters approach towards them, but the king thought to keepe on his iournie. Whilest he was lodged in those parts, a great mischance happened, by reason of variance that fell betwixt certeine persons of the retinue of sir John Holland brother vnto the earle of Kent and halfe brother to the king, and other of the retinue of the lord Richard Stafford sonne to the earle of Stafford.

The cause of their falling out was about a knight of Boheme, called sir Miles, that was come to see the queene. This knight kept companie most an end with the lord Richard Stafford: and chancing to be at words with two of sir John Hollands seruants, there came two archers pertaining to the lord Stafford, which blamed them, that were so about to misuse the stranger in words, as they tolke it: the strife here by grew to that point in the end, that one of the archers shot at one of sir John Hollands seruants, and slue him. This mishap being reported to sir John Holland, set him in such a furie (by reason of the loue which he had to his seruant) that immediately he rushed forth of his lodging, to reuenge his death, and through misfortune meeting with the lord Stafford, slue him, and doubting in what sort his deed might be taken, fled straight vnto Wenerlie, and there took sanctuary. The erle of Stafford took this misadventure right heauilie, as reason was: yet because he would not trouble the host, nor disappoint the iournie which they had in hand, vpon the kings promise that he would do by right iustice in the matter, as should be thought meet and conuenient, he bare his graefe so patientlie as he might, so that he wan himselfe much praise for his wisdom therein shewed.

The king aduancing forwards with his armie, came to the borders, and entring into Scotland, passed thorough Mers and Louthian, waisting and spoiling all the townes, houses and villages in his waite. The abbeyes of Melros, Wintonburgh, and Jethvottell were burnt, and those monks and other people that were found in the same were slaine. At his comming

to Edenburgh, he found all the people fled out of the towne, but the houses and buildings he consumed with fire, together with the church of saint Giles. At the humble sute of his vnckle the duke of Lancaster, Holie rood house was preserved from hurt, for that the same duke in time of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that house, and found much gentleness and friendship in the abbat and conuent; so that he could do no lesse than requite them with kindnesse, at whose hands he found kindnesse; for we are bound in conscience to tender them by whom we haue bene benefited (vnlesse we will be counted vnciuill, according to the old adage)

Arbor honoratur cuius nos umbra tuetur.

Thus when the king had reuenged the displeasure afore receiued at the Scots and Frenchmens hands, (and remained in Edenburgh five daies) he returned without proffer of battell, or anie notable encounter. The admerall of France was earnestlie in hand with the Scottish lords to persuaide them to haue giuen battell to the English armie, till he and diuers other knights of France were brought to the top of a mountaine, from whence they might behold all the English armie, as the same passed vnderneath them by a passage that laie by the foot of that mountaine: for after that they had viewed the puissance of the Englishmen, and (as nere as they could) numbered them, they had no such eger minds to fight with them as before, for they esteemed them to be six thousand men of armes, and threescore thousand archers, and other men of warre; where the Scots and Frenchmen were not past a thousand speares, and thirtie thousand of all other sorts, and the most part of those but euill armed. Therefore they determined vpon an other point, which was, to invade England in an other quarter, whilest the Englishmen burnt by their countrie, and so they set forward towards the west borders, and passing ouer the mountaine that diuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entered into Cumberland, doing much hurt in the lands that belonged to the lord Poitimaie, to the earles of Northumberland, and Stafford, to the baron of Grailliocke, and to the Pulgranes.

Lastlie, they came to Carlisle, and boldlie assaulted the citie: but sir Lewis Clifford, and sir Thomas Pulgrane, Dauid Holgrane, and diuers other worthie captaine being within it, so defended the walles and gates, that their enemies got small aduantage: and finally hearing that the English armie was returning homewards, the Scots and Frenchmen drew backe into Scotland, doubting to be inclosed by the Englishmen, as they had bene in deed, if the duke of Lancaster and his brethren (vnckles to the king) might haue bene beleued, who counselled the king to pursue the enemies, and stop the passages through which they must needs passe in their comming backe. But the earle of Wrenford being most in fauour and credit with the king in those daies, as one that ruled all things at his pleasure, did aduise him to the contrarie, by putting him in beleafe (as was said) that his vnckles went about to bring him in danger to be lost and surprised of his enemies, where vpon he took the next way home, and so brake by his iournie.

When the Scots and Frenchmen were returned into Scotland, the Scottish king hauing conceiued a iust displeasure towards the French admerall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had sustained such damage in that season, caused him and his frenchmen to be despoiled of the most part of their goods, and sent them to a waite out of his countrie, that the Scots might receiue some comfort by using those warres. In this yeare was the battell of Algebrota in Poytingale, where king John of Poytingale

Edenburgh
burnt by king
Richard.

The French
admerall per-
suadeth the
Scots to
fight with the
English host.

Cumberland
sore spoiled by
the Scots.

Carlisle assal-
ted by the
Scots.

Good counsell
neglected.

Polydon.

A noble re-
venge.

There were
English
in who with
their bowes
did great ser-
vice as by one
author it ap-
peareth.

The king of
Portingale
sendeth six
gallies to
Richards
aid.

A good victo-
rie of them of
Calis against
the French
fleet.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Lancaster
abbie.

The Calis-
ians & others
make a rode
into France
& win great
booties.

Fabian.

Creation of
dukes and
earles at the
parlement.

Henric of
Bollingbroke
earle of
Derbie
afterwards
king.

The lord
Spotmure
earle of March

gale discomfited a great host of Spaniards and Frenchmen by the helpe and policie of certeine Englishmen which he had there with him, vnder the leading of two esquiers Forberie and Hartell. There were slaine diuers earles & great lordes of Spaniards, but for that our writers do not rightlie note the Spanish names, but write them corruptlie as strangers vse to do, we here omit them. The king of Portingale (after this victorie obtained against his enemies) sent six gallies vnto the king of England to aid him against his aduersaries, the which were well received and highlye made of by the Londoners and other, so that the Portingales had no cause to repent of their comming thither.

The French king this yeare besieged and won the towne of Dam, after he had bene at great charges about it. Whilste his nanie returned from Secluis, where the same had laien at anchor a long time, the ships by tempest were scattered & wether-biuen, so that in the feast daie of the exaltation of the crosse, two of their gallies, a great ship, a barge, and seauen balengers were cast on shore about Calis, & the Calisians toke five hundred Frenchmen and Portugals that escaped to land. An other day 72 French ships (as they were comming from Secluis, to passe by Calis, were met with by them of Calis, who behaued themselves so manfullie, that they toke 18 of those French ships, and a great barke, in which thre score armed men were slaine before it could be taken. Within thre daies after this, the Calisians met 45 other French ships, and after six houres fight obtained the victorie, taking thre of the most principall vessels, whereof one being a hulke of Castile was hired by the Portugals, to gard the residue. The other two that were taken were of such mold, that they could not enter into the haven at Calis, and therefore were sent to Sanduwich, the one of them being a new ship, which the lord Clifton had bought at Secluis, paying for hir 30000 franks. Henric Knighton saith it was pised or valued at 20000 florens, it was so tall, big, and large a vessel; and therefore of great capacitie.

On saint Denise daie the soldiors of Calis and other English fortresses thereabouts, made a secret iourne into France, and got a botie of foure thousand sheepe, and thre hundred head of great cattell, which they droue towards their holds; and as the lord de Hambures gouernour of Bullongne would haue recovered the preie, he was unhorsed with the encounter of an English speare, and being relieved by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrew himselfe, not attempting to trie any further masteries, and so the Englishmen safelie passed forth with their botie of cattell, and about a hundred good prisoners which they had taken at this rode. In this yeare about the feast of S. Martine, the king called his high court of parlement at Westmister, in the which amongst other things there concluded, he created two dukes, a marques, and five earles. First Edmund Langlie earle of Cambridge the kings uncle was created duke of York, Thomas of Woodstoke his other uncle earle of Buckingham was created duke of Glocester, Robert Here earle of Arford was made marques of Deuelin, Henric of Bollingbroke sonne and heire to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster was created earle of Derby: Edward Plantagenet sonne and heire to the Duke of York was made earle of Rutland, Michaell lord de la Pole chancelor of England was created earle of Suffolke, & sir Thomas Spontmure earle of Nottingham was made earle marshall.

Also by authoritie of this parlement, Roger lord Spotmure earle of March, sonne and heire of Edmund Spotmure earle of March, and of the ladie Phi-

lip eldest daughter and heire vnto Lionel duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, was established heire apparant to the crowne of this realme, and shortlye after so proclaimed. The which earle of March, anon after the end of the same parlement, sailed into Ireland to his lordship of Ulster, whereof he was owner by right of his said mother: but whilste he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Irish, a great number of them together assembled, came vpon him and slue him, together with the most part of his companie. This Roger earle of March had issue Edmund, Roger, Anne, Ales, & Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a nunne. The two sonnes died without issue, and Anne the eldest of the daughters was married to Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne vnto Edmund of Langlie before remembred: the which Richard had issue by the said Anne, a son called Richard, that was after duke of York, and father to king Edward the fourth, also a daughter named Isabell, afterwards married to the lord Bourcher. This Richard earle of Cambridge was put to death by Henric the first, as after ye shall heare.

Whereouer, in this yeare Henric of Bollingbroke earle of Derby married the daughter and heire of Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford, in whose right he was after made duke of Hereford, and by hir he had issue Henric that after him was king of this realme, the ladie Blanch duchesse of Bar, and the ladie Philipp married to the king of Denmarke: also Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humfrie duke of Glocester. The Gauntiners still mainteined warre against the earle of Flanders during his life, and after his deceasse against Philip duke of Burgogne, by such aid and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of England, till finallye this yeare about the eighteenth daie of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the said duke and the towne of Gaunt: and sir John Bourchier that had laine a long season there, as capteine vnder the R. of England, and Peter de Bois one of the chiefe captains of the Gauntiners (before the concluding of this peace) were safelie conducted to Calis by vertue of the duke of Burgogne his safe conduct, and so they came ouer into England, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a pension of an hundred marks sterling, yearelie to be paid to him out of the Staples of the woollens in London.

This yeare king Richard holding his Christmase at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armenia, whose countrie and realme being in danger to be conquered of the Turks, he was come into those west parts of chistendome for aid and succour at the hands of the christian princes here. The king honorablie receiued him, and after he had taken counsell touching his request, he gaue him great sommes of monie and other rich gifts, with a stipend (as some write) of a thousand pounds yearely to be paid to him during his life. After he had remained here two moneths space, he toke leaue of the king and departed. The chiefe point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and France, but deslinie would not permit so good a purpose to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, would not suffer their lostie minds to yeld in any one point, further than seemed good in their owne opinions.

In this ninth yeare of king Richard (though by other writers it should seeme to be rather in the yeare following) the duke of Lancaster with a great power of men of warre went into Spaine, and lead with him thither his wife the ladie Constance, & a daughter which he had by hir named Batharine, and two other daughters which he had by his former wife. He

proceded
heire appar-
tant to the
crowne.

The earle of
March came
by the lord
Irish.

The issue of
the forelaid
earle of
March.

Froissart.

The king of
Armenia com-
meth into
England
and against
the Turks.

Thom. Wals.

Thom. Wals.
Froissard.
la. Meis.
1286

The duke of
Lancaster
goeth into
Spaine with
an army.

In Angl. preli.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Lancaster
abbie.

Thom. Wals.
The duke of
Lancaster lan-
beth at West-
mouch and sum-
meth two ballies
from the
Frenchmen.

Anno Reg. 10.
The duke of
Lancaster
lanbeth at
Grangne.
Froissard.

had bene about the preparing of an armie, and all furniture necessarie for this iourne two or three yeres before, and therefore hauing now seauen galleies and eightene ships sent to him out of Portingale (which arriued at Wythow) he caused all such vessels as he had provided to resort likewise thither, where making his generall assemblee, when all his men of warre were come together, he bestowed them aboard, with all their horses and purueances, and causing sailes to be hoisted vp, set forward on his long wished iourne. This was in the moneth of Maie, when the seas were calme, the aire sweet, and the winds pleasant and agreeable to his purpose. He appointed for admerall of his whole fleet sir Thomas Percie; and sir John Holland that was after created earle of Huntington and had married one of his daughters was ordeined constable of the host; and sir Thomas Pozeaur hauing married his bastard daughter was one of his marshals.

There were that attended him in this iourne manie other lords and knights of honoz, as the lord Lucie, the lord Talbot, the lord Bassett, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Poinsings, the lord Badston, the lord of Pomiers a Calcoigne, the lord Poinsie fitz Warren, Henric lord Beaumont, William lord Beauchampe, sir Richard Burlic that was another of the marshals of the armie, sir Hugh Spenser, sir William Windsoze, sir John Daubreticourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir William Farrington, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Gauburin de Liniers, sir Thomas Worcester, sir John Solwtric, sir Robert Clinton, sir Philip Tirrell, sir Lewes Rochester, Inguelin Caluerlie, David Holgrau, Thomas Alerie, Hobequin Beaucher, and diuerse other: they were in all to the number of fiftene hundred men of armes, whereof a thousand at the least were knights and esquiers, besides foure thousand archers, and other men of warre, so perfectlie appointed and arraid, as could be thought meet and conuenient. Of this chosen companie attendant vpon the duke of Lancaster, & of this his voiage into Spaine, the said C. Okland speaketh no lesse trulie & according to the report of our annales, than honorablie:

In. Angl. prob.

*Optim instruitur pro bello classe futuro,**Milite stipatus generoso trajicit equor**Fluctifundum, cum uxore pia natisq; duabus, &c.*Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knighton
canon of
Lichfield
abbey.

Henric Knighton reporteth of this voiage as foloweth, in somewhat a differing sort from this alreadie laid downe. On Easter daie (saith he) John the duke of Lancaster with his wife came to the king, to take their leaue; to the which duke the king gaue a crowne of gold, and the queene likewise gaue another crowne of gold to the duchesse. Besides this, the king commanded his people that they should call him king of Spaine, and do him honour in all things. He had with him a power of 20000 chosen men; of which number noted in the marshals bill 2000 were men of armes, and 8000 were archers.

From Walf.
The duke of
Lancaster lan-
deth at Wyth
and diuerse
two balliues
from the
Frenchmen.

As they passed by Britaine, they landed at Wyth, the capteine whereof, at that time named sir John Roche, finding himselfe greatlie annoied by the Frenchmen that were lodged in two bassides erected before the castell, declared to the duke in what state he stood. Whereupon he caused the said bassides to be assailed, which was done by the lord Fitz Walter, and others, who bare themselves so manfullie, that the bassides were wone, broken downe, and a great preie with prisoners obtained, although not without losse of diuerse valiant personages. Thus were they within Wyth castell deliuered of their unfrendlie neighbours by the duke of Lancaster and his people. Who hauing done their feat toke the seas, and sailed forth till they came on the coasts of Gallis, where on S. Laurence euen, they arriued in

Anno Reg. 10.
The duke of
Lancaster
toucheth
Britaine.
In. Angl.

the haue of Grogne, otherwise called Cozon, and there they vnsipped all their prouisions, & terminating to invade the countrie on that side. ¶ Where, because it is not vnprofitable to know the absolute truth of things done, by the collection of writers, I haue translated the besieging of Wyth, as the same is set downe by Henric Knighton in his annales, in a larger and more ample sort, with a fuller certificat of circumstances than hath hitherto bene declared. At the same time (saith he) the duke of Britaine had laid siege both by sea and land, to a certeine towne in Britaine, in old time subiect to the king of England, which was called Wyth, with a great multitude of Frenchmen and Britains. Now on the twelfth of the kalends of Iulie, he began to build a fort before the said towne of Wyth, of a wonderfull bignesse, the walles thereof being ten foot thicke, and seauen towres about it. A thousand workemen did worke daie by daie vpon it, and to defend the said workemen (that they might not be hindered in their busynesse by the citizens) ten thousand fighting men were appointed. So that this fort was begun and ended in nineteene daies space, and called the Douche house, because a douch house stood in the same place before. Furthermore he stozed this fort with all necessaries, as vittels, armour, guns, and other engines, and he placed therein as capteine of the warriors the lord John Galetret with a hundred and fiftie armed men, and as manie other soldiors, the whole number being three hundred.

The good duke of Lancaster hauing knowledge hereof, directed his fleet or naue towards the haue of Wyth, where when he had arriued, they all fled from the siege, both by sea and land, those onlie, which were in the fort, remaining behind. Now the prior of S. James in Calis desired the good duke that he might giue the first assault against the fort; who taking the repulse with his retinue, he ceased and gaue ouer. In like sort did manie more giue the assault to the same fort the space of two daies and more: in so much that some digging vnder the wals, and undermining the foundations of one towre, the same fell downe vpon sir Robert Swinarton a valiant knight of Staffordshire, and manie more, among whom was John de Bolton a couragious gentleman and an esquire by degree of Dorsetshire. As for those that were vpon the towre, they also came tumbling downe, and were presentlie slaine.

In the meane time the lord Galetret gardian of the fort, sent word to the duke of Lancaster, that he would yeld and surrender the hold into his hands vpon condition, that he and all his might frelie depart with such armour, goods, chatels and vituals as they had repored and laid vp in stozes for their necessarie prouision: wherevnto the good duke (as he was alwaies good) verie gentlie agreed; vpon condition also, that before their departure, they should ruinate the said fort, and laie it euen with the ground; and should likewise allow and paie him towards his costs and charges defraied in the siege of the same, twentie thousand scutes of gold. Then might you see the people flocking from all parts of the countrie, some with beires, some with cabbins, some with carts, and some with crutches to fetch alwaie the dead and the wounded: in so much that there was not one, either slaine outright, or deadlie maimed, for whom his frends did not moene and lament. ¶ And the lord Galetret himselfe was so mangled and hurt, that he could not go on his legs, but as he leaned on mens shoulders, and was borne vp on either side. It was reported, that manie dead bodies were hidden in heaps of salt, to the end that the Englishmen should not glorie and triumph in the multitude of the slaine, of whom [in sight] the number amounted to aboue

150. Thus farre goeth Henrie Knighton, whose report giueth no small light to the matter vnder hand. After the duke had remained a moneth at Croigne, he went to Compostella, and there sojourned for a season, during the which, his constable sir John Holland wone diuerse towncs and fortresses which the enemies kept: diuerse poynted to the duke with better will, for that the duchesse his wife was there with him, whom they knew to be right inheritor to the realme. ¶ At Moulson a towne on the confines betwixt Spaine and Portingale, the king of Portingale and the duke of Lancaster met, where they communed and toke counsell together for the more speedie proceeding in their enterprisse against their aduersaries of Castile. Also there was a mariage concluded betwixt the said king of Portingale, and the ladie Philip daughter to the said duke, which marriage shortly after was wholie consummated, the said ladie being first married by procurator at Compostella, and after sent into Portingale right honorable accompanied.

Philip the duke of Lancaster's daughter married to the king of Portingale.

The king of Portingale & the duke of Lancaster coming together at Moulson together with the duke of Castile.

Clarence amongst writers.

Great death in the English host in Spaine by reason of the great heat of that countree.

The duke continued at Compostella all the winter season, till towards March, and then (according to appointment taken betwixt him, and the king of Portingale, at their being together at Moulson, for their iourne to be made into Castile) the said king assembled an armie of a thousand men of armes, and ten thousand other souldiers, with the which entering the confines of Castile, he first toke the towne of Ferroule, and after joining with the duke, who had in the meane while by his marshall taken the townes of Ruelles, Vile Lopez, Pouncevoide, Dighos, Balonne in la Aparoll, Ribadan, Spaures, Belantes, and Drens, with others in the countree of Gallis, they marched forth with their whole powers both together, and passing ouer the river of Dure, entered into the countree de Campo.

¶ Here the English writers make mention of a battell, which the constable of Castile should giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the dukes side, and the Spaniards chased out of the field. ¶ But Froissard (who liued in those daies, and learned that which he wrote of those that were with the duke in his iourne) maketh no remembrance of any such thing, but that contrarie to the king of Castile following the aduise of such Frenchmen as were sent into Spaine to aid him, caused all the riches of the countree to be brought into the walled townes and fortresses, which he stuffed with men of warre, to defend them from the Englishmen and Portingales; and further to cut off their bitels, and to keepe them from hauing forage abroad in the countree, vntill such as were sent were garded with the greater troops for their furtie and defence.

Thus bestowing the most part of all such men of warre, both Frenchmen and Spaniards, as he could make in places most conuenient for that purpose, he fullie determined not to giue battell till his enemies had wearied themselves in keeping of the fields, and that a new power was come to his aid out of France, which he daily looked for. By which means it came to passe, that the Englishmen not used to such hot aire as they found in those parts in that season of the yeare (for it was about middsummer) fell daily into manie perillous diseases, whereof no small number died; and other became so faint, that they were not able to helpe themselves, that to consider the miserie in which they were, it would haue rued the hearts of their better foes. Whereupon was the duke constrained to fall to a communication for a peace, which in the end was accorded, though not at this instant.

Howbeit a truce was granted, in such wise as it might be at the Englishmens choise to returne into their countree, either by sea or by land, thorough

France, such as passed through Spaine to France, had safe conduits sealed and signed by the king of Spaine; but scarce the halfe of those that came out of England with the duke, returned thither againe, they died so fast, as well after the breaking vp of their campe, as before. Amongst other, there died before the breaking vp of the campe, one of the greatest barons of all the companie, named the lord Fitz Walter; and afterwards within the towne of Wille Arpent, there died (as Froissard saith) three great barons of England, and men of great possessions: sir Richard Burle a knight of the garter, who had bene as it were high marshall of the armie, the lord Poynings, and sir Henrie Berce couline germane to the earle of Northumberland.

In the towne of Poie deceased sir Hanburin de Liniers a Poitouin, and in the towne of Ruelles died the lord Talbot, and so here and there (saith Froissard) there died in all twelue great lords, foure score knights, two hundred esquiers, and of the meaner sort of souldiers aboute fise hundred. After that the armie was broken vp, the duke of Lancaster and the duchesse his wife went into Portingale, and there remained a season, and then taking the sea, sailed to Balonne in the marshes of Gascoigne, where he rested a long time after. ¶ In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a mariage to be had betwixt the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king; and the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, and of the duchesse his wife the ladie Constance.

¶ When the king of Spaine vnderstood of that treatie, he began to doubt, least if that mariage toke place, it might turne to his disauantage; and therefore to be at quietnesse with the duke of Lancaster, whose puissance he doubted, and whose wisdom he perfectly vnderstood, by politike meanes and earnest sute, at length concluded a peace with him on this wise; That his eldest son Henrie should haue in marriage the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, begot on his wife the duchesse Constance, and be intituled prince of Aulurgus. In consideration of which mariage to be had, and all claimes to cease, which the duke in right of his wife might challenge or pretend; it was agreed, that the said duke should receiue yearly the summe of ten thousand marks, to be paid to him, or to his assignes in the citie of Balonne in Gascoigne, during the terme of the liues of the said duke and duchesse; and further to haue in hand the summe of two hundred thousand nobles. ¶ Henrie Knighton in his relation of this composition betwene these persons of great estate, doth say, that it was told him by one of the good duke of Lancasters owne household, and attendant vpon him in this voiage into Spaine, that the Spanissh king did send seven and fourtie mules laden with coffers full of gold for the second payment whereupon they were agreed. As touching the first payment (saith Knighton) I asked no question of the partie. So that (besides the annuities, which mine author reporteth to be 16000 marks, during the parties liues iointlie, and 12000 marks, if it fortuned that the dukes daughter should suruiue and outliue hir husband) it should seeme there were other large allowaunces, which if they were (as it is likelie) after this rate, it was a right roiall munificence. And to this report of Knighton doth Ch. Okland make a kind of allusion, who speaking of the conditions of peace betwene the duke of Lancaster, and the king of Spaine, saith;

*Causa diffidens exemplo Hispanis agelut
De pace, acceptis conditionibus, offert
Argenti ac auri plastrorum protinus octo
Iustum onus, argenti que decem soluenda quotannis
Milia nummorum, &c.*

Froissard, The lord Fitz Walter.

I thinke that none of these were barons but only the lord Poynings.

The duke of Lancaster returned out of Portingale into Gascoigne.

A marriage concluded betwene the prince of Spaine, and the duke of Lancasters daughter.

Fabian.

Ab. Fl. ent. Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbey.

In Angliis sub Rich.

Jacob. Meir. Froissard.

I mightie great nauie French ship at Shelds purposing to invade Engli.

The description of the inclosure.

Thom. Wall.

Tho. Wall.

The proouision of Englishmen to resist the power of Frenchmen.

Ab. Fl. ent. Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbey.

The aforesaid agreement and marriage was not concluded, till about the thirtieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, so that in the meane while manie incidents chanced in England and in other regions, which in their time and places shall be touched, as to purpose serveth.

And first it is not to be forgotten, that the French men never shewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, since the linage of the Capetes began first to rule in France. All the ships that they could provide from the confines of Spaine, unto the mouth of the Rhene, all alongst the coast, they assembled at Sluis and thereabouts, and made so great preparation for the warre, that the like had not bene heard of (meaning, as they boasted, and made their vanta) to passe over into England, and to denoure the whole countrie, in doing sacrifice to the soules of their elders with the blond of the English people. Howbeit these words were wind, & to them accorded the proverbe,

Portumunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

There were numbred in the moneth of September about Sluis, Dam, and Blankberke 1287 ships, besides those which were rigged in Britaine by the constable, who had caused an inclosure of a field to be made of timber, like ralles or barriers, that when they were landed in England, they might there, with inclose their field, and so lodge more at suertie, and when they remoued, it was so made with ioints, that they might take it by in peces and easilie conueie it with them.

This inclosure or wall of wood was twentie fot in heigh, and contained in length or in compasse, when it was set by, thre thousand pases, and at the end of euerie twelue pases stood a turret able to receiue ten men, that was higher than the rest of the wall by ten fot at the least. There were appointed to haue passed ouer in those ships twentie thousand men of armes, twentie thousand crossbowes, and twentie thousand other men of warre. To haue saue the great apparell, furniture and prouision, the shipping, trussing, bearing, and carrieng to and fro of things needfull for this iourne, a man might haue merueled, for suerlie the like hath seldome bene remembered. All that was done there on that side the sea by the frenchmen, was notified into England, so that the frenchmen were not more occupied to prepare themselves to inuade England, than the Englishmen were to make themselves readie to defend their countrie from all danger of enemies; so that euerie haven towne, especiallie alongst the west, south, and eastcoasts, were kept and warded with notable numbers of armed men and archers.

Notwithstanding the great confidence which the french king reposed in the fortification which he had imbarked, thinking thereby to haue wrought great wonders, to the discomfiture of the English: yet (contrarie to his expectation) it so fortuned, that about Michaelmas, the lord William Beauchampe capitaine of Calis took two ships; whereof one was laden with a peece of the said inclosure or wall of wood, and in the same ship was the maister carpenter of the inclosure, being an Englishman borne, but banished his countrie before that time for some offence. He also took another ship, wherein were engines, guns, gunpowder & other instruments of war. Not long after this, two more ships were taken likewise, whose burthen was parcels of the foresaid frame or inclosure: so that thre ships were met withall and seized upon, each of them laden with one kind of stiffe. Whereof king Richard hearing, he caused the said inclosure to be reared and set by about Winchelsea towne. In the meane while, namelie in September, the foresaid armie came into Flanders, and arrived at the haven of Sluis, intending to

make their progresse into England: but by prolonging of the time there, they were diuen to great distresse and want of vittels: for it was reported that a loafe of bread, sold in England for a penie, was sold there for eightene pence; and a hens eg for a penie: so that in the end of Nouember they returned to France, missing their purpose as much as if they had neuer ment it.

There were readie with in the realme at that season, in one part and other 100000 archers, and ten thousand men of armes, besides those that were gone into Spaine with the duke of Lancaster. All this preparation lasted for the more part of the summer, euen till the beginning of winter: and still the french king that was come downe into Flanders, staied for the coming of his vnicle the duke of Berry: who at length in the moneth of Nouember came to Sluis, hauing protracted time, of purpose, that he might by the excuse of winter, cause this iourne to be put off till another season. Wherein he shewed more wit than all the counsellors which the french king had about him: for if he had not politikelie shifted off the matter, the king had landed here in England, to the great danger of his person and losse of his people. And yet if we shall beleue writers that liued in those daies, by reason of the hate that was spread through the realme, of that huge preparation which the french king made to inuade this land, no small feare entered into the hearts of manie, namelie of the Londoners, who (as if the enemies had bene alreadie landed) bestirred them, in making what prouision they might for their defense, though it seemed by their manner of doings, they stood in doubt least the whole realme had not bene able to make sufficient resistance.

In deed diuerse were the more afraid, for that they perceived how the barons and great lords agreed not in manie points among themselves, and so being not of one mind, the wisser sort doubted least through their disagreeing in that troublesome time, some danger might grow to the state of the whole realme. Notwithstanding, no small number of others withed nothing more, than that the french king in going forward with his purpose, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he should haue found such a welcome, as would haue bene little to his ease. About the feast of saint Michael, a parlement was called and holden at London, and withall great numbers of men of armes & archers were appointed to come and lie about London, that they might be readie to march forthwith against the enemies whensoever it chanced them to land. Thus all the townes and villages twentie miles in compasse round about London, were full of men of armes and archers, lieng as it had bene in campe; and wanting both vittels and monie, they were diuen to spoile and to take by violence what they might get. At length, after they had laine thus to small purpose a long season, they were licenced to depart home, with commandement to be readie to returne againe vpon the first summons. Spante of them were constrained through necessitie, to sell their horses, and armour, and some to spoile and to rob as they went homewards, not sparing what they might laie their hands vpon. Although the men of warre were dismissed home, the parlement yet continued, and the lords still remained at London, hearkening still for the french kings coming.

The lord Robert Waler earle of Wrenford, vpon the king in the last parlement had made marquisse of Dublin, was now in this parlement created duke of Ireland: the other lords soze enuieing so high preferment in a man that so little deserved, as they took it. For by reason of the kings great affection

The Londoners speciallie afraid of the french forces.

Dissention among the noblemen.

Froissard.

Tho. Walsin. A parlement at London.

Robert Waler marquisse of Dublin created duke of Ireland.

E. t. g. which

roissard, the lord Waler.

I thinke that one of these were irons but like the lope of a ring.

The duke of Lancaster reereth out of the gate to Calis.

I mightie great name of french ships at Sluis purposing to inuade England.

The description of the inclosure.

Thom. Walf.

marriage included be came the mee of paine, and the duke of Lancasters uglier.

bian.

Tho. Walf.

The prouision of Englishmen to resist & great power of frenchmen.

Ab. Fl. out of Henrie Knights canon of Exeter abbey.

Eng. pred. Rich.

which he bare not onelic to this noble man, but also to the lord Michaell de la Pole, ut om he had latelie created earle of Suffolke, and after aduanced him to the office of lord chancelloz (as before ye haue heard) not onelic the lords, but also the commons soze grudge at such their high preferment, in somuch that in this present parlement, the knights & burgeises in the lower house, exhibited a bill against the lord chancelloz, of diuerse crimes which they laid to his charge, and so used the matter, with the helpe of the lords, that in the end in some respect they had their willes against him, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appere.

And where the king had demanded a reliefe of monie towards the maintenance of his estate, and charges of the warrres, it was answered, that he needed not any tallage of his subiects, sith he might furnish himselfe with such a summe at the hands of the said earle, that was iustlie indebted unto him therein, as they were able well to proue. But the king was nothing herewith contented, conceiuing no small displeasure, as well against them of the lower house, as against the lords in the vpper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went so soze against his mind. Whereupon (as was said, whether trulie or othertwise, the lord knoweth) by a conspiracie begun betwixt the king & such as were most in fauour with him, it was deuised, that the duke of Glocester (as principall) and such other lords as fauored the knights and burgeises in their sute, against the earle of Suffolke, and were othertwise against the king in his demand of monie, should be willed to a supper in London, there to be murdered.

But the duke comming by some meanes to vnderstand of this wicked practise, had no desire to take part of that supper, where such sharpe sauce was presented, and withall gaue warning to the residue, that they likewise should not come there, but to content themselves with their owne suppers at their lodgings. It was said, that sir Nicholas Brember, who had bene maior the yeare before, had promised his assistance in the execution of this horrible fact: but thorough the commendable constancie of Richard Erton that was maior this yeare, being moued by the king for his furtherance therein, and denieng flatlie to consent to the death of such innocent persons, that hemons practise was omitted. This matter being brought to light, the hatred and malice which men bare to such councillors of the king greatlie increased, and the duke of Glocester and such as withstood the king, daile grew more and more into the peoples fauour.

Wherewith at length, through the earnest sute of some of the great lords, there was granted to the king halfe a tenth and halfe a sixteenth, which should not be spent at the pleasure of the prince, but by the order and appointment of the said lords, & so at length the earle of Arundell was appointed to receiue it, to furnish him with a nanie to the seas. But before this payment might be granted, there was much adoe, & hard hold: for where the said earle of Suffolke then lord chancelloz, at first had demanded of the commons in the kings name, foure sixteens, for with lesse (said he) the king could not mainteine his estate and the warrres which he had in hand) the whole bodie of the parlement made answer thereto, that without the king were present (for he was then at Eltham) they could make therein no answer at all: and herewith they took occasion at length to say further, that except the said earle of Suffolke were remoued from the office of chancellozship, they would meddle no further with any act in this parlement, were it neuer of so small importance.

The king being aduertised hercof, sent againe to

the commons, that they should send vnto Eltham (where he laie) soztie of the wisest and best learned of the common house, the which in the name of the whole house should be clare vnto him their minds. And then the house was in no small feare, by reason of a brute that was raised, how the king sought meanes to intrap and destroye them that followed not his purpose. Whereupon aswell the lords of the vpper house as the commons of the lower assembled together, and agreed with one consent, that the duke of Glocester, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Elic, should in the name of the whole parlement be sent to the king vnto Eltham: which was done, and the king was well contented that they should come. When they came before his presence, with humble reuerence they declared their message, which consisted in these points: That the lords and commons assembled at that present in parlement, besought him of his lawfull fauour, that they might liue in peace and tranquillitie vnder him.

They further declared, that one old statute and laudable custome was approued, which no man could denie, that the king once in the yeare might lawfullie summon his high court of parlement, and call the lords and commons therevnto, as to the highest court of his realme, in which court all right and equitie ought to shine as the sunne being at the highest, whereof poore and rich may take refreshing: where also reformation ought to be had of all oppressions, wrongs, extortiones, & enormities within the realme; and there the king ought to take counsell with the wise men of his realme, for the maintenance of his estate, and conseruation of the same. And if it might be knowne that any persons within the realme without, intended the contrarie; there must also be deuised how such euill words may be destroyed. There must also be studied and foresene, that if any charge do come vpon the king and realme, how it may be honorable borne and discharged.

Further, they declared that till that present, his subiects (as was thought) had louinglie demeaned themselves towards him, in aiding him with their substance to the best of their powers, & that their desire was to vnderstand how those goods were spent. And further they said, they had one thing to declare vnto him, how that by an old ordinance it was enacted, that if the king should absent himselfe fourtie daies, not being sicke, and refuse to come to the parlement, without regard to the charges of his people, and their great paines, they then may lawfullie retorne home to their houses: and therefore sith he had bene absent a long time, and yet refused to come among them, it was greatlie to their discomfort. To this the king (as we find) made this answer: Well, we do perceiue that our people and commons go about to rise against vs: wherefore we thinke we cannot do better than to aske aid of our couline the French king, and rather submit vs vnto him than to our owne subiects.

The lords answered, that it should not be good for him so to do, but a waie rather to bring him into extreame danger, sith it was plaine enough, that the French king was his ancient enemie and greatest aduersarie, vnto if he might once set foot in the realme of England, he would rather despoile and dispossesse the king of his kingdome, than put his helping hand to relieue him. He might (they said) call to remembrance, how his noble progenitour king Edward his father had trauelled in heat and cold, with great anguish and troubles incessantlie, to make a conquest of France, that rightfullie appertained vnto them, and now to him, in which wars he might his wife remember how manie lords, noble men, and

Disturbance betwixt the king and the commons.

The duke of Glocester and the bishop of Elic sent to the king from the house of the parlement.

Their requests to the king.

And offered need require.

The causes and conditions of a parliament.

Absence of the king from the parlement in the space of 40 daies.

The kings answer.

wealth of people is a glorie of princes and fortune of reigns.

Change of officers by parliament

The earle of Suffolke would be charged by the parlement house for his offence

Richard Erton in this commended.

A subside granted and appointed to be spent according to the discretion of the nobilitie.

Christene lords appointed by parliament to haue the government of the realme vnto the king.

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The duke of
Glocester and
the bishop of
Ely sent to
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parlement,
Their re-
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the king.

And often it
be need require.

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God commons of both realmes had lost their lives, and what charges both the realmes likewise bare in maintaining those warres: and now (the more pittie) greater burthens were laid upon the necks of the English subjects for the supportation of his charges, by reason whereof, they were so low brought (said they) that they haue not to paie their rents, and so by such meanes was his power decayed: his lordes brought behind hand, and all his people soe impouerished. And as that king cannot be poore that hath rich people, so cannot he be rich that hath poore commons. And as he took hurt by such inconueniences chancing through enill counsellors that were about him, so the lordes and noblemen sustained no lesse hurt each one after his estate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme must needs fall in ruine, and the default should be imputed to him and to those his enill counsellors.

By these and the like persuations the king was induced to come to the parlement, and according to his appointment he came indeed. Some after his coming was John Foxham bishop of Durham discharged of his office of lord treasurer, and in his place was appointed one John Gilbert bishop of Hereford, that was a frere of the order of preachers, a man more eloquent than faithfull, as some reported of him. Also the earle of Suffolke was discharged of his office of lord chancellor, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Ely placed in his roome, by whole consent of parlement. The same earle of Suffolke was charged with manie & verie great enormous crimes, frauds, falshoods, and trefons, which he had practised, to the great prejudice of the king and realme, and thereupon was committed to ward in the castell of Windsor. Notwithstanding they adjudged him not to death (as some wyte) nor disgraced him of the honoz of knight hood, but condemned him to paie a fine of twentie thousand marks, and also to forfeit one thousand pounds of yerelie rents which he had purchased.

But other wyte, that notwithstanding the king was soe offended for the accusations brought against the said earle of Suffolke and others, whome he loved, and was loth to heare anie euill of: yet he was constrained at length, after he had shifted off the matter by sundrie deuises, to appoint certeine persons with full power and authoritie to heare, and in iudgement to determine those matters. The duke of Glocester therfore, and the earle of Arundell were appointed as iudges; which whilst the king as yet was absent, who got him forth of the wate of purpose, because he would not be present at the condemnation of those whome he most entirly loved and fauoured, went earnestly in hand with their busynesse, and so at length (as Walsingham saith) the earle of Suffolke was conuicted, & found gilty of sundrie crimes, trespases, and naughtie parts: for which it was thought that he deserved to lose his life & goods, but yet he was suffered (as the same Walsingham saith) to go abroad under suertie, certeine great men being bound for him in great sums of monie. But what order forer was taken for the punishment of him, sure it is he was displaced from his office of chancellorship, as before ye haue heard.

Furthermore, the lordes, and other estates in this parlement, considering that through couetousnesse of the new depoued officers, the kings treasure had bene imbezeld, lewdly wasted, & prodigallie spent, nothing to his profit: there were in this parlement thirtene lordes chosen, to haue ouersight vnder the king of the whole gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yeare of this king it doth in the booke of statutes at large ap-

peare. Of those thirtene there were thre of the new officers named, as the bishop of Ely lord chancellor, the bishop of Hereford lord treasurer, and Nicholas abbat of Waltham lord keeper of the priue seale: the other ten were these, William archbishop of Cantuarie, Alexander archbishop of Poike, Edmund Langley duke of Poike, Thomas duke of Glocester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Exeter, Richard earle of Arundell, Richard lord Scrope, and John lord Deberene. But this participation of the gouernement fell out to be inconuenient, as by procelle of the storie shall appere, euen to those unto whome it was allotted: so that no small a doo happened among them and their partakers: according to the old proverbe, which saith;

Presbi quando cines veniunt in rodere plures.

Howeuer, at the kings instance and earnest sute it was granted, that Robert de Aier late marquisse of Dublin, and now newlie created duke of Ireland, should haue and receiue to his owne vse thirtie thousand marks, that the Frenchmen were to giue for the heires of the lord Charles de Blois, that remained here in England, which Charles in times past chalenged as his rightfull inheritance the dutie of Britaine, against the earle of Pontfort. This grant was made to the duke of Ireland, with condition, that being furnished with this monie, he should passe over into Ireland, before the next Easter, there to recouer such lands as the king had giuen to him. For aswell the lordes as the commons were so desirous to haue him gone, that they wished the realme rather to spare so much treasure, than to haue his presence about the king, to allure him to folle. The same time the king of Armenia sued for a safe conduct to come againe ouer into this land, to speake with the king as it had been about the mouing of some peace betwixt the two realmes of England and France, but with his meaning was suspected to be to no good end, but to benefit himselfe by receiuing of some great gifts at the kings bountifull hands, his sute was not granted.

In this meane time also, whilst the French king with such a companie of dukes, earls and other lordes, as had not bene heard of, still continued in Flanders, staing as well for a conuenient wind, as for the coming of the duke of Berrie; it chanced that certeine English ships, as they wasted the seas, met with two of the French ships, that were sailing towards Sluis, and fighting with them, took them, and brought them both to Sandwich. There was found aboard the same ships, a maister gunner, that sometime had serued the Englishmen at Calis, when sir Hugh Caluerlie was lieutenant there; also diuerse great guns and engins to beat downe wals were found and taken in the same ships, with a great quantitie of powder that was more worth than all the rest.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the Englishmen also took certeine hulks and six caricks of the Genowais, laden with great riches: but because they were merchants, they found such fauour at the kings hands through means of Michaele de la Pole then lord chancellor (whome they had made their friend) that they had their vessels and all their goods restored, and freightwaies they passed with the same unto Sluis, where the enimies laie, to make sale of their wares there. Whereupon much murmuring rose among the kings subjects, taking it in euill part, that they should be suffered so to go their waies to releue the enimies of the realme, with such goods as were once brought into the Englishmens possession, and specially the lord chancellor was verie euill thought of, for shewing so much fauour vnto those strangers.

wealth of the
people is the
glorie of the
king and the
honor of his
kingdome.

Change of
the king by the
parlement.

The earle of
Suffolke gre-
uously char-
ged by the
parlement
hoole for
his offences.

The king of
Armenia su-
eth for a safe
conduct to
come into
England
which is de-
nied him.

Two of the
French kings
ships taken
with a great
prize in them.

Guns were
inuented little
more than six
yeares before
this time, to
wit, An. 1280.

Restitution
of merchants
goods taken.

The French
fleet setting
forward to-
wards Eng-
land is driven
backe by con-
trarie winds.

The French king still remaining in Flanders, ta-
rning for the coming of the duke of Berrie, and al-
so for a convenient wind, at length on the even of
all saints, the wind came about very favourable for
the Frenchmens purpose: whereupon they weighed
anchors, and lanchd from the haven of Sluis, but
they were not past twentie miles forward on their
way, when the wind suddenlie turned contrarie to
their course againe, and brought them backe with
such violence, that divers of them as they should en-
ter the haven, were broken and bused, and so by this
occasion, and the counsell of the duke of Berrie to-
gether, the French king brake by his journey for that
peace, and returned into France. ¶ We have heard
what was done by the states assembled in parle-
ment against the earle of Suffolke, whom the most
part of the realme so greatly hated, but yet never-
theless, the king had such an affection towards him,
that immediatlie after the parliament was dissolved,
he undid all that had bene enacted against him, re-
ceivng him into more familiaritie than before, and
caused him to continue with the duke of Ireland, and
Alexander Beull archbishop of Poike, which two
lords travelled most earnestlie to moue the king a-
gainst the other lords, and to disannull all that had
bene done in the last parliament.

The kings
inordinate af-
fection to-
wards the
duke of Ire-
land and the
earle of Suff-
folke.

Where increased therefore in the king an inward
hatred, which he conceived against the lords, these
men putting into his eare, that he was like no king
but rather resembled the shadow of one; saying, it
would come to passe that he should be able to do no-
thing of himselfe, if the lords might enjoy the autho-
ritie which they had taken upon them. The king gave
credit to these tales, and therefore had the lords in
great gelousie, notwithstanding they were thought
to be his most true and faithfull subiects, and the o-
ther craftie, deceitfull, and untrustie; but such an af-
fection had the king to them, that no informations, nor
accusations, though neuer so manifestlie proved,
could bring them out of his favour, in so much as at
the feast of Christmase next following, he caused the
earle of Suffolke to sit with him at his owne table,
in robes accustomed appointed for kings to
weare, and not for meaner estates, which was much
noted, and no little increased the envie against him.

1387

The earle of
Arundell go-
eth to the sea
with 500 men
of armes and
a thousand ar-
chers as Frois-
sard noteth.

About the beginning of March in this tenth yere,
Richard earle of Arundell, being appointed lord ad-
mirall, & Thomas Spowbray earle of Nottingham,
the earle of Devonshire, and the bishop of Poewich
(as Froissard saith) went to the sea with a warlike
powder of men of armes and archers, so well trimmed
and appointed as was possible. For the lord admirall
understanding that the duke of Gloucester, and ma-
nie other noblemen would see the muster of his men,
used all diligence, and spared for no costs, to haue the
most choicest and pickest fellows that might be got-
ten, not following the euill example of others in
times past, which received tag and rag to fill by their
numbers, whom they hired for small wages, and re-
served the residue to their purses. And when to the
advancement of the realms commoditie they should
haue encountered the enemies, they shifted off all oc-
cassions thereto, and onclie prolonged time, without
achieuing any enterpryse available, to the end they
might receive the whole wages, and keepe themselves
from danger, which they should hardlie haue avoid-
ed, when they had not about them such able men as
were like to match the enemies: but the earle of A-
rundell contrarie got the ablest men he might, not
sparing his owne purse, to the end that by their ser-
vice he might achieve some worthie enterpryse, to re-
dound unto the commoditie of his countrie.

A great abuse
in choise of
soldiers.

After the duke of Gloucester had beheld so faire and
chosen a power of men of warre, they were fireight-

wales appointed to get them on shipboard, & to bring
imbarcked, the whole nauie passed forth to the Thames
mouth, where they staid to watch for the fleet of
Flanders, that was ready to come from Rochell
with wines. At length, upon a Sunday, being the e-
uen of the Annuntiation of our ladie, the Flemish
fleet was discovered, and was off, by one that was
mounted into one of the tops of a ship of the Eng-
lish fleet. The earle of Arundell greatly rejoicing at
those newes, forthwith with his whole fleet made to
the sea. When the Flemings approached nere, to our
nauie, they made saile, as if they would set upon the
same; and our men of purpose made countenance
as if they would haue refused, as mistrusting them-
selves to be able to match these adversaries, who co-
ucting rather a safe passage than battell, passed by:
but the Englishmen hauing once got the wind fit for
their purpose, suddenlie set upon the Flemish ships,
and fought with them right fiercelie: at length, after
a sore conflict which endured foure houres, the victorie
fell to the Englishmen.

A good pa-
llier.

A great vic-
tory of the
English na-
vie against
the Flemish
fleet.
la Meir.
Tho. Wall.

The e
Arundell
in came
great

There were taken fourescore ships, with diuerse
captains and men of armes, namelie their chiefe ad-
mirall, named John Buicke, a perfect god seaman,
and one that had aforetime done much hurt to the
English nation. Diuerse of their ships were bouged,
and some escaped from the battell. But the earle of
Arundell pursued them so egerlie for the space of two
daies together, that at length he took them, and
brought them backe to his nauie, so that what in the
battell and in the chase, there were taken of great
and small, to the number of an hundred vessels, all
fraught with wines, so that there was found aboard
the same nine thousand tunns, or rather (as other
saie) nine score thousand, which together with the ves-
sels were freight sent unto Swell haven, and to o-
ther havenes abroad in the realme, beside that which
fell to the kings share, as due to him by his preroga-
tine. Part of the Flemish fleet escaping (as before
ye haue heard) was pursued unto the haven of Sluis
and Blankerke.

la Meir.
Thom. Wall.

Ennie
lower
tue 3 p

The citizens of Spiddleburgh came to the earle,
and requested him that they might buye those wines
of him, and paie for the same after the rate of an hun-
dred shillings the tunne, alledging how they were
the kings friends, and stood in need of wines: but the
earle of Arundell, thinking it more reason that those
which had borne the charges of his journey, to wit, the
commons of the realme of England should haue the
commoditie thereof than any other, he denied their
suite. But yet to shew them some pleasure as his
friends, he gaue them twentie tunns to make mer-
rie with. As for that which fell to the earles share, he
used such bountifullnesse in bestowing it among his
friends, that he left not to himselfe so much as one
tunne. He wan therefore no small praise, that for bea-
ring his owne commoditie, which he might haue re-
aped in selling those wines to strangers, he had more
regard to the profit of the commons, whereby they
might vnderstand, that that which they had laid forth
towards the setting forward of his journey, was not
altogether lost nor cast awaie. By this meanes (be-
sides the commendation which he drew to himselfe)
he also wan the hearts & good will of the people, whose
friendship is purchased by gifts and good deeds, sith
they make profit the method of amitie, & bound in be-
nevolence with receiued benefits, as the poet saith,

The liber-
tie of the earle
of Arundell.

The lo
Berrie
the flag

Vulgum amicitias utilitate probat.

All the countrie of Flanders nere to the sea coasts,
was in great feare: for the Englishmen lanted, and
cuerie day went abroad into the countrie, burning
diuerse towne and villages, as Ghube, Disburge,
Houckam, Monachacedam, & others. And at length,
after they had taken their pleasure in the countrie,
for

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against
flemish
leir.
. Walli

The earle of
Arundell
into
the same
with a
great power.

cir.
m. Walli

Emme & fol
lower of her
the 3 pmoelle

The lord
Percie sent
the same

liberals
the earle
undell.

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into
era by
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area
one.

Frier Bate
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being his pro
fession ppe
the same
the same
the same

for the space of ten daies together, they hoisted up
sailes, and returned with all their preie and bories,
which being sold, and uttered abroad in the realme,
made wine so plentifulle here in England, that it
was sold for thirteene shillings foure pence the tun,
and twentie shillings the best and choicest. The earle
of Arundell not satisfied with this happie atchieved
enterprise, but minding to do more service to the be-
nefit of his countrie, gathered his ships together, and
hiring new souldiers to supplie the comes of them
that were hurt, maimed, or slaine, turned his sailes
towards the castell of Brest, which seemed to be a
heie to the lesse Britaine, and being (as ye haue
heard) in the Englishmens possession, the French-
men were about to raise up and build farre greater
and stronger bastillions, than those were that the
duke of Lancaster had taken and destroied, as he
sailed forward on his iournie toward Spaine.

One of these two new bastiles the earle of Arun-
dell toome by force from them that kept it: and be-
cause it seemed necessarie to be kept for a defense to
the castell, if it were in the Englishmens hands, he
committed it to the custodie of certeine English-
men. The other being not yet finished, but begun in
sumptuous wise to be builded, he set on fire and
burned. This done, furnishing the garison with suffi-
cient bittels and munition to serue them for one
whole yeare, he returned home into England, with
great praise and commendation of the commons
for his doings. But the duke of Ireland, the earle of
Sussex, sir Simon de Burle, and sir Richard
Sturrie, that still continued about the king, seemed
rather to enuie the earle of Arundels god name,
than otherwise to commend him and others to the
king, that had bene forth in that iournie, in so much
that when the earle of Nottingham, otherwise called
earle Marshall, that had bene euer the kings pla-
fellow, and of equall age to him, came now to the
court, hoping to be right welcome, and to receive
great thanks at the kings hands, he had no god
countenance shewed vnto him, neither of the king,
nor of the duke of Ireland, who disdainng once to
talke with him, seemed to enuie the worthie pro-
uise in other, which he knew defectiue and wanting in
himselfe.

Shortlie after, by the counsell of those lords and
knights that remained about the king, the lord Hen-
rie Percie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland,
was sent to the seas, to beate backe the attempts of
the enemies, but he was slenderlie appointed to at-
chieue any great enterprise. This was done of some
envious purpose, because he had got a name among
the common people, to be a verie hardie and va-
liant gentleman, as well among Englishmen, as
Scots. But he either ignorant, or not much waieing
of that which they craftilie had imagined against
him, boldlie and valiantlie executed the businesse in-
ioined him, and hauing remained abroad, during the
whole time of his appointed service, returned safelie
home. About the same time, a frier Carmelite, na-
med Walter Milse, that had bene confessor to the
duke of Lancaster, obtained in fauour of the same
duke, at pope Urbans hands, certeine faculties, to
be distributed to such as would praise & paie for them.
Among other of those faculties, one was, to make all
those whome he thought god, the popes chapleines,
according to forme of law, and the custome vled in
the court of Rome.

Now because such as obtained this fauour, inioied
great liberties, manie were glad to bestow largelie,
to be so preferred, the frier being redie to admit those
that offered most. Among other, one Peter Bate-
shull, a frier of the Augustines order, was made by
him the popes chapleine, a man not vnlearned, and

one that fauoured Wickliffes doctrine, and there by
on forsaking his priuate profession, gaue himselfe to
a publike trade of life, which might seeme to him
more holie, commendable, and sure. Whereupon, he
tooke vpon him to preach against his owne order,
namelie in a sermon which he made in saint Christo-
phers church in London. He inuited so earnestlie a-
gainst the abuses and heinous crimes which the fri-
ers, sometimes his brethren, vled to put in practice,
that it was an horroz to heare. There were present an
hundred at the least of Wickliffes opinion at his ser-
mon. Now in the meane while that he so laid forth
what he knew against his late brethren, some per-
sons there were that ran to the Augustine friers, and
declared the whole matter; whereupon a dozen of the
hardiest and lustiest fellows among them came to
the church, where this Bateshull was preaching, and
hearing what was said, they began to be fore mo-
ued, inso much that one of them more zealous in his
religion than the other, stepped forth, and gaue said
those things which the preacher proponed.

When the Wickliffes perceived this, they set vpon
him that so disquieted the congregation, and lai-
eng hands on him, threw him downe, trode him vnder
their feet, and lent him manie a god buffet: and
chasing all the other friers awaie, they were fullie
bent to haue killed them, and set their house on fier,
crieng out with loud voices; Let vs destroie these
murderers, let vs burne these sodomits, and hang
by such traitors of the king and realme. And run-
ning thus with such a furious noise and outrage, they
purposed verelie to haue set fire on the friers lod-
gings, but that through the humble prater of frier
Thomas Athborne, and one that was his fellow, be-
ing reputed for two god men, and doctors of diuini-
tie, they were staied. The comming also of one of the
shirifes of London holpe much to appease them, so
that by his perswasion, they returned home to their
houses. But Peter Bateshull, being mainteined a-
mong them, was counselled, sith he was interrupted
in his sermon, to set downe in writing all such mat-
ters as he was about to treat of, & what he knew
further. He therefore deuised a libell, in which he accu-
sed diuerse of his brethren, of murdering sundrie of
their fellowes.

And for more proue to be giuen to his sayengs, he
told the names of them that were made awaie, and
the names also of the murderers, and shewed where
those that were murdered were buried. He affirmed
further, that the said friers his brethren of late, were
sodomits and traitors, both to the king and realme,
and manie other things he declared (so to bad) in that
his writing or libell which he fastned vpon the church
doore of S. Paule in London, that the more confu-
sion might thereby rebound vnto his late brethren, the
friers aforesaid. In the beginning of the same libell
he protested, that he was got forth of the diuels dun-
geon, and through the grace of God escaped from a-
mongst wicked and filthie persons; by reason where-
of, and for that he was an auoucher of the veritie, he
said, he was sure to suffer great aduersities at the
friers hands, if they might laie hold on him. But he
thanked pope Urbane, for that through his grant he
had obtained such libertie, that by help of his frends,
he might lawfullie withstaue himselfe from the
hands of his enemies.

There were diuerse men of god worship that
mainteined this Bateshull, and caused a transcript
of this libell to be written forth, affirming all to be
true that was therein mentioned. Amongst other
that thus fauoured this cause, were diuerse knights,
as sir William de Ruill, sir Lewis Clifford, sir John
Cranbolue, sir Richard Sturrie, and sir Thomas La-
timer, and the chiefe of all was one sir John Pon-
teute,

Wickliffes

A libell by fr
er Bateshull
against his
brethren.

The fauour
ers of fr
Bateshull.

facute, who caused all the images to be taken downe and set aske in corners, which John Aubrey, and his successor sir Alane Burhull, or any their ancestors had set up in their chappell of Cheneleie. ¶ About the same time, the duke of Ireland sought to be divorced from his lawfull wife, a trim yong ladie, daughter to the ladie Isabell, that was one of king Edward the thirde his daughters; and toke to wife one Lancelot a Welshmer one of the quene's maids; by reason whereof, great occasion of slander and reproch grew, and divers lordes, speciallie the duke of Gloucester, that was uncle to the ladie that was forsaken, toke great displeasure herewith. But sith the king allowed of all the duke of Ireland's doings, the duke of Gloucester dissembled such iniuries done to his niece for the time, till opportunitie might serue to revenge the same.

Dissention
betweene the
king & the
nobles.

1588
Anno Reg. 11.

Grafton.

Certaine
questions in
law deman-
ded of the
iustices.

A councell
holden at
Nottingham.

The duke of Ireland understood all these things, and therefore was the more circumspect for his owne safetie, and studied how by some meanes he might dispatch the duke of Gloucester out of the waie, as the man whom he most feared; least his life should be his destruction, by one means or other. Easter was now past, the time (as ye haue heard) appointed before the which the duke of Ireland should haue transported ouer into Ireland, & yet was he not set forward. But least somewhat might be thought in the matter, and for feare of some stir to be raised by the lordes of the realme, that wished him gone, according to the order prescribed at the last parlement, the king as it were to bring him to the water side, went with him into Wales, where being out of the waie, they might deuise how to dispatch the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Arundell, Warwicke, Derby, and Nottingham, with others of that faction. There were with the king, beside the duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trissilian lord chiefe iustice, and diuers other, which doubtful of their owne safegards did what they could (as writers report) to moue the king forward to the destruction of those noblemen. After the king had remained in those parties a good while, he returned, and brought the duke of Ireland backe with him againe so that it seemed his voyage into Ireland was now quite forgotten.

About the same time, Robert Trissilian lord chiefe iustice of England came to Couentrie, and indiated there two thousand persons. The king and the quene came to Grobie, and thither came by his commande- ment the iustices of the realme. There were also with him at the same time, Alexander archb. of Yorke, Robert Thre duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trissilian, & his fellows; of whom it was demanded, if by the lawes of the realme the king might reuoke the ordinances made in the last parlement, to the which he had given his consent in manner by constraint; and they made answer that he might. Then were the iustices commanded to come vnto Nottingham, where the king appointed to meet them, and thither he came according to his appointment, and held a solempne councell in the castell of Nottingham, the morrow after S. Bar- tholomew's day.

In this councell were the aforesaid archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, Robert Trissilian iustice, Robert Wramble iustice, and sundrie other, all which iustices were commaunded to set their hands vnto the question vnder writ- ten, that by meanes thereof, those persons that were about the king thought they might haue good occasion to put the duke of Gloucester, and other lordes that were his complices vnto death, which in the last parlement were ordained to haue the gouernance of the realme, and all such as were consenting to the same. Diuers of the iustices refused to subscribe, but yet

they were constrained to do as the rest did, among the which was John Belknap, who utterly refused, till the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke compelled him thereto; for if he had persisted in the refusal, he had not escaped their hands, and yet when he had set to his seale, he burst out into these words; Now (said he) here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I might receiue a reward worthie for my desert, and I know, if I had not done this, I might not haue escaped your hands, so that for your pleasures and the kings I haue done it, and deserued thereby death at the hands of the lordes. Which indeed shortly follo- ed, for in the next parlement he was condemned and executed. All this remained in record.

An act of councell touching this
matter, in manner as followeth.

M Emoyandum that on the five and twentieth day of August, in the 11th yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, at the castell of Nottingham aforesaid, Robert Trissilian lord chiefe iustice of England, Robert Belknap lord chiefe iustice of the comon' pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, & William Borrough, knights and associates of the said Robert Belknap, and John Lockton one of the kings sergeants at the law, being personallie required in presence of the lordes and other witnessses vnder written by our said soueraigne lord the king, in that faith and allegiance in which to him they were bounden, that they should trulie answer to certeine questions vnder written, and vpon the same by their discretions, to saie the law.

Additional in
Polychron.

1 First, it was asked of them, whether the new statute, ordinance, and commission made in the last parlement held at West- minster, be hurtfull to the kings preroga- tive. Wherevnto all of one mind answer- ed, that they were hurtfull, and speciallie because they be against the kings will.

Questions in
law deman-
ded of the iustices.

2 Item, it was inquired of them, how they ought to be punished, that procured the said statute, ordinance, and commission to be made. Wherevnto with one assent they answered, that they deserued death, except the king of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired, how they ought to be punished, which moued the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordinance, and commission. Wherevnto they answered, that vntil the king would giue them his pardon, they ought to lose their liues.

4 Item, it was inquired of them what punishment they deserued, that compelled the king to the making of that statute, or- dinance and commission. Wherevnto they gaue answer, that they ought to suffer as traitors.

5 Item, it was demanded of them how they ought to be punished that interrup- ted the king so, that he might not exercise those things that appertained to his re- galitie and prerogative. Wherevnto an- swer was made, that they ought to be pu- nished

nished as traitors.

6 Item, it was inquired of them, whether that after the affaires of the realme, and the cause of the calling together of the states of the parlement, were once by the kings commandement declared and opened, and other articles on the kings behalf limited, upon which the lords and commons of the realme ought to intreat and proceed; if the lords neuertheless would proceed upon other articles, and not meddle with those articles which the king had limited, till time the king had answered the articles proponed by them, notwithstanding the king inioined them to the contrarie: whether in this case the king might rule the parlement, and cause them to proceed upon the articles by him limited, before they proceeded any further: To which question it was answered, that the king should haue in this part the rule, for order of all such articles to be prosecuted, untill the end of the parlement. And if any presumed to go contrarie to this rule, he was to be punished as a traitor.

7 Item, it was asked, whether the king whensoever it pleased him might not dissolve the parlement, and command the lords and commons to depart from thence or not: Whereunto it was answered that he might.

8 Item, it was inquired, that for so much as it was in the king to remove such iustices and officers as offend, and to punish them for their offenses; whether the lords commons might, without the kings will, impeach the same officers and iustices, upon their offenses in parlement or not: To this answer was made, that they might not, and he that attempted contrarie, was to suffer as a traitor.

9 Item, it was inquired, how he is to be punished, that moued in the parlement, that the statute wherein Edward, the sonne of king Edward, great grandfather to the king that now is, was indicted in parlement, might be sent for; by inspection of which statute, the said new statute or ordinance and commission were conceived and deuised in the parlement:

To which question, with one accord, as in all the residue they answered, that as well he that so summoned, as the other, which by force of the same motion, brought the said statute into the parlement house, he as publike offenders and traitors, to be punished.

10 Item, it was inquired of them, whether the iudgement giuen in the parlement against Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, were erroneous and reuocable, or not:

To which question likewise with one assent they said, that if the same iudgement were now to be giuen, the iustices and sergeant aforesaid would not giue the same: because it seemed to them, that the said iudgement is reuocable and erroneous in euerie part,

In witnesse of the premisses, the iustices & sergeant aforesaid to these presents haue set their seals, these being witnesses; Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Robert archbishop of Dubline, John bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Chelster, John bishop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michaell erle of Suffolke, John Ripon cleрке, and John Blake.

10 Now beside these iustices and sergeant, there were called at that present vnto Nottingham, all other iustices of the realme, and the shiriffes. Also, diuerse of the citie of London, which the king knew would incline to his will, the rather; for that some of them, hauing aforesaid confessed treason against the king by them imagined, and obtaining pardon for the same, were readie at his commandement, to recompense such fauour, in the accomplishment of whatsoeuer they knew might stand with his pleasure. Whereupon, they being impanelled to inquire of certaine treasons that were supposed to be committed by the lords, which in the last parlement had so caused things to passe, contrarie to the kings pleasure, indicted the same lords of manie crimes informed against them, & The Londoners indeed were euill reported of in those daies, by some writers, for their unfaithfulness, one while holding on the kings part, and with such as were these in counsell about him; and another while on the lords side that were of a contrarie faction: according as the streame of their affections draue them, and as they were carried a waie perforce by the flood of their variable willes, whereby they were diuided into differing passions, as they were assaulted by sundrie and vncertaine desires: which is the nature of the people, as the poet noteth, saying:

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

But now, as concerning the cause whie the shiriffes were called hither, it was chieflie to vnderstand what power of men they might assure the king of, to serue him against the lords and barons, whom he toke to be his enemies: and further, that where he meant to call a parlement verie shortlie, they should so vse the matter, that no knight might be chosen, but such as the king and his counsell should name. But answer was made hereunto by the shiriffes, that the lords were so highlie beloued of the commons, that it laie not in their powers to assemble any great forces against the lords; and as for choosing the knights of the shires, they said that the commons would vndoubtedlie vse their ancient liberties, and priuileges, in choosing such as they thought meetest. But yet, after that the indictments were found, according to the desire of the king and his counsellors, and that those which had bene called about this matter, were licenced to depart home; the king and the duke of Ireland sent messengers into euerie part of the realme, to reteine men of warre to assist them in the quarell against the lords, if need were. Danie made answer, that sith they knew the lords to be faithfull and loiall to the king, euen from the bottome of their hearts, and were readie to studie, to deuise, and to do all things that might tend to his honor, and wealth of the realme; they might not by anie meanes beare armour against them. But a great number of other, that toke it that they were reteined for a good and necessarie purpose, promised to be readie, whensoever it should please the king to send for them.

The lords being in this meane while aduertised of these doings, were stricken with great heauinesse, for that not knowing themselves (as they toke it) guiltie of anie offense, the king should thus take their destruction. Herewith the duke of Glocester, meaning to

Thom. Wall.

The lords indicted of diuerse offences

why the shiriffes of all shires were sent for to the court.

Soldiers reteined on all sides by the king against the lords.

Office
shiriffes
sent to
the.

Office
shiriffes
sent.

Shiriffes
to
chron.

Shiriffes
to
be
indicted
of
offences.

The duke of
Gloucesters
protestation
upon his oth.

to mitigate the kings displeasure, received a solemn
oth before the bishop of London, and divers other
lords, protesting by the same oth, that he never ima-
gined, nor went about any thing, to the kings hin-
derance, but to his power had alwaies done what
he might to advance the kings honor, prosperous
state and good liking, except onelie that he had given
no good countenance to the duke of Ireland, whom
the king so much loved. And suertie for that the said
duke had dishonored his kinswoman, and the kings
also, he was firmelie determined to revenge that in-
jurie upon him; and herewith he becougth the bishop
of London to declare what his words were unto the
king.

Stout words
of the bishop
of London.

The bishop comming to the king, made report of
the duke of Gloucesters protestation, confirmed with
his oth, in such wise, as the king began somewhat to
be persuaded that it was true. But when the earle of
Suffolke perceived that, fearing least the reconcilia-
tion of the king and the duke his uncle should turne
to his hindering, he began to speake against the duke,
till the bishop had him hold his peace; and told him,
that if nothing became him to speake at all. And when
the earle asked why so; Because (said the bishop) thou
wast in the last parlement condemned for an euill
person, and one not worthy to live, but onelie it plea-
sed the king to shew thee fauour. The king offend-
ed with the bishops presumptuous words, com-
minded him to depart & get him home to his church,
wherewith departed, and declared to the duke of
Gloucester what he had heard and sene. Hereupon,
the great milking that had bene afore time be-
twixt the king and the lords, was now more be-
mentlie increased, the duke of Ireland, the earle of
Suffolke, the archbishop of Yorke, the lord chiefe iu-
stice Robert Trililian, and others, still procuring,
stirring, and confirming the kings heauie displea-
sure against the lords.

The lords
confer how
to preuent the
perils preten-
ded against
them.

The duke of Gloucester considering to what con-
clusion these things tended, came secretlie to confe-
rence with the earles of Arundell, Marwike, and
Derbie, who were in like danger, if they provided
not more speedilie for their safetie, whereupon he dis-
couered to them the perill wherein they all stood in
common, so that when they weied what was the
most expedient meane to safe gard their liues, they
gathered their power together, determining to talke
with the king with their armour upon their backs,
for their more suertie, as well concerning his pre-
tense to bring them to their deaths, as for the fauour
which he bare to those whom they reputed to be trai-
tors, both to him, and to the whole state of the realme,
whereby the same could not auoid speedie ruine, if re-
medie were not the soner provided. The king on the
other part toke aduise, how he might apprehend these
lords (whom he toke to be plaine traitors) ech one a-
part, before they might gather their strenghts about
them; and first, he sent the earle of Northumberland
and others, unto the castell of Kewgate, to take the
earle of Arundell, who laie there at that present. But
holowseuer it fortunied, the earle of Northumberland
came backe, and failed to accomplish that which he
had in commandement.

The earle of
Northumber-
land sent to
apprehend
the earle of
Arundell.

The earle of
Arundell toi-
neth with the
other lords.

After this, a great number were sent by night, to
haue laid hands on him, and to haue brought him to
the kings presence; or in case he resisted, to haue
slaine him, if by any meanes they might: but he be-
ing warned by a messenger, that came to him from
the duke of Gloucester, conueied himselfe awaie, and
with such hands as he had got together, rode all that
night, so that in the morning hauing passed thirtie
miles, not without great travell, and all speed possi-
ble, he was in the morning advanced to Haringie
parke, where he found the duke of Gloucester, and the

earle of Marwike, with a great power of men about
them. At the same time the king was about to set
forward towards Canturburie, there to performe
some bolv of pilgrimage, which he had undertaken
to make unto the shrine of Thomas Becket. But a
brute was raised, and a slander (belike) contriued, to
bring him in further hatred of his subjects, that he
meant to steale ouer into France, unto the French
king, hauing promised to deliuer vp into his hands
the towne of Calis, with the castell of Guines, and
all the fortresses which his predecessors had possessed
in those parties, either by right from their ancestors,
or by warlike conquest.

Whobest this his iournie to Canturburie was
suddenlie staied, vpon knowledge had of the gather-
ring together of the lords in Haringie parke, where-
with the king being sore amazed, called together such
as he trusted, to vnderstand what their opinion was
of the matter; and vnderstanding that the purposed
intention of the lords, for which they were so assem-
bled, was to this end (as they pretended) to bring him
unto a better trade of life, and more profitable or-
der of gouernement, he was straight striken with
no small feare, demanding of them their aduise, what
was best for him to do in such troublefome state of
things. Some were of this mind, that it should be
best to seeke to appease the lords with faire promises,
assuring them, that they should haue their desires. O-
ther thought it better to assemble the kings friends,
and joining them with the Londoners, to go forth
and trie the hazard of battell with the lords. Among
them that were of this mind, the archbishop of Yorke
was the chiefe. But other that were thought to vnder-
stand more of the world than he did, iudged it not
wisdomme so to do, considering that if the king lost
the field, then should great harme and dishonour fol-
low; and if the victorie fell to his side, yet could he
gaue naught, but lose a great number of his sub-
jects.

This was in Nouember, at what time the king, vpon
his returning from Canturburie, meant to haue
helden a parlement; but through those firs, neither
his iournie to Canturburie, nor the parlement went
forward: yet he caused order to be given, that no ci-
tizen of London should sell to the duke of Gloucester,
the earle of Arundell, or any other of the lords, any
armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition, or mat-
ter that might tend to the furniture of warre, vpon a
great paine. But notwithstanding, the lords went
forward with their businesse; and before they approch-
ed the citie of London, they sent to the king the arch-
bishop of Canturburie, the lord John Louell, the lord
Cobham, and the lord John Deuereux, requiring to
haue deliuered unto them such as were about him,
that were traitors and seducers both of him and the
realme, that sought nothing else, but to trouble both
poore and rich, and to sow discord and variance betwixt
the king and his nobles. And further, they declared
that their comming was for the honor and wealth
both of the king and realme.

The lords
send messen-
gers to the
king.

But the king being ruled altogether by the duke
of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, and two or three o-
ther, was fullie persuaded that the lords intended to
bring him under their gouernement, and therefore he
was counselled to make the French king his sure
friend in all vrgent necessities. And to be assured of
him, it was reported, that those counsellors aduised
him to render vp into the French kings hands the
towne of Calis, and all that he had else in possession,
on the further side of the sea. Whosoeuer this matter
went, truly it is, that the king sent for the maiors of
London, requiring to know of him how manie able
men they thought the citie could make. The maiors
answered, that he thought verelie the citizens might
make

It hath an-
swer of the
mayors of
London.

The
king
sight
the
lois

The
king
sight
the
lois

Counsellors
ben how to
deal against
the lords.

The
take
togeth
poore
their
enter

The
take
war
don

Thos

An. Reg. 11.

The Londoners refuse to fight against the lord.

The earle of Northumberland and the lord Balliue words to the king in the hall of the lords.

Council has been how to deal against the lords.

The lords send messengers to the king.

The lords take an oath together, to prosecute their purpose.

The lords take the favour of the Londoners.

Thom. Wall.

It hath been how the king of London.

make in time of need, fiftie thousand men, within an houre respit. Well said the king, then I beseech you go and procure what will be done. But when the maior began to attempt the matter, he was answered generally, that they would neuer fight against the kings friends, and defenders of the realme (as indeed they took the lords to be) but against the enemies of the king and realme they would alwaies be ready to fight, and shew what resistance they were able. This answer the maior reported to the king.

At the same time there was about the king the lord Hafe Bassett, who said thus to the king flatly: "and plainlie: Sir, I haue bene, and cuer will be your true liege man, and my bodie and goods shall euer be at your graces commandement, in all iustice and trueth. But neuertheless, hereof I assure you, that if my hap be to come into the field, I will without faile alwaies follow the true part; and it is not I that will adventure to haue my head broken for the duke of Irelands pleasure. Likewise, the earle of Northumberland, being at that time in the court, spake these words to the king; Sir, there is no doubt but these lords, who now be in the field, alwaies haue bene your true and faithfull subjects, and yet are, not intending to attempt anie thing against your state, wealth, & hono^r. Neuertheless, they fele themselves sore molested and disquieted, by the wicked deuises of certeine persons about you, that seeke to oppresse them. And verelie without faile, all your realme is sore grieved therewith, both great and small, as well lords as commons; and I see not the contrarie, but they mind to adventure their liues with the lords that are thus in armes, speciallie in this case, which they reckon to be yours and your realmes. And sir, now ye be in the chiefe place of your realme, and in the place of your coronation, order your selfe now therefore wiselie and like a king. Send to them to come before your presence in some publike place, where they may declare vnto you the intent and purpose of their comming, accompanied with so great a number of people into these parts, and I beleue it verelie, they will shew such reasons that you will hold them excused.

The archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord chancellor; bishop of Elie, and other of the bishops also there present, affirmed the earles aduise to be good. And the king considering wiselie the case as it stood, began to be appeased, and accorded to follow their aduise, desiring the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Elie, to aduertise them of his pleasure, which was, that he willed them to come to him to Westminster, on sundaie then next following; and so they repairing to the lords, made report to them of the kings mind and purpose. But the duke of Glocester, and the other lords, were so fullie bent in their opinion, that they swore all whole together, that they would neuer giue ouer their enterprise, so long as they had a penie to spend, in maintenance of their cause: and if it chanced anie of them to depart this life, the ouerlifers should persist therein, vntill the time that they had brought their purpose to some good effect.

And because they doubted least the king might stirre the citie of London against them, they determined first to aduertise the maior and the citie, how their comming was onlie to reforme certeine great enormities, which they set downe in writing, & sent it to the maior and citizens, beseeching them of their fauour and counsell therein. This done, they determined yet to keepe their daie on the sundaie following, to appeare before the kings presence: but this was not got of them, till that the lord chancellor, with diuerse other noblemen of good credit, had undertaken vpon their oaths for the kings behelfe, that no fraud nor deceit, no perill nor euill pretence should be put

in practise against the lords, whereby they might come to losse either of life, limme, or goods, or otherwise, though the kings means; but that if he should go about anie such things, the said lord chancellor, and other the mediators should forwarne the lords therof.

When therefore the lords were ready, according to couenant, to come vnto Westminster, they were secretly aduertised, that there was an ambush laid in a place called the Welwes, and so they staid, and came not at the appointed houre. Wherevpon, when the king demanded, how it fortuned that the lords kept not promise, the bishop of Elie lord Chancellor made him this answer; Bicause saith he, there is an ambush of a thousand armed men or more laid in such a place (and named it) contrarie to couenant, and therefore they neither come nor hold you for faithfull of your word. The king hearing this, was astonished, and said with an oath, that he knew of no such thing, & withall sent to the shiriffes of London, commanding them to go to the Welwes, and (vpon search made) if they found anie force of men there assembled, to take and kill all such as they could laie hands vpon. But sir Thomas Arriuet, and sir Nicholas Bamber, knight, that had in deed assembled such a number of men, when they vnderstood what order the king had giuen therein, they sent their men backe to London.

The lords, after this, receiving a safe conduct from the king, and perceiving all to be safe and cleare, came vnto Westminster with a strong power of men about them. The king, when he heard they were come, apparilled himselfe in his kingly robes, and with his scepter in hand came into the great hall at Westminster. The lords as soone as they had sight of him, made to him their humble obeisance, & went forth till they came to the nether steps, going vp to the kings seat of state, where they made their second obeisance; & then the king gaue them countenance to come nerer to him, & they so did, kneeling downe before him, & forthwith he rose from his place, and longing welcomming them, took each of them by the hand, and that done sate him downe againe. Here, with the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, as mouth to the king, declared vnto these lords in effect as foloweth. My lords (said he) our soueraine lord the king, hearing that you were assembled in Haringie park, in other manner than was conuenient, would not forthwith run vpon you with force to destroue you, as he might easilie haue done, if he had not wisshed your safetie; for no man doubteth, but if his pleasure had bene to gather an armie, he might haue had more people than you could haue got to haue taken part with you against him, and so happlie much blood might haue bene spilt, which thing certeinlie our soueraine lord the king utterlie abhorreth: and therefore vsing patience and mildnesse, he hath rather chosen to talke with you in peaceable wise, that he may vnderstand the cause why ye haue assembled so great a number of people together.

The lords for answer herevnto said, that they assembled their forces together, for the profit both of the king and realme, and speciallie to take awaie from him such traitors as remained continually about him; to wit, Robert de Clare duke of Ireland, Alexander Beuill archbishop of Doreke, Michael de la Pole erle of Suffolke, Robert Crislian that false iustice, and sir Nicholas Bamber that disloall knight of London: for so they tearmed them all. And to proue their accusations true, they shew downe their gloues, protesting by their oaths to prosecute it by battell. Saie (saith the king) not so, but in the next parlement, which we do appoint before hand to begin the morow after the purification of our ladie, both they and you appearing, shall receiue (according to law) all that which reason shall appoint. And now to you my

An ambush at Welwes.

The lords come before the kings presence in Westminster hall.

The lord chancellor speaketh for the king to the lords.

The answer of the lords & their graces.

The king re-
proueth the
lords doings.

my lords I speake, by what meane or by what reason
durst you so presumptuouslie take vpon you within
this my land to rise thus against me? Did you thinke
to feare me with such your presumptuous boldnesse?
Hauē I not armed men sufficient to haue beaten
you downe, compassed about like a sort of beere in a
toile? If I would: trulie in this behalfe I make no
more account of you, than of the vilest skulions in
my kitchen.

The king taketh both parties into his protection.

Then he had said these wordes, with much more, he
lift vp the duke of Glocester that all this while knee-
led afore him, and commanded the residue to rise also.
After this, he led them courteously to his chamber,
where they sate and dyanke together. And finally it
was concluded, that they should all meet together a-
gaine at the next parlement, and eche one to receiue
according to iustice: and in the meane time the king
toke aswell the duke of Glocester, as the duke of
Ireland into his protection, so that neither part in
the meane time should hurt the other, nor presume to
make any gathering of people untill the time prefir-
ed: and so this counsell brake vp, and the lords depar-
ted. These things yet were done in absente of the
fozenamed persons whom the lords accused, for they
durst not appeare in presense of the lords; for if they
had bene espyed, they had smarted for it, as was
thought, without any respect that would haue bene
had of the kings presense. And now, for so much as it
should be well knowne through all the citie, that these
lords had nothing offended him with their comming,
the king caused a proclamation to be made, the te-
nour whereof was as followeth.

Crafter.

A proclamation clearing the lords of treason.

Richard by the grace of God, &c.
We will that it be knowne to
all our liege people throughout
our realme of England, that
whereas Thomas duke of Glocester, Ri-
chard earle of Arundell, & Thomas earle
of Marwoike, haue bene defamed of trea-
son by certeine of our counsellors; we as it
apperteineth, diligentlie searching the
ground & cause of this defamacion, find no
such thing in them, nor any suspicion there-
of: wherfore we declare the same defama-
tion to be false, and vnttrue, and doe receiue
the same duke and earles into our speciall
protection. And bicause these accusers shall
be notoriousslie knowne, their names are
Alexander archbishop of York, sir Robert
Clere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la
Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian
lord chiefe iustice, and sir Nicholas Bram-
ble of London knight, who in like case shall
remaine till the next parlement, and there
shall stand to their answers. But in the
meane time we likewise take them into
our protection, streictlie charging and com-
manding that no maner of person charge
any of the fozenamed, either priuilie or a-
pertlie, in word or deed, to hurt them, or
cause any hurt to be done to them, but all
quarrels & demands against them to be re-
mitted, untill the next parlement prefired.

Now to haue all things in more perfect readinesse
and remembrance when the estates should be assem-
bled, certeine of the lords were appointed to sit in the

meane time, to deuise how they might proceed order-
lie in redress of such matters, as seemed to require
some speedie reformation: neither did they thinke it
good to depart in sunder, for feare to be intrapped
through the malicious practise of their aduersaries.
Which doubt of theirs seemed afterwards to stand
them in stead of great wisdom. For immediatlie
after, their said aduersaries came to the king, and de-
clared how they were daily in danger of their liues,
by reason of the malice which the lords had conceiued
against them onelie for the kings sake, and not for a-
ny matter of their owne. And whereas the king had
promised that they should appeare at the next parle-
ment, which was at hand, they told him plainlie that
they neither durst nor would put their bodies in such
manifest danger. The king considering hereof, with-
drew himselfe from the companie of the lords that
were assigned to sit at London, to deliberate of mat-
ters that were to be talked of and ordered in the par-
lement; and so that counsell was deferred and laid
aside: and the kings counsellors that stood in danger
of their liues through the malice of the lords confeder-
ated with the duke of Glocester, got them from the
court, and withdrew some into this place and some
into that.

Among other the earle of Suffolke fled ouer vnto
Calis in secret wise, by the helpe of a knight called
sir William Ho, who holpe to conueie him thither.
He had changed his apparell, and shauen his beard,
and so disguised, counterfeited himselfe to be a poul-
ter, and to sell certeine soule which he had gotten, by
which means he was not knowne, till at length com-
ming to the gates of the castell (whereof his brother sir
Edmund de la Poole was captaine) he discovered to
him (scarcelie knowing who he was, by reason he
was so disguised) the whole occasion of his repairing
thither, requiring him to keepe his counsell, and that
he might remaine with him in priuie maner for a
time, till he might heare more how things went in
England, from whence he was thus fled, to auoid the
bloudie hands of his enemies, that sought his life.
His brother doubting what might be laid to his
charge if he should conceale this matter from the lord
William Beauchampe lord deputie of the towne,
straightwaies aduertised him thereof, who toke or-
der that the earle should forthwith be sent backe a-
gaine into England to the king, who receiued him
with small thanks to them that brought him ouer, so
that (as some write) his brother being one, was
committed to prison for disclosing him. But yet bi-
cause it should not seeme that he imprisoned him for
that cause, he was shortly after set at libertie, and
returned againe to his charge at Calis. The earle
was also permitted to go whither he would, although
the king had undertaken to present him and others
at the next parlement to answer their offenses, as
the same might be laid to their charge.

¶ But here it may be doubted by the vncertentie of
writers, whether the earle of Suffolke thus fled ouer
to Calis, before the iournie at Ratcote bridge, or af-
ter. But whether it chanced either after or before, it is
certeine that since the time that the lords had forced
the king to promise to exhibit him and others at the
next parlement to abide their trials, he durst not o-
penlie remaine in the court, but taking leaue of the
king departed from him. Whereupon the king being
out of quiet for the absence of him and other his best
beloued counsellors, whom he so much esteemed, and
namelie of the duke of Ireland, and the said earle of
Suffolke, he appointed one Thomas Wolincour con-
stable of the castell of Chester, a man of high valian-
cie, and great power in the parties of Cheshire and
Lancashire, to raise an armie of men, with the as-
sistance of the shiriffe of Cheshire, to whom his com-
mission

The earle of
Suffolke
fleth ouer to
Calis.

Crafter.

The
Ireland
could
not be

The
Ireland
from

Virginia

I committed
to the shiriffe
of Cheshire
to take care
of the duke of
Ireland to
the kings
presence.

Dom. 1388.

An. Reg. 11.

million of authoritie in that behalfe, vnder the great
scale was directed, to the end that they might con-
ueie the duke of Ireland in all safetie vnto the kings
presence.

The lords
saw to stop
the passage
at the duke
of Ireland.

The shiriffe hauing receiued this commission, to-
gether with the foresaid Thomas Spolincur raised a
power, and such as refused to serue, in respect of such
god will as they bare to the lords, he committed to
prison, commanding the gaolers to keepe them strict
in irons with bread and water till his returne. Spol-
incur, the king sent to sir Rafe Vernon, & sir Richard
Katcliffe, willing them to assist the other. And so thus
they set forward with the number of five thousand
men. When the lords vnderstood that the duke of Ire-
land was marching towards London, with such a
power of men, meaning to ioine with the London-
ers, and so to make as it had bene an invincible ar-
mie, they bestirred themselves, and fell in hand to
arme their men, and to exhort one another, that now
they should not be negligent in their owne defense,
but make haile for the dispatching of those that cras-
tillie had gone about to conspire their deaths. And so
these lords, to wit, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of
Derbie, Arundell, Warwicke, and Nottingham, as-
sembled their powers out of all quarters, to incoun-
ter with the duke of Ireland; and when they had got
their companies together, they foresailed all the
waies by which he was thought to come.

But the duke of Ireland hauing with him Spol-
incur, Vernon, and Katcliffe, rode forward in statelie
and glorious array, with an armie (as ye haue heard)
of five thousand men, supposing that none durst come
forth to withstand him. Neuer the lesse when he came
to Katcote bidge, not past foure miles from Cheping
Boxton (which bidge if he could haue passed, he had
bene out of the danger of all eniunies) he suddenly
espied where the armie of the lords late, not far di-
stant from him, readie in the midst of a ballie to a-
bide his coming. Some of the earle of Derbies
companye had broken the bidge, & so stopped his pas-
sage. He therefore perceiuing his eniunies intention,
skated, and caused the kings banner to be spred, and
began to set a good countenance of the matter, and to
exhort his people to shew themselves valiant; and
herewith caused the trumpets to sound. But when it
appeared that as some were readie to fight in his
quarrell, so there were other that quite forsake him,
and said flatlie they would not fight against so ma-
nie noble men, in so brutaill a cause: he being thereof
aduertised, began to war faint-hearted, and to prepare
himselfe to escape by flight; and declaring no lesse o-
penlie vnto them, said: Before we come to ioine, I
will seeke to withstand my selfe out of the waie, and
saue my selfe if I can; for me they onlie seeke, against
you they haue no quarrell, so that I being thiffed a-
waie, you shall easilie be preserved. Herewith one of
the knights said to him; You haue brought vs out of
our countrie, you haue procured vs to giue you our
promise, you haue caused vs to take this iournie in
hand: here therefore are we readie to fight & win the
victorie with you, if our hap be such; or if fortune will
not so fauour vs, we are readie to spend our lines
with you. So said he, ye shall not so do, and forthwith
striking his horse with spurs, he fled from them for
feare which had set wings on his heles, as one saith:

The duke of
Ireland his
souldiers re-
uolted fro him.

The duke of
Ireland fled
fro his armie.

Reg. An. 11. g.

—pedibus timor addidit alas.

Hereupon manie that were with him, cursing
this his demcanour, prepared to yeld themselves
to the lords. But Thomas Spolincur determined to
fight it out, with the lords were not yet all come to-
gether to that place, but onelie the earle of Derby and
certeine others. Neuerthelesse, after he had fought a
while, and perceiued it would not auaille him to tarie
longer, as one despairing of the victorie, betooke him

likewise to flight, as the duke of Ireland had led him
the waie: and plunging into the riuer, which was at
hand, it chanced that sir Thomas Spolincur being
present amongst other at the same place, willed him
to come out of the water vnto him; for if he would
not, he threatened to shoot him through with arrowes
in the riuer where he stood. If I come (said Spol-
incur) will ye saue my life? I will make thee no such
promise (said sir Thomas Spolincur) but notwithstanding,
either come vp, or thou shalt presentlie die
for it. Well then (said Spolincur) if there be no other
remedie, suffer me to come vp, and let me trie with
hand-blowes, either with you or some other, and so die
like a man. But as he came vp, the knight caught
him by the helmet, plucked it off his head, & freight-
waies drawing forth his dagger, stroke him into the
baines, and so dispatched him. This was the end of
sir Thomas Spolincur, which through his bold and
rath aduenture, in a most dangerous and desperat
case, he pulled vpon himselfe; and might as well haue
auoided as incurred, if the same prouident care of
safetie had taken him in the head that moued the
duke of Ireland to take flight for his indemnitie:
wherein he seemed to remember that there is no safe
attempting of any perillous enterprise without dread
of danger: for he that can tell when a thing is to be
feared, can tell in like sort when it is to be vnder-
taken; as the wiseman berie sententiouslie saith:

Animum vereri qui scit, sit tunc aggreddi.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye
haue heard) seeking to escape by flight, came to the
riuers side; but finding the bidge broken, he galoped
till he found an other bidge, where he found a num-
ber of archers readie to stop his passage. When he
saw that he was thus inclosed with his eniunies on
the one side, and the riuer of Thames on the other, he
thought to put all in aduenture; and casting a waie
his gantlets, and sword (to be the more nimble) gaue
his horse the spurres, and leapt into the riuer; but mis-
sing the sword, and not able to land with his horse on
the further side, he forsooke him, and swimming ouer
so well as he might, got to the bankes, and so escaped.
It was now night, and therefore his eniunies ha-
uing no knowledge of the countrie, followed him
not; but his horse, helmet, curasses, gantlets, and
sword being found, it was thought berelie that he had
bene drowned. The next newes heard of him, was
that he had passed the seas, and was got into Holland,
where he had no great frendlie welcome, by reason
that Albert duke of Bauiere, who was lord of that
countrie, bare such good will to his cousins of Eng-
land, the dukes of Lancaster, Poike, and Gloucester,
that he commanded this duke of Ireland to depart
forth of his countrie, as immediatlie thereupon he
did, from thence resorting to the bishopricke of Utrecht,
and after into other countries, till finallie he ended
the course of his life, as after in place conuenient
shall appeare.

But now to returne to the armies where we left
them. After the duke was fled, and Thomas Spol-
incur slaine (as before ye haue heard) the armie of the
lords set vpon the people that were come with the
duke of Ireland (as hath bene said) forth of Ches-
shire, Lancashire, and Wales; and taking them as
eniunies, spoiled them of their horse, armor, bowes
and arrowes. The knights and esquiers had their ar-
mor and horses againe to them restored, and were re-
teined with the lords to serue them: but the com-
mons without either armor or weapone were sent
home, and had no other harme done vnto them. The
duke of Irelands cariage being taken, letters were
found in his trunks or males, which the king had
written to him, exhorting him with all speed to re-
paire vnto London, with what power he might
make,

Thomas
Spolincur
slaine.

The duke of
Ireland fled
into Holland.

Letters found
in the duke of
Irelands
trunks.

The earle of
Suffolke
fleeth ouer to
Calis.

Grafton.

A commission
to the shiriffe
of Cheshire
to take content
the duke of
Ireland to
the kings
presence.

Barf. d.

make, and there he should find him readie to lue and die with him. Such was the conclusion of this battell, which happened nere vnto Barf. d., fast by Wablake, to the great reioysing of manie through the realme; for that the enemies the reof (as they toke the matter) were thus overthowne. But yet the escayping awaie of the duke of Ireland did somewhat mitigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was vncertaine. After this the duke of Gloucester, and the other lords went to Drford, being sozie that their fortune was not to haue taken the duke of Ireland.

Tho. Walf.

Byate raised that king Richard meant to yeld by Calis into the French kings hands.

At the same time, or rather before, the archbishop of Porke, and the lord chiefe iustice sir Robert Tresilian, fearing the indignation of the lords, withdrew out of the waie, and durst not be seene. But now the lords, who after the iournie at Radcote bidge, were come (as ye haue heard) to Drford; we find that the same time a byate was raised (whether of truth or not, we haue neither to asseine nor denie) how there was a messenger taken being sent from the French king with letters, in which was contained a licence of safe conduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland, and others, to come to Bullongne, with a certeine number limited, where they should find the French king come downe thither readie to receiue them, to the end that for a certeine summe of monie, which the French king should giue to the king of England, the towne of Calis, and all the fortresses in those parts, which were in the Englishmens hands, should be deliuered to the Frenchmen; and further that the king of England should do his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gascoigne, and so to haue acknowledged himselfe his liege man. The lords (as was reported) hauing got these letters, and taken counsell together how to proceed in their businesse, to bring the same to good end, remoued from Drford, and on Christmas euen they came to St. Albons, and there staid that daie and the next.

The lords come to London with a great armie.

R. Richard keepeth his Christmas in the Tower of London. The lords send to the Duke and citizens of London to understand their meaning.

The Londoners in great perplexitie which part to take.

The Londoners incline to the lords.

On saint Stephens daie they toke their waie to London with an armie of fortie thousand men, as some write; & coming into the fields besides Clerkenwell, mustered their men, being diuided in three severall battels verie well appointed with armor and weapen, that it was a beautifull sight to behold them. The king kept his Christmas, not at Westminster, but in the Tower; not doubting but there to be defended what chance sooner should happen. The lords mistrusting the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the suburbs. They sent yet two knights, and two esquires, vnto the Duke and Aldermen of the citie, to understand whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Ireland, and his adherents, traitors (as they tearmed them) both to the king and the realme. The Londoners were now in no small feare and perplexitie, not knowing well what waie was best for them to take, weighing diuers perils; as first the kings displeasure, if they opened their gates vnto the lords; and if they shut them forth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the commons that were come thither with the lords, and were readie to breake downe their wals and gates, if they were neuer so little prouoked. Besides this, they stood most in doubt, least if the wealthiest citizens should not giue their consent to receiue the lords into the citie, the meaner sort, and such as wished rather to see some hurle burle than to continue in peace, would seke by force to set open the gates, and make waie for the lords and their people to enter, that they might make hauocke, and spoile whatsoeuer might be found of value in the rich mens houses.

These doubts with all the circumstances being well weighed and considered, the Duke Nicholas Cruton, and certeine of the chiefe men in the citie, went

forth to the lords, and offered them to lodge in the citie at their pleasure, with all things necessarie as they should desire. The Duke canked also wine, ale, bread, and cheese, to be distributed among the armie, so as each one had part, which courtesie turned greatlie afterwarde to the commoditie of the citie. The lords upon search made, perceiuing that there was no guile meant by laing of men in ambushes within the citie to intrap them; or otherwise, but that all was sure enough and cleare without anie such craft meaning, they entred the citie and there abode quietly. Then went the archbishop of Canturburte and others betwixt the king and the lords to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the first seemed little to esseme the matter, saing to the archbishop; Well let them lie here with their great multitudes of people hardlie till they haue spent all they haue, and then I trust they will returne poore enough and needie, and then I doubt not but I shall talke with them; and bide the matter so as iustice maie require.

The lords being informed hereof, were marvellouslie moued, and swore that they would not depart till they had spoken with him face to face, and forthwith they sent part of their companies to watch the Thames, for feare the king should scape their hands, and then laugh them to scorn. When the king then perceiued himselfe to be inclosed on each side, he talked esthones with the archbishop and his allocats that were messengers betwixt him and the lords, willing them to declare to the lords that he would be contented to treat with them in reasonable order; whereupon they required that he should on the morrow next insuing come vnto Westminister, where he should understand their demands. When the king heard that, he refused to come vnto Westminister, but willed that they should come to him there in the Tower. The lords sent him word againe, that the Tower was a place to be suspected, for that they might there be surprisid by some guilefull practise devised to intrap them. The king herevnto made answer, that they might send some two hundred men, or so manie as they should thinke good, to make a thorough search, whether they needed to feare anie such thing; and this accordingly was done: they hauing the keies of the gates and of all the strong chambers, turrets, and places within the Tower sent vnto them.

On the fridaie, the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Derby, and Nottingham, came to the king, where he was set in a pavillion richlie arraied; and after their humble salutations done, and some talke had betwixt them, they went at the kings request with him into his chamber, where they recited vnto him the conspiracie of their aduersaries, through which they had ben indicted. They also shewed forth the letters which he had sent to the duke of Ireland, to leaue an armie vnto their destruction. Likewise the letters, which the French king had written to him, containing a safe conduct for him to come into France, there to confirme things to the diminishing of his honor, to the decaye of his power, & losse of his fame. ¶ During the time of this communication also, the earle of Derby desired the king to behold the people that were assembled in sight before the Tower, for the preservation of him and his realme: which he did, and maruelling to see such a goodlie armie and strength, as he declared to them no lesse, the duke of Gloucester said vnto him; Sir this is not the tenth part of your willing subiects that haue risen to destroye those false traitors, that haue misled you with their wicked and naughtie counsell.

The king being brought to his wits end, aswell with those things which the lords had charged him with, as otherwise with the sight of that great multitude

Si

R. Graf

Tho. W. The in of th

The B. pelled to descend to lords re

R. Graf.

Thom. Walf.

The lords open their gates to the king.

Certeine: Cons put i of the com

Certeine: dies expel the court,

The lordes
enter into London.

The kings
words touching
the lords proce-
dings.

The lords re-
fuse to come
into the court
but after
search made
they come thir-
ther to the
kings pre-
sence.

R. Grafton.

Thom. Wall.

The lords o-
pen their
gates to
the king.

R. Grafton.

Thom. Wall.
The incolumen-
ce of the king

The king is
pelled to con-
descend to the
lords request.

Certaine per-
sons put out
of the court.

Certaine la-
dies expelled
the court.

itude of people, seemed greatlie amazed. Whereby-
on the lords, under condition that the next daie he
should come to Westminster to heare moze of their
minds, and to conclude further for the behoofe of the
common-wealth of the realme, began to take leaue
of him, meaning so to depart: but the king desired
them to tarrie all night with him and the queene. The
duke thinking to make all sure, made excuse that he
durst not be absent from all those folks, which they
had brought with them, for feare that some disorder
might arise, either in the armie, or in the citie: yet at
the kings instance, the earles of Nottingham and
Derbie tarried there all night. The king before his
going to bed, was quite turned concerning his de-
termination and promise made to go the next daie to
Westminster, through such whispering tales as was
put into his eares, by some that were about him, tel-
ling him that it stood neither with his safetie, nor ho-
nour, so lightlie to agree to depart from the towre,
unto such place as the lords had thus appointed him,
to serue moze for their purpose than for suertie of
his person.

When the lords therefore understood that he would
not keepe promise with them, they were greatlie of-
fended, inso much as they sent him flat word, that if
he would not come (according to promise) they would
suertie chose another king, that would and ought to
obey the faithfull counsell of his lords. The king with
this message being touched to the quicke, to satisfie
their minds, and to avoid further perill, removed the
next morning unto Westminster, where the lords
comming before his presence, after a little other
talke, they declared unto him, that aswell in respect
of his owne honour, as the commoditie & wealth of
his kingdom, it was behouefull, that such traitors,
and most wicked & slanderous persons, as were no-
thing profitable, but hurtfull to him, and his louing
subiects, should be removed out of his court; and that
other that both could and would serue him moze ho-
norable and faithfullie were placed in their comes.
The king, although soze against his mind, when he
saw how the lords were bent, and that he wanted
power to withstand their pleasures, condescended to
do what they would haue him.

So when he had granted thereto, they iudged that
Alexander Beuill archbishop of Poike, John Four-
ham bishop of Durham lord treasurer, Thomas Ru-
shoke a frier of the order of the preachers, bishop of
Chichester, and confessor to the king, were worthy to
be auoided the court. But the archbishop of Poike,
and the bishop of Chichester would abide no recho-
nings, but got them out of the waie, and fled, it was
not knowne whither. The lords did expell out of the
court the lord Zouch of Haringworth, the lord Bur-
nell, the lord Beaumont, Albyen de Tier, Baldwin
de Beresford, Richard Aderburie, John Mowth, Tho-
mas Clifford, and John Louell knights. These were
dismissed out of the court, and removed from the
king, but not discharged, for they were constrained to
put in suerties to appeare at the next parlement.
There were also certeine ladies expelled the court, as
those that were thought to do much harme about the
king, to wit, the ladie Poimings, wife to John Mowth
of Powen, and the ladie Moulunge, with others,
which also found suerties to answer at the next par-
lement, to all such things as might be objected against
them. Moreover there were arrested and committed
to severall prisons, Sir Simon Barlie, William
Cunham, John Beauchampe of Holt steward of
the kings house, Sir John Saltsburie, Sir Thomas
Trivet, Sir James Barneis, Sir Nicholas Wag-
worth, and Sir Nicholas Barmby knights. Also Ri-
chard Clifford, John Lincolne, Richard Pittford the
kings chappellains, and Nicholas de Blake draper of the

kings chappell, whose word might too much in the
court. There was also apprehended John Blake an
apprentice of the law: all which persons were kept in
strict ward till the next parlement, in which they
were appointed to stand vnto their triall and an-
swers.

Shortly after, to wit, the morrow after the Pur-
fication of our ladie, the parlement began, the which
was named the parlement that brought wonders.
The king would gladlie haue prologed the time of
this parlement, if by any means he might. The
lords came to the same parlement, with a sufficient
armie for their owne safeties. On the first day of this
parlement, were arrested as they sat in their places,
all the iustices (except Sir William Skipworth) as
Sir Roger Fulthorp, Sir Robert Belknap, Sir John
Carie, Sir John Holt, Sir William Bzoke, and John
Aloton the kings sergent at law, all which were
sent to the towre, and there kept in severall places.
The cause whie they were thus apprehended, was for
that, where in the last parlement, diuerse lords were
made gouernours of the realme, both by the assent
of the same parlement, and also by the aduise and
counsell of all the iustices then being, and indentures
tripartite thereof made, of the which one part reman-
ned with the king, an other with the lords so chosen to
gouerne the realme, and the third part with the iusti-
ces: and yet notwithstanding, the said iustices at a
counsell holden at Nottingham (as yee haue heard
before) did go contrarie to that agreement. Whereby-
on it was now determined, that they should make
answer to their doings.

Moreover, in the beginning of this parlement,
were openlie called Robert Tier duke of Ireland,
Alexander Beuill archbishop of Poike, Michael de
la Pole earle of Suffolke, Sir Robert Trissilian lord
chefe iustice of England, to answer Thomas of
Woodstoke duke of Gloucester, Richard earle of Ar-
rundell, Henrie earle of Derby, and Thomas earle
of Nottingham, vpon certeine articles of high trea-
son, which these lords did charge them with. And forso-
much as none of these appeared, it was ordeined by
the whole assent of the parlement, that they should be
banished for euer, and their lands and goods mouea-
ble and immoueaible to be forfeit and seized into the
kings hands, their lands intailed onelie excepted.
Shortly after was the lord chiefe iustice, Robert Tri-
ssilian found in an apothecaries house at Westmin-
ster, lurking there, to understand by spies dailie what
was done in the parlement: he was descried by one
of his owne men, and so taken and brought to the
duke of Gloucester, who caused him forthwith the same
daie to be had to the towre, and from thence by water
to Tiberne, and there hanged.

On the morrow after, Sir Nicholas Barmby, that
sometime had bene maior of London, was brought
forth to iudgement and condemned, although he had
manie friends that made sute to saue his life. This
man had done manie oppressions within the citie of
London (as was reported.) In his maiortie, he
caused great & monstrous stocks to be made to im-
prison men therein, and also a common are to strike
off the heads of them which should resist his will and
pleasure, for he was so highlie in the kings fauour,
that he might do what he would. And the report
went, that he had caused eight thousand or moze to be
indicted, which before had taken part with the lords,
intending to haue put them all to death, if God had
not shortened his daies. Manie other euill fauoured
reports went abroad of him, as that he meant to
haue changed the name of London, and to haue na-
med it little Troie, of which citie baptised with that
new name, he purposed to be intituled duke. But
these were forged rumors deuised and spread abroad
A. B. J.

The parlement
that brought
wonders.

R. Grafton.
Thom. Wallin.
R. Grafton.

The iustices
arrested & sent
to the towre.

Why the iusti-
ces were ap-
prehended.

The duke of
Ireland & his
associats at-
tainted of trea-
son by this
parlement.

Trissilian
chefe iustice
descried by his
owne man is
executed at
Tiberne.

Sir Nicholas
de Hambray
executed with
a rope of his
owne deuise.

in these daies, as many other were, partly by the
vaine imagination of the people, and partly of pur-
pose, to bring those whom the king favoured further
out of the peoples liking. But now touching sir Ni-
cholas Hambray: in the end being thus called to an-
swer his transgressions, he was found guilty, and had
judgement, neither to be hanged, nor drawne, but to
be beheaded with his owne axe which before he had
deuised: serving him herein as Phalaris the tyrant
sometime serued Perillus, the inuentor of that ex-
quisite torment of the brasen bull, wherein the offend-
er being put (and the counterfet beast by force of fier
made glowing hot) hauing his tong first cut out,
through extremitie of paine made a bellowing al-
waies as he cried, as if it had bene the verie noise of
a naturall bull. Of which strange torment Perillus
himselfe first tasted, suffering death by an engine
of his owne deuising, which he thought should haue
purchased him a good liuing, whereof the poet saith:

Quid li. x. de art.

*per Phalaris tauro violentus membra Perilli
Torrui, infelix imbuat auctor opus.*

Diuers that
stood against
the lords ex-
ecuted.

After this, sir John Salisburie, & sir James Ber-
keis, both knights and lustie yong men, were by
judgement of parlement drawne and hanged. Then
solowed John Beauchampe of the Holt, lord steward
of the kings house, that had serued king Edward the
third, and his sonne Lionel duke of Clarence: who
likewise by decree of this parlement was drawne
and hanged. Also John Blake, squier, who in an
infortunate houre stood against the lords in the court-
cell at Nottingham, was now drawne and hanged,
and so was one Thomas Wike. Last of all (as some
hold, first of all) was sir Simon Burle beheaded, al-
though the earle of Derby did what he could to saue
his life, by reason whereof, great dissention rose be-
twixt the said earle, and the duke of Gloucester: for
the duke being a sore and a right seuerer man, might
not by any meanes be removed from his opinion
and purpose, if he once resolved upon any matter.
Some spite he bare (as was thought) towards the
said sir Simon Burle, both as well for the faithfull
friendship, which was growne betwixt the duke of
Ireland, and the said sir Simon, as also for that he
looked to haue had such offices and romes which sir
Simon inuied, by the kings gracions fauour and
grants thereof to him made, as the Wardenship of
the cinque ports, and constableness of the castell of
Doner, and the office of high chamberleine.

The duke of
Gloucester a
seuerer man.

Sir Simon
Burle.

But now, because of all these which were condem-
ned and executed at this parlement, in our common
chronicles there is least written; and in Froissard, and
diuerse priuate pamphlets I haue read most of this
sir Simon, I haue thought good to set downe some
part of his life, so large as this volume may well
beare; although a great deale more bycise than where
I found it. This sir Simon was the son of sir John
Burle knight of the garter, and brought vp in his
youth vnder his kinsman doctor Walter Burle, who
(as in the latter end of king Edward the third you
haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in
the bringing vp of the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to
the said king Edward. By this occasion he grew in-
to such fauour with the prince, that afterwards the
said prince committed vnto him the gouernance of
his sonne Richard of Burdeaur, who as he was of a
gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceiue
so great loue and liking towards him, that when he
came to the crowne and was king, he aduanced him
highly to great honours and promotions, in somuch
that at onetime & other he was made knight of the
garter, constable of Doner, lord Warden of the
cinque ports, lord chamberleine, earle of Hunting-
ton, and also one of the priue counsell to the king.

* Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton, fol. 191.

Neither was there any thing done concerning

the affaires appertaining vnto the state without his
counsell, appointment, and direction, wherein he
so much favoured and leaned to the partie of the duke
of Ireland, that he was sore enuied, and greatlie ha-
ted of diuerse of the rest of the nobilitie, speciallie of
the kings vnckle the duke of Gloucester, who vpon ma-
lice that he bare to the man, not so much for his owne
demeanour, as for his allies, and peraduenture for
desire of his romes, more than of his life, caused him
to be accused of diuerse offenses against the crowne,
realme, and church; namelie, for that he had (as they
surmized against him) spoiled and waisted the kings
treasure, and withholden the paie of the souldiers and
men of warre, whereupon he was arrested, called to
account, & hauing no clerke allowed him to make vp
the same, was found in arrears ages 230000 franks.
And although for one part thereof he demanded al-
lowance of monie, which he had defraied and laid out
in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings mar-
riage, and for the residue desired daies of payment, yet
he could obtaine neither. Further, he was accused
that the duke of Ireland and he had gathered great
summes of monie, conueied the same to Doner, and
from thence sent it in the night by sea into Ger-
manie.

Lastlie, the archbishop (forsooth) and the monks of
Canturburie charged him that he sought the means
to remoue the shiue of the archbishop Thomas, o-
therwise called Thomas Becket, from Canturburie
vnto Doner, vnder a colour of feare, least the French
men being assembled in Flanders to inuade Eng-
land, should land in Kent and take Canturburie, and
spoil it, where indeed (as they surmized against him)
he meant to send it ouer the seas vnto the king of
Boheme. Whereupon he was first committed to the
tower, and before the king or his other friends could
procure his deliuerance, he was without law or ius-
tice, before any of the residue (as some hold) brought
forth and beheaded on the tower hill, by commande-
ment of the duke of Gloucester, and other of his fac-
on, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge,
in somuch that when he vnderstood it, he spake manie
sore words against the duke, affirming that he was a
wicked man, and worthe to be kept shorter, sith vnder
a colour of doing iustice, he went about to de-
stroye curie god and honest man. The king was al-
so offended with the duke of Yorke, for his brothers
presumptuous doings, though the said duke of Yorke
being verelie a man of a gentle nature, wished that
the state of the common-wealth might haue bene re-
dressed without losse of any mans life, or other cru-
ell dealing: but the duke of Gloucester, and diuerse o-
ther of the nobilitie, the lesse that they passed for the
kings threatening speech, so much more were they
readie to punish all those whom they toke to be their
enemies. In deed the said sir Simon Burle was
thought to beare himselfe more losse, by reason of
the kings fauour, than was requisite, which procured
him enuie of them, that could not abide others to be
in any condition their equals in authoritie.

It should appeare by Froissard, that he was first of
all, in the beginning of these stris betwixt the king
and the lords, committed to the tower, and notwith-
standing all the spite that either the king, or the duke
of Ireland, or any other of his friends could make
for him, by the duke of Gloucesters commandement
he was cruelly beheaded, so greatlie to the offense of
the king, and those that were his true counsellors,
that thereupon the king caused the duke of Ireland
the soner to assemble an armie against the said duke
and his complices, thereby to restrain their presump-
tuous proceedings. But whether he was thus at the
first or last executed, to please the king the better, now
at this parlement, amongst others that were con-
demned

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demned in the same: his lands were given to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards disposed to diverse men as he thought expedient. But yet in the parliament holden in the one and twentieth yeare of this kings reigne, the act of attainder of the said sir Simon was repealed: and at an other parliament holden in the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his lands which then remained vngrented and vnsold, were restored to sir John Burle knight, sonne and heire of sir Roger Burle, brother to the said Simon, of whom lineallie is descended Thomas Cins elquier, now secretaire to the quenes maiesties counsell in the north parts. And thus far touching sir Simon Burle, of whom manie reports went of his disloyall dealings towards the state, as partlie ye haue heard, but how trulie the lord knoweth. Among other slanderous tales that were spied abroad of him, one was that he consented to the deliuering of Dover castell by the kings appointment to the Frenchmen for monie. But as this was a thing not like to be true, so (no doubt) manie things that the persons aforesaid, which were executed, had bene charged with, at the least by common report among the people, were nothing true at all; although happilie the substance of those things, for which they died, might be true in some respect.

Sir William Elmham that was charged also for withrawing of the soldiers wages, discharged himselfe thereof, and of all other things that might be laid to his charge. As touching the iustices, they were all condemned to death by the parlement, but such meanes was made for them vnto the quene, that she obtained pardon for their liues. But they forfeited their lands and goods, and were appointed to remaine in perpetuall exile, with a certeine portion of monie to them assigned for their daillie sustentation: the names of which iustices so condemned to exile were these, Robert Welknap, John Holt, John Craie, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burgh, and John Lokton. Finally, in this parlement was an oth required and obtained of the king, that he should stand vnto and abide such rule and order as the lords should take: and this oth was not required onelie of the king, but also of all the inhabitants of the realme. ¶ In these troubles was the realme of England in these daies, and the king brought into that case, that he ruled not, but was ruled by his vncles, and other to them associat.

In the latter end of this eleuenth yeare was the earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great manie of ships and men of warre. There went with him in this iourne, of noble men, the earles of Potingham & Devonshire, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Clifford, the lord Camois, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Porter, sir John Daubreticourt, sir William Shel lie, sir John Warwicke or Berthwicke, sir Stephan de Liberie, sir Robert Sere, sir Peter Montberie, sir Lewes Clanbow, sir Thomas Coque or Coke, sir William Paulie or Paulet, & diuerse others. There were a thousand men of armes, and three thousand archers. The purpose for which they were sent, was to haue asked the duke of Britaine (if he would haue re ceined them) being then efflonces run into the French kings displeasure, for the imprisoning of the lord Clifton constable of France.

But after that (contrarie to expectation) the duke of Britaine was come to an agreement with the French king, the earle of Arundell drew with his manie alongst the coasts of Poitou, and Saintonge, till at length he arrived in the haven that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Sparrant, foure leagues from Rochell, and began to pilfer, spoile, and seth booties abroad in the countrie. The Frenchmen within Rochell issued forth to skirmish with the Englishmen, but they were easilie put to flight, and solow

ed euen to the barriers of the gates of Rochell. ¶ Perrot le Bernois a capteine of Gascoigne, that made warre for the king of England in Limosin, and lay in the fortreffe of Calusset, came forth the same time, and made a roade into Berrie with foure hundred spears. The earle of Arundell, after he had laine at Sparrant fiftene daies, returned to his ships, and finally came backe into England, and Perrot le Bernois likewise returned to his fortreffe. ¶ About the same time was a truce taken betwixt the parties English and French on the marches of Aquitaine, to begin the first daie of August, and to indure till the first of Aprill next ensuing.

¶ In this yeare 1388, in Lent, the Scots entred into the westerne borders, & what with killing as also with burning they did much mischief. Whereouer they thewed extreme crueltie against young children and sucklings, against women bigge with child and in trauell, against weake and wearie men and crooked with age, in the countrie of Gilsland, within the lordship of the lord Dacres, gathering them together into houses, and shutting them vp, and locking the doores, they burned without mercie or pitie to the number (as it was said) of two hundred and aboue.

This yeare in August, the Scots innaded the countrie of Northumberland, and at Otterburne ouerthrew a power of Englishmen, which the earle of Northumberland and his sonnes had leauied against them. In this battell the earle Douglas chiefe of that armie of Scots was laine, and the lord Henrie Percie, and his brother sir Ralfe, sonnes to the said earle of Northumberland, were taken prisoners, as in the Scottish chronicles ye may read more at large. After the feast of the nativitie of our ladie, a parlement was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerse statutes were ordeined; as for the limiting of seruants wages; for punishment of vagaband persons; for the inhibiting of certeine persons to weare weapons; for the debarring of vnlawfull games; for maintenance of shooting in the long bow; for remouing of the skayle of woles from Middleburgh vnto Calis; for labourers not to be receiued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder seale of the hundred where they dwell. There was also an act made, that none should go forth of the realme, to purchase antic benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obtained of the king; and if they did contrarie herevnto, they were to be excluded out of the kings protection. There was granted to the king in this parlement, a tenth to be leuied of the clergie, and a fiftenth of the laitie. Whereouer, during the time of this parlement, as sir Thomas Triuet was riding towards Warnewell with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horse too much with the spurs, the horse fell with him so rudelie to the ground, that his entrails within him were so burst and perished, that he died the next daie after. Manie reioised at this mans death, as well for that men iudged him to be exceeding haughty and proud; as also for that he was suspected not to haue dealt iustlie with the bishop of Exeter, in the iourne which the bishop had made into Flanders: but speciallie men had an ill opinion of him, for that he stood with the king against the lords, counselling him in the yeare last past to dispatch them out of the way.

¶ Sir John Holland, the kings brother on the mothers side, that was latelie returned out of Spaine, where he had bene with the duke of Lancaster, was now made earle of Huntingdon. ¶ In Julie, whiles the king was at Shene, there swarmed together in his court great multitudes of flies and gnats, insomuch that in maner of skirmishing they incountered each other; and making great slaughters on both sides, were in the end swept a waie.

The earle of Arundell returneth out of France.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

Scottish crueltie and more than barbarous bloudthirstinesse.

In overthrew giuen to the Englishmen by the Scots at Otterburne.

Fabian. Caxton. A parlement at Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Triuet laine with the fall of his horse.

Craion.

The iustices condemned to perpetuall exile.

troisland.

The king taketh an oth to performe the lawes of the land.

The earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great manie, in aid of the duke of Britaine.

Thom. Wals.

Herodotus. Plutarch. it may be Agamemnon.

Anno Reg. 13.

Wattell and
slaughter be-
twene flies.

Commis-
sioners sent to
treat a truce
betwene
England,
France, and
Scotland.

Froissard.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knighton
canon of
Beccester ab-
bey.

Scholars of
Oxford to-
gether by the
cages.

Truce of 3
years be-
twene six
kings.

The Scots
in the time of
treatic spoile
the countie of
Northumber-
land.

The Scots
having prou-
ded an armie
to invade
England are
hardly per-
suaded to ac-
cept the truce.

waie from the place where they lay dead, with byr-
thes and brecons by heaps. This was deemed an un-
luckie prognosticat of some mischief like to fall vpon
the necke of the land.

Also in this twelfth peare, were commissioners ap-
pointed to met at Balingham, betwixt Calis and
Bullongne, to treat a truce to be had betwixt the
realmes of England, France and Scotland. Walter
Skirlow bishop of Durham, that had bene latelie
before remoued from Bath vnto Durham, from
whence John Foxdham had bene translated vnto
Ely, was sent as head commissioner for the king of
England, and with him were ioined sir John Clan-
bow, and sir Nicholas Dagworth, knights, and Ri-
chard Kothale clerke, a doctor of law. By Frois-
sard it appeareth that the earle of Salisburie was one,
and sir Thomas Beauchampe lord deputie of Calis ap-
pointed likewise as an assistant with them. The bi-
shop of Bature, the lord Valeran earle of S. Poule,
sir Guillam de Melin, sir Nicholas Bzacque, and sir
John le Mercier came thither for the French king.
And for the king of Scots there appeared the bishop
of Aberdeine, sir James and sir David Lindsey, and
sir Walter Sankler, knights. After long treatie, and
much a do, at length a truce was concluded to begin
at Midsummer next, and to last thre years after.

In this peare of Grace 1389, in the Lent time,
there spang a pitifull strife in Oxford, the variance
in the peare before being not fullie allaid, but both
sides alwaies prouoking ech other. For the Welsh
scholars being euermore quarelous, and hauing the
southerlie scholars taking their parts, rose against
the scholars of the north, so that to and fro manie
a deablie mischief happened betwene them. In the
end, this strife did so increase, that there was a daie
of skirmish appointed and agreed vpon by both sides
to be tried in the field. But by the meanes of Tho-
mas of Woodstocke duke of Gloucester all this sturre
was appeased, and manie of the Welsh scholars ban-
nished from the vniuersitie. On the thursdaie be-
fore Easter (being mawndae thursdaie) the lord
Beaumont gardian of Carleill in the west marches
entred Scotland for tie leagues, and spoiling Folwike,
made wast at his pleasure, and brought a waie with
him manie Scots prisoners and captiues. About this
time a truce of thre years was taken betwene king
Richard, the kings of France, Scotland, Spaine,
Portingale, and of Nauarre. This truce began on
the first daie of August in the nether parts of the
realme both by sea and land; and on the fiftenth of
August in the further parts, because knowledge
could not be giuen thereof without some long time.

Whilest the commissioners were occupied in the
marches betwixt Calis and Bullongne about this
truce, the Scots entring into Northumberland, did
much mischief, leading a waie manie prisoners,
men and women, besides other great booties and
pries which they got abroad in the countie. The lord
Thomas Holobraie earle of Nottingham was sent
with five hundred spears to reuenge those attempts
of the enemies: but for that his power was small in
comparison to theirs, he preuailed little or nothing a-
gainst them. Sir John Clanbow, and sir Richard
Kothale clerke, took the French kings oth; and the
earle of Saint Paule that had married the ladie Maud
Courtneie with other noblemen, came into Eng-
land, and received the kings oth here for the confir-
ming of this last mentioned truce. The Scots might
not without much adoe be persuaded to accept this
truce, being readie the same time with an armie to
enter into England, but yet through the diligence of
such Frenchmen as went thither for that purpose, at
length they agreed.

This peare the king by counsell of some that were

about him, called the nobles and great men of the
realme together, and as they were set in the councill
chamber staing till he came: at length he entring
into the same chamber, and taking his place to sit a-
mong them, demanded of them, of what age he was
now? Wherefo answer was made, that he was full
twentie years old. Then (said he) I am of years suffi-
cient to gouerne mine owne house and familie, and
also my kingdome: for it seemeth against reason that
the state of the meanest person within my kingdome
should be better than mine. Euerie heire that is once
come to the age of twentie years, is permitted, if his
father be not liuing, to order his businesse himselfe:
then that thing which is permitted to enerie other
person of meane degree by law, why is the same de-
nied vnto me? These words vttered he with the cou-
rage of a prince, not without the indignation and set-
ting on of such as were about him, whose drift was by
discountenancing others to procure preferment to
themselves, abusing the kings tender years and
greene wit, with ill counsell for their advantage:
where as it had bene more mete to haue giuen him
those precepts which Claudianus hath in his tract of
the institution of a prince; and among others this:

*Non tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit
Occurrat, mentemq; domet respectus honesti.*

Claudian.

When the barons had hard the words of the king,
being therewith asloned, they made answer, that
there should be no right abridged from him, but that
he might take vpon him the gouernment as of rea-
son was due. Well said he, yee know that I haue
bene a long time ruled by tutors, so as it hath not
bene lawfull to me to doe arie thing, were it of
neuer so small importance, without their consents.
Now therefore I will, that they meddle no further
with matters pertaining to my gouernment, after
the maner of an heire come to lawfull age, I will
call to my councill such as pleasest me, and I will
deale in mine owne businesse my selfe. And therefore
I will first that the chancelor resigne to me his seale.
When the archbishop of Yorke (who in the peare last
past had bene remoued from Ely vnto Yorke, and
Alexander Nevill displaced) had deliuered vnto him
the seale, the king receiuing it of him, put it in his
bosome, and suddenlie rising, departed forth of the
chamber, and after a little while returning, sat do-
wne againe, and deliuered the seale to the bishop of Win-
chester, William Wickham, and so made him chan-
celor, although soe against the same bishops will.
He made also manie other new officers, removing
the old, and vsed in all things his owne discretion and
authoritie. The duke of Gloucester, the earle of Mar-
wike, and other honorable and worthie men, were dis-
charged and put from the councill, and others placed
in their romes, such as pleased the king to appoint.
At the same time he made five new iustices.

Of this assuming the regiment to himselfe, as di-
uerse diuerse report: so Henric Knighton a man li-
uing in those daies, and committing to writing the
occurents of that tumultuous time, saith as follow-
eth. In the moneth of Maie, the king held a councill
at Westminster, and in the feast of the Inuention of
the crosse, comming personallie to the councill house
he remoued all the great officers (contrarie to expec-
tation and thinking) from their offices, and at his
pleasure placed in their romes thome he list. He re-
moued the archbishop of Yorke lord chancelor, and
put in his place the bishop of Winchester; he remo-
ued the bishop of Hereford lord treasurer, and put an-
other in his place: he remoued the clerke of the
privie seale, and all other: so likewise did he the ius-
tices of either bench. But least the affaires of the
realme should in the meane while be hindered, he
commanded the iustices of law to follow and pro-
cure

The kings
question to
his lordes and
others in the
council cham-
ber.

The kinge
king vpon
the gouern-
ment of all
things dispo-
sith diuerse
officers a let-
teth others in
their romes.

Wickham bi-
shop of win-
chester made
chancelor.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knighton
canon of
Beccester abbey.

The bi-
shop of
Winchester
English
of Galt

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Anno Reg. 13.
wickiulds
mraie.

The duke of
Lancaster re-
mained into
England thogh
of Calcoigne.

cute things requisite as they were wont, till such time as he was better advised touching the prouiding of other iustices. The erle of Arundell likewise, vnto whome the government of the parlement was committed, and the admiraltie of the sea, was removed; and the earle of Huntington put in his come. In like sort dealt the king with the residue of his officers, saying that he ought not to be inferior in degree of lesse account than an other ordinarie heire whatsoever within the realme of England; sith the law and custome of the realme of England auereth, that euerie heire being in the gardianship of anie lord, when he is growne to be one and twentie yeares of age, ought presentlie to intoy the inheritance left him by his father, and is lawfullie to possesse his patrimonie, and frelie to dispose and order his owne goods and chattels to his liking. But now it is come to passe, that I thus manie yeares haue liued vnder your counsell and gouernement; and now first to God, secondlie to you, I giue manifold thanks, that you haue gouerned and supported me, mine inheritance, and my realme of England, as well within as without, specially against our enemies round about vs, all renoume of honour and praise to vs and our kingdome alwaies safelie reserved. But now God hath so dealt for vs, that we are of full age, so that we are two and twentie yeares old at this present: and we require that we may frelie and at libertie from this time forward rule and gouerne both our felnes and our inheritance; and we will haue our kingdome in our owne hands, and officers and scrutours of our owne appointing at our pleasure; secondlie, as shall seme to vs more auailable, by Gods grace, to elect, chose, and preferre vnto officers such as we doo well like of, and at our pleasure to remoue such as be presentlie resiant, and in their romes to substitute and set others wherefoener and whomfoener we list. The king hauing thus spoken, there was not one that went about to breake him of his will, but they all glorified God, who had prouided them such a king, as was likelie to proue discreet and wise.

In this season, the followers of Wickliffes doctrine maruellouslie increased, specially in the diocesse of Sarum, where they had manie that toke vpon them as ministers, both to preach the word, and to dispense the sacraments. This they did in secret: but they were discouered by one that had bene of their fellowship, who declared to the bishop of Salisbury at his manor of Sonning, all the whole circumstances thereof, as he knew. There were of them that preached in those daies earnestlie against pilgimages, calling such images as the people had in most veneration, as that at Walsingham, and the rood of the north dore at Paules in London, rotten stocks, and boorne eaten blocks, through which the unskillfull people being mocked and deceived, were compelled most manifestlie to commit idolatrie. The bishops (saith Thomas Walsingham) hearing, beholding, and knowing these things with much more, to be true, did little or nothing to redresse the same, save onlie the bishop of Norwich who stirred coles, swearing and stating, that if anie of that sect presumed to preach anie peruerse doctrine within his diocesse, he would cause them either to hop headlesse, or to fire a sagot for it: he was therefore not a little praised and extolled by the monks and other religious men (as should appeare) for that his zeale.

In November, the duke of Lancaster came forth of Calcoigne into England, after he had remained first in Spaine, and after in Calcoigne, thre yeares together. Of this successe in Spaine is spoken before, a likewise of the agreement betwixt the king of Castile, & the said duke, which was not in all points con-

firmed, till a little befoze his returne now into England. About the same time the king had called a council of his nobilitie at Reading, to the which the duke of Lancaster made the more hast to come, because he knew that the king would shew no good countenance to some of the noblemen; and therefore he doubted least malicious offenses might arise betwixt them, which to appease he meant the best he could, and his trauell came to good effect: for he did so much, that as well the king as the lords departed from the council as frends, the lords taking their leaues of him in louing manner, and he courteouslie bidding them farewell: and so each of them resorted vnto their homes well pleased for that present. The king held his Christmalle this yere at Woodstoke, and the duke of Lancaster laie at his castell of Hertford.

At the same time the lord John de Hastings earle of Penbroke, as he was practising to learne to iust, though mishap was stricken about the priue parts, by a knight called sir John S. John, that ran against him, so as his inner parts being perished, death presentlie followed. The losse of this earle was greatlie bemoaned by men of all degrees, for he was liberall, gentle, humble, and courteous to each one, aboue all the other yong lords in the land of his time. Of this earles ancelfors this is reported for a thing strange and maruelous, that from the daies of Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, that was one amongst other that sat in iudgement of Thomas earle of Lancaster, there was not anie earle of Penbroke succeeding the same Aimer de Valence, vnto the daies of this yong earle by misfortune thus slaine, that euer saw his father, nor yet anie of their fathers might reioise in the sight of anie of their somes, being still called hence, befoze the time came for them to do.

Now here, because this John Hastings, being the last of that surname and armes of the whole blood, which of that line intioed anie title of honor, I thinke it not unfit for this place (since other occasion will not be giuen therefore) to talke of the Hastings somewhat higher than this man: though not from the shell to perpetuate the memorie of them, the which I haue now done, least otherwile by ingrate obliuion it might neuer hereafter come to light. In which I will not begin from the first honourable Hastings, whose blood by manie descents continued, is thought by most ancient monuments, which I haue seene and read, to haue bene a baron befoze the conquest in this land, and to haue borne the same coe in the field, which this now slaine earle of Penbroke did: whereof hereafter in my descriptions and lines of the earles of Penbroke I will make more ample discourse in a new booke (if God giue good successe therein) onelie at this time making some small repetition from that Henrie Hastings, from whome the Hastings (in respect of the mariage of Alda daughter to Danie earle of Huntington, brother to William king of Scots) did descend: who (amongst others) in the reigne of Edward the first, made title to the kingdom of Scotland. The originall of which name in this treatise I will neither flatteringlie defend, nor obstinatlie reiect, to haue growne from Hastings the Dane, who in the reigne of Alured (long befoze the conquest, about the yere of our redemption 890) came with Hollo into England, and for a certaine space infested this nation, departing aside to France. And now to the purpose,

Henrie lord Hastings (who bare for his armes gold a manche gules) married Alda (or Ada) the fourth daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, she being one of the heires to John Scot earle of Chester, & of Huntington (which died without issue) son of the said Dauid, and brother to the said Ada. To this Henrie and

A counsell holden at Reading where the duke of Lancaster reconciled the king and the lords.

1390
The earle of Penbroke as he was learning to iust is wounded to death.

Francis Thin, out of diuerse ancient monuments belonging to the Hastings and others.

and Ada did Henrie the third king of England, in the two & twentieth of his reigne (in place of the portion of hir brothers lands, which should haue descended to hir as parcell of the earledome of Chester, for that the king would not haue the said earledome diuided amongst distaues) giue in exchange certeine lands mentioned in this deed following.

The grant of Henrie the third, to Henrie Hastings and Ada his wife, for the exchange of lands for hir part of the earledome.



Quoniam, ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris, Henrico de Hastings, & Ade uxori eius, pro rationabili parte sua, quae praedictam Adam contingent, de hereditate Iohannis quondam comitis Cestrie fratris ipsius Ada in Cestreshire, faciendo eis rationabile excambium, ad valentiam praedictae partis ipsam Adam contingentis de praedicto com. Cestreshire. Et ad maiorem securitatem concessimus eidem Henrico & Ade manerium nostrum de Bremesgraue cum pertinentibus in comitatu Wigornie, manerium nostrum de Bolsoure cum castris & pertinentibus in com. Derby, manerium nostrum de Mounteffeld cum Soka cum pertinentibus in comitatu Nottingham, manerium de Worsfeld cum pertinentibus in com. Salop. manerium de Stratton cum pertinentibus in eodem com. manerium de Wiggutton cum pertinentibus in com. Stafford, & manerium de Woluerhamton cum pertinentibus in eodem com. in tenentiam. Tenendum eisdem Henrico & Ade & heredibus ipsius Ada, quo usque praedicta pars ipsam Adam contingens & de praedicta hereditate extenta fuerit, & rationabile excambium in praedictis terris vel alias eis assignauerimus. In cuius, &c. Teste rege apud Ditton 11. Iunij, anno regni nostri 22.

Strattondale.

The which manours the said Henrie and Ada did hold during the life of the said Ada, in peaceable and quiet possession. After hir death the said Henrie goeth into Gascoigne, where he remained stewart untill the coming of Henrie the third, at what time the said Henrie surrendered his office, but the king importunate with him still to retaine the same, he flatly denied it, and would no longer remaine there, suddenly returning into England without licence or knowledge of the king, for which contempt the king grievously incensed, in reuenge and for satisfaction of the same, made the same lands to be extended by Thomas Passew and others, who by the kings proccesse extended part thereof to a treble value, after which extent returned into the chancerie, the king seized the manour of Bemesgraue, Bolsoure, Strattondale in Poxton, & left in his hands the manours of Lerton, Owardbecke, Cundoner, Mountfeld, and Wiggutton, whereof the said Henrie died seized. Two yeares before which grant of the lands before said to this Henrie, to wit, in the twentieth yeare of Henrie the third, the said Henrie Hastings made his petition to serue in the pantrie (as he was bound by tenure) at the coronation of euerie prince, the record whereof in the ancient written booke of the earls of Huntingdon, is in these words following.

The record by which Henrie Hastings executed the office of the pantrier.

Vicesimo Henr. tertij quo coronata fuit regina Elionara filia Hugonis comitis Provinciae a-

pu'd Westm. facta sunt contentiones magna de seruitijs ministrabilibus, & de iuribus pertinentibus ad eorum ministeria, sed respectuatur, iuribus singulis saluis, ut tumultus requiesceret usque ad quinquena Pascha sequentis, &c. Et Henricus de Hastings, cuius officium seruendi de mappis a veteri vendicauit officium illud, & habuit. Nam quamuis Thurstanus vendicauit officium illud, asserens suum esse debere a veteri, tamen rex repulsat, & admisit Henricum de Hastings, ea die assignans eisdem diem de contentione finienda ad praedictum terminum. Extractas vero post prandium mapas tanquam suas ad officium pertinentes recepit.

This Henrie had by Ada his wife, his sonne & heire Henrie Hastings, from whence Buchanan doth saie that Henrie Hastings now earle of Penbrooke is descended, whereof I will not now here dispute.

20 Henrie Hastings knight, sonne of Henrie, after the death of his father, finding himselfe grieved that the inheritance, which should haue descended vnto him from his mother, was so withhelden from him for the offense of his father, contrarie to law and iustice, and without iudgement, but by the kings power, pursued a bill against the king, thereby to haue remedie and restitution, for the supposed false returne of the extent which was made against his father; and vpon the same bill, this Henrie Hastings obtained a new writ to make a fresh extent directed to master Thomas of Wilmundham, Robert de la Laie, Robert de Solham, Hugh Pache, & Thomas de Wyate, to vnderstand if the remnant of the lands to him descended, beside that by the king extended, would counteruaile the value of such lands as he should haue by descent from and of the earle and earledome of Chester, which matter neuer being ended in his time, was afterward prosecuted of the Hastings from parliament to parliament, vntill the thirte fourth yeare of Edward the first, as moze plainelie shall after appeare. Of this Henrie, Hollingshed intreateth much in the reigne of Henrie the third: this man (being he that in the time of Edward the first, made title to the crowne of Scotland) married Ione one of the daughters of William Cantulpe lord of Aburganie, in the right of Cua, one of the daughters and heires of William Bewsa or Bretwala, for I find both written, of which Ione this Henrie had issue John Hastings his sonne and heire, Edmund which married Isabel, & had great possessions in Wales: Ada first married to Robert de Champane: Aza married to sir Thomas the sonne of sir John de Latimer, and Ione which was a nun at Rotingham.

John Hastings knight, sonne of the last Henrie, was borne at Allege, in the yere of our Lord 1262, and in the six & fortieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third. This man after his fathers death did (in the yeare of our Lord 1274, and the second yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being the kings 60 ward) demand the execution of his office of the pantrie, at the coronation of queene Elia, wife to Edward the first, but could not execute the same by reason of his nonage, and also for that he was in ward to the said king. After, when he was growne to full yeares, there arose in the yeare of our Lord 1305, and in the thirte third yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, great contention betwene Antonie Beake bishop of Durham, this John Hastings, John Balfoll, and Robert Wyse, for the manors of Penrith, Castlesoure, Salghill regis, Lange Worthbie, Carlaton, and of Werthine Tinehale, whereof Henrie king of Scots (kinsman of the said Robert Wyse, John Balfoll, and John Hastings, whose heire they were) died seized in his demelne of fee. In which

which sutes after manie belaites made, and manie summons against the said bishop, the plea went without daie, because the bishop must go to Rome. But after his returne the sute being retained and continued, it went once more without daie, because the king seized the same into his hands, and held it all the time of his reigne. These things thus done, and Edward the first departed, this John Hastings as yet not hastie to renew his sute of the land, but rather to execute his right of the pantrie, did in the first yeare of Edward the second, demand the executing of that office, at the coronation of the said Edward the second, and Isabell his wife at Westminster, which he obtained, and laid the clothes and napkins in the great hall by him and other his knights, one the tables whereat the king, the quene, and other great states should dine, which (according as I have seene noted) was in this sort.

The order and number of clothes laied
at the kings table, and how John Hastings
had them for his fee.



Altam sedem ipsius regis tres mappas, & super alias mensas in eadem aula 28 mappas, unde qualibet pecia continebat 4, & in parua aula coram regina, & alibi in illa parua aula 14, quarum qualibet pecia continebat 3. Et dum fuerunt ad comestum, mappas per se & suos custodiebat, & post comestum illas trahebat, & deferre faciebat seruientes ad seruendum, & istas cum suis loquelis habebat sine voluntate vel cum voluntate, & eas detinebat per totum festum coronationis, licet petitione erant deliberatione, primo a senescallo regis, postea ab ipso rege, per quod idem rex precepit domino Willielmo Martini, & alijs senescallis suis, quod plenam & celerem iusticiam ei facerent, & deliberationem de mappis predictis si fuerit faciendum. Qui inde postea nihil facere voluerunt, aut non curauerunt toto festo coronationis predicta, nec postea in congregationibus. Per quod postea dominus Johannes de Hastings fecit petitiones suas domino regi, & concilio suo, quod secundum suum mapparum predictarum ei deliberaretur, pro ut ei de iure fuerit deliberandum. Et quod fecit seruitorium suum debito modo, prout antecessor suus fecit longo tempore Henrici regis, quando habuit feudum suum, tempore quando desponsauit Elianoram filiam comitis Prouincia, tanquam pertineans ad manerium suum de Alshley in comitatu North. pro vi patet in Memorandum ipsius regis in camero suo de scaccario diuersis locis in istis verbis.

William de Hastings tient demye fee de chivaler in Alshley du roy a faire le service per seruante deesfree panetre le roy. which is found in the fourth leaf of Chester beginning, Le counte Roger le Bigot, in the title of elcheys of seruantes in the countie of Northfolke. Touching which it is thus further found in the same place. Henrie de Hastings tient en Alshley du roy per seruante de la panetre, fo. 57. Henrie de Hastings tient un seruante de la panetre le roy en Alshley, & vautre per an. 6. sol. 9. William de Hastings tient un fee de chivaler in Alshley seruante deesfree deespenfer en le doys du roy, fo. 4. Henrie de Hastings tient un terr en la ville de Alshley per le service deesfree le deespenfer.

Which petitions and all other petitions for his part of the land in the kings hands, by the reference made in the time of Henrie the 3, the said John Hastings lord of Aburgaunnie did pursue from parlement

to parlement, untill the parlement holden at Pothe after Michaelmas, where supplication was made to the king, by him and others, that he might remaine with the king in Gascoigne, as his steward or marshal: which if he would performe, all his foresaid petitions and all other petitions which were reasonable, should be granted unto him. By occasion whereof he granted unto the kings and the nobles request: so that the king would find him pledges due therfore, and that he might obtaine iustice in his inheritances, and those his latefull sutes, which had bene hitherto denied unto him, which thing the king faithfullie promised in euerie respect to be performed towards him: whereupon he sailed into Gascoigne, in the yeare of Christ 1302, being the 31 of Edward the first, the Wednesday after the feast of S. Lucie. But for this faire shew, it seemeth he sped neuer the better: for which cause not being restored in the 34 yeare of Edward the first, he pursued his sute afresh, and had from the king at Pothe this definitive sentence, delivered by the mouth of Walter Langhton, then the kings treasurer (as I find by such notes as I have seene) that he should seeke the records of the chancrie, and bring them to the next parlement, which the said John did. At what time he brought forth the former grant of Henrie the third, of the said lands given in recompense of his part of the earldome of Chester. After which yet it was agreed by the king and his counsell for diuers considerations (and most like (as I suppose) because he had refused to serue in Gascoigne, and onelie went as it were enforced) notwithstanding all that the said John could alledge, that he should take nothing for his petition, but further to be in the kings mercie for his false claime: the whole processe whereof I have seene in an ancient written monument of French. All which (as I gather) was done in the life of Edward the first (notwithstanding that I have a little vnderlie before treated of the executing of his office of the pantrie at the coronation of Edward the second, sonne to Edward the first) as may be confirmed by Piers Langtoft in these verses:

*Et pour peril escheuer toutz apres promist
Re Leu de Hastings cheualier e li
Emere de la brei barone ne pas petit
Alant in Gascoigne touz sans contredit
Pour la termie attendue del trevis auant dit.*

This John married two wiues both called Isabell, whereof the first was Isabell de Valence, one of the daughters and heirs of William Valence earle of Pembroke & lord of Aburgaunnie, but how the said Wil. Valence came to the honor of Aburgaunnie, since William Cantelupe before named was once lord thereof, and much about that time, I can not yet certainlie learne. But yet I following god authority haue set downe this Valence to be lord of Aburgaunnie, & that he gaue the same to one John Hastings, which must needs be this man, marieng his daughter. The other wife of this John Hastings, was Isabell the daughter of Hugh Spenser earle of Winchester. By his first wife he had six children, to wit, John Hastings his heire, William Hastings that married Elianor the daughter of sir William Martin, which died without heires; Henrie Hastings that was a clerk, and Elizabeth Hastings married to Roger Grete lord of Ruthem tonne of sir John Grete, of whom is descended Henrie earle of Kent now living. Ione married to Edmund Mortimer, by whom she had no issue, being after married to William de Huntingfield, by whom she had Roger de Huntingfield: and Margaret Hastings married to William the sonne of William Martin lord of Remmes. By Isabell Spenser his second wife he had three children, to wit, Hugh Hastings lord of Foliot,

Registrum comitum de Huntington.

Folliot, of whom shall be more intreated, when we come to the last John Hastings erle of Penbroke slaine at tilt, as before. Thomas Hastings, and Helagia de Huntington. His first wife Isabell Malence died 1305, being the 31 of Edward the first, and was buried at the frier minours in Couentrie. His second wife cuerliuing hir husband, was after married to sir Rafe Bonthermer, for which mariage the said Rafe was fined by Edward the second at a thousand marks, as appeareth in the rols of the chancery of 13 of Edward the second: she died the 9 of Edward the third, & was buried in the frier minours of Salisburie. This John Hastings departed this life 1313, the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the second.

John Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was bozne in the fiftenth yeare of Edward the first, in the yeare of Christ 1287. For at the death of his father, which happened (as before) in the first yeare of Edward the second, he was found to be of the age of six & twentie years, which if it be added to the yeare of our Lord 1287, make by the full number of 1313, in which his father died. This man in the eight yeare of Edward the second at the parlement holden at London in the Carmelite friers, bring about the yeare from the birth of Christ 1314, renewing the sute to the king (after the death of Antonie Beke bishop of Durham, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1310) for the lands, whereof his father had the said bishop in lute, and which were after seized into the kings hands, as before appeareth, in the life of his father. It was then found upon search, that sir John Ballioll (who was partie to the said sute before) had the realme of Scotland by award: by reason of certaine lands that he gaue to sir Antonie de Beke the bishop of Durham: for which cause it seemed king Edward the first seized the same lands into his hands as forfeit to him, in that they were after the maner of a byrbe giuen to the said bishop, to support the sute of the said John Ballioll for the obtaining of the crowne of Scotland. And for that cause this John Hastings was counselled by such as willed him well, that he should surceasse his sute, and so he did. This John Hastings married Julian the daughter of Thomas lord Leiburne the sonne of William lord Leiburne, and had by hir Laurence de Hastings: after which this John Hastings died in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1325. His wife Julian lined manie yeeres after, and surrendered hir life in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1366.

Laurence Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was also afterward earle of Penbroke, he was bozne about the thirteenth yeare of Edward the second, being also about the yeare of our redemption 1320: which is proued by this, that the said Laurence was five yeeres old at the death of his father, which (as before is said) happened in the yeare 1325, and in the eighteenth of Edward the second, at what time he was seized as the kings ward, and committed to the gouernement of tutors, appointed him by the said Edward the second. This Laurence Hastings for the nobilitie of his race, the actiuitie of him selfe, the largenesse of his possessions, and his familiaritie with the king, was created earle of Penbroke, about the one and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. He married Anne or Agnes the third daughter of sir Roger Mortimer the first earle of March, by whom he had issue John Hastings.

John Hastings earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie and Weifford in Ireland, the sonne of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of that name, did in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our Lord 1369,

insoffice diuerse persons of the manor of Lodgate in Suffolke, of which towne was John Lodgate the monke of Berie and famous poet of England named. After which in the fortie six yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1371, when the Frenchmen besieged Rochell, he was sent with an armie of men to the rescue of the same. But being set vpon by the Spanissh nanie in the haue of Rochell, they slue and toke manie of the English, burnt their nauie, and caried the earle with sundrie other prisoners into Spaine; where this earle a long time remained prisoner. Which misfortune was iustlie supposed to haue fallen vpon him, because he was a man of euill life, giuen greatlie to lecherie, an infringer of the liberties of the church, and a persuader of the king that he should (for his warres) more grieuouslie exact manie subsidies and contributions vpon the clergie than vpon the laitie. After that he had bene long prisoner in Spaine (by the space almost of thre yeares) he was ransomed for a great summe of monie, by Bertram Clethine, and died (as I conceiue by some sufficient proofe) betwene Paris and Calis, as he came into England, in the fortie ninth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: so that he neuer fullie paid his ransome. He had two wiues, Margaret the daughter of Edward the third, & Anne the daughter of sir Walter Manny and of Margaret Segraue made dutchesse of Northfolke in the time of Richard the second: but when he married these wiues, I can not certainlie find. And in the earle of Kents booke (which treateth of the contention of the Hastings and the Greies, for bearing of the armes of Hastings) there is no mention made (as farre as my memorie serueth) of the said Margaret; the reason whereof I suppose to be, for that this John Hastings had no issue by hir: and that booke onelic serued to conuieie a lineall descent from the Hastings to intitle the Greies. This John Hastings had by his second wife (Anne) a sonne called John Hastings, which after succeeded his father in all his inheritances.

But before I saie ante more of the Hastings, I thinke it not amisse to giue some warning of an error in Polydor of Vrbin, writing that Anne the countesse of Penbroke (wife to this man, for none of the earles of Penbrokes had ante wife so named with in the compasse of yeares therein Polydor appointeth this time) descended of a noble house of S. Paule in France, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and of learned men, founded a house in Cambridge, to this date called Penbroke hall: which in truth was not builded by hir, but by Marie the wife of Adomare or Aimer de Malence earle of Penbroke, who was slaine at tilt in the one & twentie yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: which was thirtie seauen yeares before the death of this John Hastings earle of Penbroke: which Marie was in berie deede the daughter of Guse earle of S. Paule, the kinswoman of Edward the third, and a French woman. This woman being in one date (that the date of hir mariage) a maid, a wife, & a widow (hir husband being that day slaine at tilt) did in hir widowhood (in the one & twentieth yeare of Edward the 3, in the yeare of our Lord 1374) erect that house in Cambridge vpon hir owne ground, and appointed the same to be called the hall of Marie Malence, or Penbroke hall: by meanes whereof it was long after called *Aula Valentia Maria*.

Now to returne (where I left) to the last wife of this John Hastings called Anne, she (after the death of hir husband) did at the coronation of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1382, being about the fift yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, sue by petition to execute by hir deputie the office of the pantiier,

panter by reason of the manor of Ashley, which the
had for his iointure, wherunto he was admitted, & by
his deputie sir Thomas Blunt knight did performe
the same: as this record doth testifie, in which is set
both his petitions, and the iudgement thereof in this
forme.

The record whereby dame Anne
Hastings clamereth the office of
the pantrie.

Item Anna quæ fuit uxor Iohannis Ha-
stings nuper comes Penbrochia porrex-
it in curia quandam petitionem suam
in hac verba. A treshonore seigneur
le duc de Lancast. & seneschall d' Angleterre supplie
Anne que fuit le femme John de Hastings nad-
gares countie de Penbroke, qui come le mannor de
Ashley in le com. de Northfolke soit tenens de
nostre seigneur le roy par le seruice de faire le office
de napperie al coronement le roy, quel mannor soel
tient en dower del dowerment son dit baron. Ore
plest luy accepter del faire son office per son deputie,
a cestie coronement nostre seigneur le roy, per-
nant les fees du dit office ce asscauoir les nappes
quant il sont sustreitz. Et quia post ostensionem
verisimilium euidentiæ & rationum ipsius
Anne, ac proclamationem in curia prædicta debite
factam, in hac parte nullus huiusmodi clamor ipsius
Anne contradixit: consideratum fuit quod ipsa ad
officium prædictum per sufficientem deputatum su-
um faciendum admitteretur, & sic officium illud
per Thomam Blunt militem, quem ad hoc deputa-
uit, dicto die coronationis in omnibus perfecit, &
peracto prandio mappas de mensis subtractis pro
fecdo suo recepit.

Thus this much touching this John Hastings earle
of Penbroke and dame Anne Hannie his wife,

John Hastings (the sonne of John Hastings last re-
cited) was earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Abur-
gauenne & Wilsford, who being verie yong at the
time of his fathers death, was ward first to Edward
the third, and then to Richard the second, but neuer
saw his full age of one and twentie yeares, nor euer
possessed the lands wherunto he was bozne: for not
long after that he had married Philip the second
daughter of Edmund Mortimer (earle of March Wil-
ster and lord of Wigmore) he was [about the nine-
teenth yeare of his age, the fiftieth yeare of king Ri-
chard the second, and the yeare of our redemption
1391, being a youthfull and lustie yong gentleman
(but tender and slender) in the Christmaste time, when
the is held that feast at Woodstoke in Middelshire]
willing to learne to iust, wherupon in the parke then
incounting with a knight called John saint John
(a valiant and stout person) he was slaine when they
ran togither, as the said knight did cast his speare
from him, and so the said earle receiuing this manner
of death, no man knew whether it happened by mis-
hap: or purpose. To which John Hastings now
slaine, Margaret Segrave duchesse of Northfolke
his graundmother (by his mother the daughter of sir
Walter Hannie) was executrix and disposer of all
his substance. After his death, his widow the ladie
Philip was married to Richard earle of Arundell,
& after that to John lord saint John, being the same
man (as I suppose) which lue his first husband this
John Hastings. But here before the death of this
John I must not forget, that though he were within
age at the coronation of Richard the second, as not
being past nine or ten yeares old; he sued to execute

at the said coronation, the offices which his ancestors
had afore performed. But because his mother had the
manor of Ashley in dower (as is before expressed) he
did not sue to serue in the pantrie, but leauing that,
demandeth the carieng of the second sword and the
golden spurs before the king. The records of both
which I haue here set downe.

The petition for the second sword

10 which the earle of Arundell also clai-
med to beare, was in this sort.

Iohannes de Hastings nuper comes Pen-
brochia protulit quandam petitionem in
hac verba. A treshonore seigneur le
duc de Lancastre & seneschall d' An-
gleterre, John fitz & heyre: John de Hastings
counte de Penbroke, que come il tient le Chastell de
la ville de Tynbye, le grange de Kingswood, le co-
mote de Craytrath, le mannor de Chastell Martin,
& le mannor de Traygair per seruice de porter le
second espee deuant le roy a son coronement: qui
pleast a luy, accepter a son dit office a faire ore a
cestie coronement. Et super hoc Richardus comes
Arundell & Surrey exhibuit in curia quandam ali-
am petitionem in hac verba. Aroy de Chastell & de
Lion duc de Lancastre & seneschall d' Angleterre,
supplie Richard counte de Arundell & Surrey, de
luy receuer a faire son office, a porter le seconde-
spee deuant le roy ore a son coronement, que luy ap-
perient de droit pur le countie de Surrey. Quibus
petitionibus intellectis & auditis, & hinc inde di-
ctorum totum rationibus, pro eo quod dictus Io-
hannes comes Penbrochia (qui infra etate in custo-
diæ regis existit) ostendit curiæ meliores & veri-
similiores rationes pro se, quam prædictus comes
Arundell pro ipso monstrauit. Dominus rex decla-
rata coram eo materia prædicta, præcepit Edmundo
comiti mariscallo, quod ipse gladium prædictum
ista vice in nomine iure prædicti comitis Penbro-
chia deferret, saluo iure alterius cuiuscunque. Qui
quidem mariscallus gladium illum ex hac causa die
coronationis gestabat calcariibus deauratis.

The other bill exhibited for the gol-
den spurs, is registred in this order.

Iohannes filius & hæres Iohannis de
Hastings nuper comitis Penbrochia ex-
hibuit in curia quandam petitionem in
hac verba. A treshonore seigneur
le roy de Chastell, &c. Et seneschall d' Angleterre,
supplie John fitz & heyre John Hastings nadga-
res counte de Penbroke, de estre receue a son office
de porter les grandes esperon, d'oors deuant le roy
nostre seigneur ore a son coronement, en mannor
come William le marischall son anceser les porta il
coronement de roy. Edw. audita & intellecta billa
prædicta, pro eo quod Iohannes est infra etatem &
in custodia domini regis, quanquam sufficientes
ostendit curiæ recorda & euidentias, quod ipse ser-
uitium prædictum de iure facere deberet; conside-
ratum extitit, quod esset ad voluntatem regis, quis
dictum seruitium ista vice in iure ipsius Iohannis
faceret. Et super hoc rex assignabat Edmundum
comitem mariscallum, ad deferendum dicto die coro-
nationis prædicta calcaria in iure ipsius hæredis,
saluo iure alterius cuiuscunque, & sic idem comes
mariscallus illa calcaria prædicta in dicto die co-
ronationis coram ipso domino rege deferrebat.

In this John Hastings ended all the honorable titles of the Hastings, because this man dieng without issue, his inheritances were disperced to diuerse persons; for the honour of Penbroke came to Francis at court by the kings gift, the baronies of Hastings and Weilsford came to Reinold Greie of Ruthine, the baronie of Aburgauennie was granted to William Beauchampe of Bedford: for all which lands, and for the bearing of the armes of this same John Hastings without difference, great contenti-
 on grew betwene sir Edward Hastings knight (descended of Isabell Spenser) and Reinold Greie lord Greie of Ruthine, sonne of Reinold Greie, sonne of Roger Greie, that married Elizabeth daughter of Isabell Walence, for both the said lord Greie and sir Edward Hastings were descended by two venters (as partlie before and partlie hereafter shalbe shewed) from one man John Hastings, husband to both said Isabels. For the explanation whereof, and line-
 all descent to conueie the said sir Edward Hastings from the said John Hastings, first lord of Aburgauennie of that surname; I must here repeat a litle of that which I haue alreadye written: which is, that the said John Hastings first lord of Aburgauennie, hauing two wiues, both Isabels, by his first wife Isabell Walence had Elizabeth married to Roger Greie, and by his second wife Isabell Spenser, he had issue sir Hugh Hastings knight, from whome we are to deduce the said sir Edward Hastings in this sort. Hugh Hastings knight lord of Ffoliot (in the right of his wife) being sonne of the second wombe of Isabell Spenser, and John Hastings sonne of Henrie Hastings married Margerie the daughter and heire of sir Richard Ffoliot, by whom he came to be lord of Ffoliot, and alwaies bare the armes of Hastings with a difference of a second brother of a second venter. This marriage was procured and made by Isabell his mother, who purchased the said ward for him. This Hugh died in the yeare of Christ 1347, in the one and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the church of Elsing, in Elsing in Norfolk which he builded; his wife Margerie died in the yeare 1349, being the thre and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the chappell of Ffoliwell. This Hugh had issue by his wife Hugh Hastings his heire, and a daughter married to sir Robert de la Pare.

Hugh Hastings knight, the sonne of Hugh and Margerie Ffoliot did marrie the daughter of Adam de Cueringham, by whom he had Hugh Hastings his sonne and heire, and two daughters, the one married to Winkfield, and the other to a knight called Elmham. This Hugh died at Calkewellhell of Gloues, and was buried in the friers of Doncaster, in the yeare of our Lord 1369, about the foure & fortith yeare of Edward the third. This man for him and his heires in difference from the other Hastings, earles of Penbroke his kinsmen by the halfe blood, did beare the Hastings armes with the labell, quartered with the armes of Ffoliot. Hugh Hastings knight the sonne of Hugh and Margeret Cueringham married Anne the daughter of Edward Spenser earle of Glocester, by whom he had issue Hugh Hastings and Edward Hastings, which contended with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine. This Hugh toke his pilgrimage to Jerusalem & died in Spaine, after whose death dame Anne Spenser his wife was married to Thomas lord Poole. Hugh Hastings eldest son of Hugh Hastings and dame Anne Spenser, married the daughter of sir Will. Blunt knight; this Hugh died at Calis at the mariage of Richard the second, to Isabell the daughter of the king of France, about the 19 yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1395, who

dieng without issue, all his right and title came to his brother Edward.

Edward Hastings knight brother of the last Hugh began the contention with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine, for the right of the lands, honours, and armes without difference of the last John Hastings earle of Penbroke. This sute began about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth, and continued at least untill the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, if not longer; but in the end (notwithstanding manie false pedegrees counterfeited by this Hastings, and his uncle Henrie bishop of Exeter, one of the house of the Spencers) yet it was adiudged against the said sir Edward Hastings in the marshals court, that the lands, honours, and armes without difference, as the last John Hastings earle of Penbroke did beare them, with the armes of William Walence earle of Penbroke, should be onelie borne by the said lord Greie of Ruthine and his heires, as being of the whole blood, and next heire to the said last John Hastings earle of Penbroke: and that the said Edward Hastings should vtterlie be barred to beare the armes of Hastings, but quartered with the armes of Ffoliot, as onelie descending of the halfe blood to the said last earle of Penbroke of that name. And that all other pedegrees that so euer (except this) are false, and of purpose contriued, as appeareth by a notable booke and monument thereof remaining in the hands of Henrie Greie now earle of Kent (descended of the said Reinold Greie of Ruthine) containing all the processe, examinations, witnesses, pedegrees & iudgements thereof, more plainelie mate appeare. In which contention there was shewed a matter by the deposition of sir William the knight not vnto this to be remembred (though it touch not the Hastings) concerning armorie and bearing of differences in armes, which was, that the said sir William said on his oath in the tenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, that before the times of Edward the third, the labell of three points was the different appropiat and appurtenant for the cognizance of the next heire; but the same king made his sons to beare the entire armes with labells of three points, with certeine differences in the said labells, to be knowen the one from the other, except his sonne the duke of Glocester, who bare a border about the armes of France and England. And thus, this much Francis Thin touching the name of Hastings.

In this yeare Thomas earle of Lancaster, for the opinion which had bene conceiued of him, by reason of miracles and other respects, was canonized for a saint. The mondate next after the feast of saint Iulie, a parlement was begun at Westminster, in which there was a bill exhibited by the commons, that the lords and great men of the realme should not giue to their men badges to weare as their cognizances; by reason that through the abuse thereof, manie great oppressions, imbalances, vnlawfull maintenances, and wrongs were practised, to the hinderance of all good orders, lawes, and iustice. The lords would not consent altogether to laie downe their badges; but yet they agreed that none should weare any such cognizance except their seruants of household, and such as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare. In the same parlement, certeine persons that had gone about some new rebellion in Kent, being apprehended, were condemned, and so were drawne and hanged. There was also an act made against such as should passe the seas, to purchase provisions (as they termed them) in any church or churches. And if any from thenceforth attempted so to do, he should be reputed and taken as a rebell. Also there was an act prouided against those that committed any wilfull murder, that none should presume

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Southall
denn.

to sue for their pardon. A duke or an archbishop that so such should forfeit to the king an hundred pounds. Likewise an earle or a bishop, an hundred marks, &c. Moreover, in this parlement it was granted, that the king should have of everie sacke of wolle fortie shillings, of the which ten shillings should be applied presentlie to the kings uses, and thirtie shillings reserved of the fourtie shillings should remaine in the hands of the treasurers, towards the bearing forth of the charges of wars when any chanced. ¶ Also there was a subsidie granted of six pence in the pound, four pence to the use last mentioned, and two pence to be employed at the kings pleasure. In the same parlement, John duke of Lancaster was created duke of Aquitaine, receituing at the kings hand the rod and cap, as inuestures of that dignitie. Also the duke of York his sonne and heire was created earle of Rutland. In the fift of March a soze and terrible wind rose, with the violence whereof, much hurt was done, houses overthrowne, cattell destroyed, and trees overturned. After this insued great mortalitie by pestilence, so that much youth died everie where, in cities and townes, in passing great numbers. Hereunto followed a great dearth of coyne, so that a bushell of wheat in some places was sold at a great price. ¶ About the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula, John duke of Lancaster caused a great meeting of the nobles and peeres of the realme to hunt at Leicester in the forest and all the parkes there to him appertaining. On the saturday the king and quene were present, the archbishop of York, the duke of York, Thomas Woodstoke duke of Gloucester, the earle of Arundell John of Holland, the earle of Huntington, with other bishops, lords and ladies a great manie, and on thursdaie next following the king departing from thence towards Spotingham sojourned with the lord of Beaumont besides Loughborough.

The duke of Lancaster made duke of Aquitaine.

Great plague.

Great dearth.

Ab. Pl. out of Henrie Knight canon of Leicester abbey. Small hunting.

Journe against the Saracens.

Anno Reg. 14.

The English mighers good service.

The earle of Lancaster was nominated for a saint.

A bill against wearing of badges.

No retainers to wear badges.

In act against mediators for small murders.

firm that the said earle made a journe in deed the same time against the miscreants, not into Barbarie, but into Prutzenland, where he shewed good proofe of his noble and valiant courage: for joining with the masters and knights of the Dutch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came against the said order was vanquished, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken prisoners, three other being slaine, with three hundred of their chiefeest and best appoyued soldiers. Through the policie also and worthy manhood of the earle of Derby, there was a certeine citie taken, where the said earle and his men first entring upon the walles, did set by his banner: other being Southwell, or at the least unskillfull how to deale in such exploits. There were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common people, and amongst them that were found dead, the king of Polognies brother was one. The castell of the same citie was besieged five weekes space: but by reason of sicknesse and such infirmities as chanced in the armie, the masters of Prutzen, and Liffeland would not tarte any longer, but brake by their siege and returned. The master of Liffeland led with him into his countrie three thousand prisoners.

In the meane time, whilst the christians were thus occupied, as well against the infidels in Barbarie, as in the east parts towards Attawie, a roiall iusts and martiall turnament was proclaimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on saturdaye next after the feast of saint Michaell. And because this triumphant pastime was published, not onelie in England, but also in Scotland, in Almaine, in Flanders, in Brabant, in Heimaule, & in France, manie strangers came hither forth of diverse countries, namelie Waleran erle of saint Paule, that had married king Richards sister the ladie Maule de Courtne, and William the young erle of Mortuain, sonne to Albert de Bailliere earle of Holland and Heimaule. At the daie appointed, when all things were prepared, there issued forth of the tower about six of the clocke in the after none sixtie couriers apparelled for the iusts, and upon everie one an equer of honoz, riding a soft pace. Then came forth foure and twentie ladies of honoz (three score sixtie Froissard) mounted on palfries, riding on the one side richlie apparelled, and everie ladie led a knight with a chaine of gold. Whole knights being on the kings part, had their armor and apparell garnished with white hearts and crownes of gold about their necks, and so they came riding through the streets of London unto Smithfield, with a great number of trumpets and other instruments before them.

Thom. Walf. The earle of Derby his exploits in his journe against the infidels of Prutzenland.

A roiall iusts holden in Smithfield at London.

The manner of the iusts in Smithfield.

Silner saith Froissard.

The king and the quene, with manie other great states were readie placed in chambers richlie adorned to see the iusts: and when the ladies that led the knights, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their palfries, and went by into chambers readie prepared for them. When alighted the esquires of honoz from their couriers, & the knights in good order mounted upon them. And when their helmets were set on their heads, and that they were redie in all points, after proclamations made by the heraults, the iusts began, and manie commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure, comfort, and recreation of the king, the quene, and all other the beholders. The prize that daie on the answers part was given to the earle of saint Paule, and on the challengers side, to the earle of Huntington. On the mondaie, the king himselfe, with dukes, earls, lords, and knights, came to the iusts, he being chiefe of the inner part. That daie the prize was given to the erle of Mortuain, for the best doer of the utter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of England called sir Hugh Spenser. On the tuesday, all manner of esquires

The king
kept open hou-
shold in the
bishop of Lon-
don his palace
by Daules
church.

The king feleth
the strangers.

The duke of
Lancaster
feleth the
strangers.

squiers tuffed, and likewise on the lordnesday all ma-
ner of knights and esquires that would, on which
daie was a foie and rude tuffe, enduring till night.
And so manie a noble course and other martiall
feats were atchieved in those foure daies, to the great
contentation and pleasure of manie a yong batche-
ler desirous to win fame, & also highlie to the kings
honour, who by all that season held his court in the
bishops palace by Daules church, keeping open hou-
shold for all honest persons that thither resorted, es-
peciallie euerie night after the tuffs were ended, a
right sumptuous and princelie supper was prepared
for the strangers and other, and after supper, the time
was spent in dancsing and reuelling after the most
courtlike manner. On the thurdaie, the king made a
supper to all the lords, knights, and gentlemen stran-
gers, and the quene to all the ladies and gentlewo-
men. On the fridaie the duke of Lancaster feasted at
dinner all the said lords, knights, and gentlemen
strangers, in most sumptuous and plentifull maner.
On the saturday, the king and all the whole compa-
nie departed from London vnto Windsor, where
new feasting began, and speciallie the king did all the
honour that might be deuised vnto the earls of saint
Daule and Osteruant. The earle of Osteruant, at
the earnest request of the king, receiued of him the
order of the Garter, for the which he was euill
thought of afterwards by his friends, namelie the
French king and others. Finally, after the king had
thus feasted the strangers and others at Windsor,
each man tooke leaue of the king, the quene, and the
kings vnles, and other lords and ladies, and so de-
parted, the strangers into their owne countries, and
other home to their houses, or whither they thought
best.

Abr. Fl. out of
Angl. prel. sub
Rich. 2.

This solemne iusts or toynement being touched,
or rather in ample manner described by Ch. Okland,
is reported of him to haue bene kept for aduittie
sake, and to let the youth & lustie blonds of the court
on worke, who other wise (because the king was yong
and loued to lue in peace and ease, feats of armes
and warlike prowesse both abroad and at home lan-
guished and late as it were a fainting) through idle-
nesse and want of exercise, degenerating and grow-
ing out of kind from their wonted warlike valiant-
nesse, should giue the ruselues to filthie lecherie, riot,
slope, loitering pastimes, and slothfulnesse, all which
doe greatlie impairre prowesse. Whereupon (saith he)

Rege prius de re confulto, ludicra dixi

Martius opus simulacrum inter se bella mouebant,

Atq. dies totos viginti quattuor habito

A stupris, ludisq. stantant decurrere fixo.

Deinde idem in primis procerum pars primalacessens

Aditit ad externis gentes qui talia pandant.

Ludus ab Angligenis mensis exercetur vno

*Hastibus. Præ hæceni. * fætorum distus. * agellus*

Extra Londini. myros. spatiosus. & amplius

Est locus: hic stadium. cursus, certag. meta

Ponitur. hoc veniant quicunq. ex gente creati

Sanguine magnorum heroum. Certamine. victor

Qui fuerit. seruus proferens corporis phrasin.

Aut plures hastas frangens. donabitur aurum.

Antea. ut capiet quam plurimam ditie dactyl.

Premia virtutis. Richardus hæc dante tunc. &c.

Spaning thus described the place, where the iusts
should be kept, with the rewards, and other circums-
tances; he toucheth the countries from whence the
forren nobilitie came, that should undertake triall
of chualrie with these foure, and thentie challeng-
ers: who at the daie appointed (saith he) came prau-
ling out of the Towre vpon their great bordered hor-
ses through the broad streets, and their ladies of hono-
r with them gorgeously decked, with hairelets, ope-
ches, cheines, iewels, spangles, and verie sumptuous

attire: a goodlie sight for the people to behold. At last,
when they were come to Smithfield, and althings
readie, the trumpets sounded to the exercise; and both
parties, as well the English as the outlandish cheu-
liers ran together, and tried their strengths till they
did sweat and were tired, their horses panting and
brazing with the violence of their bodilie motion;
their staues being crast in funder, flue vp into the
aire, and the broken stocke or stampe hitting the ad-
uerlarie ouerthrew him to the ground: the behol-
ers with top of heart gaue a shout thereat, as great-
lie delighted with the sight. Then came the night and
broke off the first daies toynement. On the next daie
when they should renew and fall asrestly vnto it a-
gaine, they shewed themselves in courage equall to
their ancestors, and handled their matters so well,
that they got them great renowne. The third daie
came, and the multitude of people still gathered to-
gether wondered at the right valiant doos of the valo-
rous horsemen, how they did tosse, hoise vp, and
wind their speares, and with what force they used
their armes, what courage appeared in their statelie
horses, and how the verie heauens rang with the
ratling of their armor, and the strokes giuen to and
fro. Euerie daie brought with it his portion of plea-
sure, both to the contenders, and to the beholders.
When the time was expired of this tried chualrie,
necessarie occasion moued the king of England to
set his mind on other matters, so that commending
the prowesse of the outlandish lords, he bestowed vpon
them manie cheines of gold, & loding them with
other gifts of great valure, dismissed them into their
countries. But the English challengers requi-
red nothing but renowne for their reward, being
allured onelie with the loue of praise; and thus when
these pastimes of chualrie were quite ended, euerie
man got him home to his owne house. Thus saith
Christopher Okland, touching the description of
this *Hippomachia ludicra inter concertatores Anglos & ex-*

ternos. Ambassadors were sent from the French king,
vnto the king of England, to make an ouerture of
peace to be had, and to indure for ever betwixt the
two realmes of England and France, sith that by
warre it was aparant inough, that neither realme,
could greatlie benefit it selfe, but rather soze inda-
mage either other, as afore time it had come appa-
rantlie to passe. Wherefore the matter being well
considered, both parts seemed well affected towards
some good conclusion by treatie to be had of a full and
perfect peace. About the same time, by the king with
the aduise of his counsell, proclamation was made
and published at London, that all beneficed men a-
biding in the court of Rome, being Englishmen
borne, should retorne home into England before the
feast of S. Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeit all their
benefices; and such as were not beneficed, vnder a
paine likewise limited. The Englishmen hearing
such a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blow, left
the popes court, and returned into their native soile.
The pope troubled with such a rumbling noise,
sent in all hast, an abbat as his nuncio vnto the king
of England, as well to vnderstand the causes of this
proclamation, as of statutes deuised and made lately
in parlement against those that provided themselves
of benefices in the court of Rome by the popes buls,
which seemed not a little preiudiciall to the church of
Rome: in consideration whereof the said nuncio re-
quired that the same statutes might be repealed and
abolished, so farre as they tended to the prerogation
of the church liberties: but if the same statutes were
not abolished, the pope might not (saith his nuncio)
with a safe conscience other wise do, than proceed a-
gainst them that made those statutes, in such order as
the

The
nuncio
sent
the
king
of
France

Franc

Abr. I
Henri
ton
et
Abbot
3 for
for th

1391

Thom. Will.

Ambassadors

from the

French king

for a perpe-

tuall peace.

Froiland.

A proclama-

tion that all Eng-

lish beneficed

men in Rome

should returne

into England.

The popes

death was con-

sidio to King

Richard.

The
Glor
war
for
land
The
Glor
grea
fort
mon

The popes
nuncio open-
eth to the
king the
French kings
pauze ppar-
tis.

Parlement.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Litchfield
abbie.
A lye byde
for the clergy.

1391
Thom. Wall.
Ambassadors
from the
French king
for a perpe-
tual peace.
Froillard.

A proclamation
that all Eng-
lish beneficed
men in Rome
should returne
into England.

The pope sen-
deth his nunc-
cio to king
Richard.

The duke of
Glocester his
worne into
Prutze-
land.
The duke of
Glocester in
great fauor
with the com-
mons.

the canons did appoint. Whereouer the said nuncio de-
clared to the king certeine dangerous practises be-
twixt the antipape and the French king, as to make
the duke of Touraine the French kings brother
king of Sicilie and Lombardie, and to establish
the duke of Anjou in the kingdome of Sicilie.

Whereouer, he gaue the king to vnderstand, that if
the French king might compasse by the antipapes
meanes to be chosen emperor, he would seeke to be-
surpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it stood the
king of England chiefe in hand to prouide against
such practises in time. And as for the treatie of peace
which the Frenchmen seemed so much to fauour, it
was to none other end, but that vpon agreement
once had, they might more conuenientlie compasse
their purpose in the premisses. Furthermore the nun-
cio earnestlie besought the king of aid in the popes
behalf against the French king, if (as he threatned
to do) he should inuade him in Italie with open
force. The king seemed to giue fauourable eare vnto
the nuncio, and after aduise taken, appointed to state
till after Michaelmasse, at what time a parlement
was appointed to be assembled, wherein such things
as he had proponed should be weied and considered,
and some conclusion taken therein.

About this time or in the yeare 1391, according to
Henric Knightons account, there was a prophane
statute made against the church & churchmen; name-
lie, that no ecclesiasticall person or persons should
possesse manors, glebeland, houses, possessions, lands,
reuerenues or rents whatsoeuer, at the hands of the
feoffee, without the kings licence & the chiefe lordes.
And this statute extended it selfe, as well to parish
churches, chappels, chanteries, as abbeies, priories,
& other monasteries whatsoeuer: likewise to citizens
of cities, to farmers, & burgessees, hauing such rents
or possessions for the common profit. For men in
those daies, that would bestow land or liuelod vpon
church, fraternitie, or conuent, and were not able for
cost and charges to procure a moztmaine, vnder the
kings licence and chiefe lordes; were wont to feoffe
some speciall men, in whom they had confidence and
trust, vnder whose name and title, churchmen, or anie
other fraternitie or conuent might inioy the profit of
the gift, and might haue the commoditie thereof in
possession. And it was prouided by that statute, that
all and euerie as well persons ecclesiasticall as pari-
shioners, both citizens, burgessees, and farmers, or a-
nie other whatsoeuer, hauing such rents, possessions,
manors, or anie reuerenues whatsoeuer, in the hands
of such feoffers, without the licence of the king and
chiefe lordes; that either they should obtaine and get a
licence of the king and the chiefe lordes to make it a
moztmaine; or else set such things to sale, & raise profit
of them, on this side or before the feast of Michael-
masse next ensuing: or the said feast being past and
expired, that then the king and the chiefe lordes, in
things not ordered and disposed accordinglie, may
enter and seize vpon the same, and them haue and
hold at his and their pleasure.

About the same time, the duke of Glocester went
into Prutze land, to the great grieue of the people,
that made account of his departure, as if the sunne
had bene taken from the earth, doubting some mil-
hap to follow to the common wealth by his absence,
whose presence they thought sufficient to stay all de-
timents that might chance, for in him the hope of
the commons onelic rested. In his returne home, he
was sore tormented with rough weather and tempe-
stuous seas. At length he arriued in Northumber-
land, and came to the castell of Tinnmouth, as to a
sanctuarie knownen to him of old, where after he had
refreshed him certeine daies, he took his iournie
homewards to Plascie in Essex, byinging no small

ioy for his safe returne to all the kingdome. ¶ On the
ninth of Julie the sunne seemed darkened with cer-
teine grosse and euill fauored clouds comming be-
twixt it and the earth, so as it appeared ruddie, but
gaue no light from none till the setting thereof. And
afterwards continuallie for the space of six weeks, a-
bout the middelt of the daie, clouds custonmable rose,
and sometimes they continued both daie and night,
not vanishing atwaie at all. ¶ At the same time, such
a moztalitie and death of people increased in North-
folke, and in manie other countries of England, that
it seemed not unlike the season of the great pesti-
lence. In the cite of Yorke there died eleuen thou-
sand within a short space. ¶ Henrie Berlie earle of
Northumberland lieutenant of Calis, was called
home from that charge, and created warden of the
marches against Scotland, and Robert Hotspoure
was sent to Calis to be the kings lieutenant there.

On Friday next after All soules day, the parlement
began at London, in which the knights would in no
wise agree, that the statute made against spirituall
men, for the prouiding themselves of benefices in
the court of Rome should be repealed: but yet they a-
greed thus much, that it should be tolerated, so as
with the kings licence such spirituall men might
purchase to themselves such benefices till the next
parlement. ¶ In this parlement asofaid, there was
granted vnto our lord the king one tenth of the cler-
gie, and one fiftenth of the people towards the expen-
ses of John duke of Lancaster, who in Lent next fol-
lowing went ouer into France to the cite of A-
miers for a finall peace betwene the kingdoms of
England and France: where the king of France
met him with a shew of great pompe and honor, sen-
ding before him first of all to welcome him thither
the citizens of the same cite on horsebacke in a ve-
rie great number. Then afterwards, he sent earles
and barons a great manie to the same end, then his
two vncler, last of all went the king himselfe to
meet him, and saluting him called him by the name
of The most worthie warriour of all christendome, the
inuincible worthinesse of the king onelic excepted.
And the duke had seauentene daies (by covenant)
to compasse this treatie of peace: at last he returned,
hauing attendaunt vpon him in his traine the bishop
of Durham, and the sonne of the duke of Yorke the
earle of Rutland, with a thousand horsemen, set forth
in a wonderfull sumptuous sort with gobleie furni-
ture. ¶ Also conditionallie a whole tenth and a whole
fiftenth were granted to him, if it chanced that he
made anie iourne that yeare against the Scots.
¶ In this yeare, the duke of Gelderland sent to the
king of England letters of commendation & praise,
wherein also were prouocations and stirrings vp to
warre and warlike actiuitie, and to the exercise of
kinglie noblesse, the tenor whereof follooweth:

A great death
in Yorke and
sundry other
places.

A parlement
at London.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Litchfield
abbie.

The duke of
Lancaster
ambassior
for the king,
right honora-
ble receiued
into France.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henric Knight-
ton canon of
Litchfield
abbie.

The tenor of the said dukes letter to king Richard.



*M*agnifice princeps, innata vobis probi-
tas, & prudentum consilia (ut opina-
mur) simul agerent in officium, quod
singula hereditaria iura, quae ex nata-
litio vestra magnificant regiam maiestatem, tem-
poribus vestra discretionis altissima providentia
munirentur illaesa; et si quaevis oppugnaret violentia,
clypeo militari studeat regalis industria fortiter
defendere sua iura. Et quod vestra regiam per-
sonam cotingamus in affinitate, ni vetet Deus ipse,
quin semper parati erimus vobis in vestris iuribus
defendendis assistere cum duobus milibus lancearum,
A a a. y. quando

quando & quotiens disponemini ad bellica conuolare. Nec perire debeant iura propter verba aut premissa, quomodolibet ad hoc laborat versutia Gallicorum. Sane serenissime princeps in orbem volat fama, nec ambigitur quod propter lanam & innumerabilia vestra singularia commoda, sine quibus non vinit oriens neque auster, regna singula in pecunijs vos saluant. In comparatione igitur ad alios reges vobis confert Deus ipse diuitias centuplatis. Probitas etiam militaris, & arcum asperitas, sine pari, taliter huc usque extulere gentem magnanimam occidentis, quod timor non paruum vestros inuadit aduersarios; & ad hunc diem impariter victoriosè dimicauit cum Gallicis Anglie gens austera. In pusillanimitate igitur (potentissime princeps) contra naturam non obdormiat cor leonis; sed & quales vobis contulit vires natura, ipsas applicare dignemini actibus bellicosus, in defensionem reipublice, iuris hereditarij sustentationem, augmentumque meriti, & incomparabiliter chronicabilem probitatem cordis magnanimi tanti regis.

The same letter in plaine phrased
verbatim Englished by A. F.



Most mightie prince, your roiall prowesse and the counsels of the sage, should altogether (as we thinke) moue you in dutie, by the most profound & deepe foresight of your discretion in time to mainteine and defend all and singular your rights & inheritance vnharmed, which by birth doo magnifie and make great your roiall maiestie, and if anie violence whatsoeuer gainstand & assault the same, your kingle diligence should indeuor with the shield of a warrior valiantlie to defend your title and right. And bicause we are neere you, & doo as it were touch your roiall person in aliance, vnlesse God himselfe doo forbid and hinder vs, we will alwaies be readie in all your rights to assist and aid you with two thousand pikes, when and how often soeuer you shall be disposed to rush out to battell. Your right ought not to be lost for words and promises, howsoeuer the craftinesse of the French labor to this purpose. Trulie most excellent prince, your renoume doth flie into the world, neither is it doubted but for your wooll sake, and other your singular commodities being innumerable (without the which the east and the south can not liue) all realmes with their coines doo greet you. In comparifon therefore of other kings God himselfe hath bestowd vpon you riches a hundred fold. Your warlike prowesse also, & the roughnesse of your bowes, being peerelesse, haue hitherto so extolled the couragious nation of the west, that no small feare dooth inuade your aduersaries; and to this day the sterne people of England haue (none like them) victoriously encountered with the French. Therefore o most puissant prince, let not the hart of a lion sleepe in cowardlinesse against nature: but what force and valiantnesse nature hath giuen you, the same vouchsafe to put in practise with feats of armes in defense of your common wealth, the maintenance of your right by inheritance, the increase of your desert, and the

peerelesse prowesse of so great a kings courageous hart right worthie to be chronicled.

The price of coine that had continued at an high rate, almost for the space of two yeares, began to fall immediatlie after haruest was got in, to the great reliefe of the poore, which before through immoderate eating of nuts and apples, fell into the disease called the stir, whereof manie died, and surerlie (as was thought) the death and dearth had bene greater, if the commendable diligence of the lord maior of London had not bene, in relieuing the commons by such provision as he made for coine to be brought to London, from the parties of beyond the seas, where otherwise neither had the countrie bene able in anie thing to haue sufficed the citie, nor the citie the countrie. H. Knighton referreth this scarcitie to the yeare 1390, and maketh a large discourse both of the miseries which it brought with it, as also of the cause whereby it was procured, and of the notable means whereby the same in most places was remedied.

In this yeare (saith he) was a great dearth in all parts of England, and this dearth or scarcitie of coine began vnder the sickle, and lasted till the feast of saint Peter ad vincula, to wit, till the time of new coine. This scarcitie did greatlie oppress the people, and chieflie the commoners of the poore sort. For a man might see infants and children in streets and houses, through hunger, howling, crying, and craving bread: whose mothers had it not (God wot) to breake vnto them. But yet there was such plentie and abundance of manie yeares before, that it was thought and spoken of manie housekeepers and husbandmen, that if the seed were not sown in the ground, which was hoarded by and stored in barnes, lofts, and garners, there would be inough to find and suffice all the people by the space of five yeares following. But the cause of this penurie, was thought to be the want of monie in a great manie. For monie in these daies was verie scant, and the principall cause hereof was, for that the wooll of the land lay a sleepe and long heauie in some mens hands by the space of two yeares; and in others thre yeares, with out a chapman. For it was enacted in a certeine parlement, that the merchants of England should not passe out of the land with wooll and other merchandize, but should bring the same vnto twelue places within the realme appointed for the same purpose, that the merchants strangers might haue recourse thither with their commodities and so by exchange should transport our merchandize for theirs. By means whereof the merchants of England did forbear to buy wooll and other wares vntill the next parlement ensuing, wherein it was granted them to traffike whither they would with their commodities. In these daies wooll was dogchape: for one stone of good wooll of the chosen and piked sort, was sold for thre shillings, and in Leicestershire and Kent at some times for two shillings or two and twentie pence. This scarcitie of victuals was of greatest force in Leicestershire, & in the middle parts of the realme. And although it was a great want, yet was not the price of coine out of reason. For a quarter of wheat, when it was at the highest, was sold at Leicestershire for 16 shillings 8 pence at one time, and at other times for a marke or fourtene shillings: at London and other places of the land a quarter of wheat was sold for ten shillings, or for litle more or lesse. For there arrived eleven ships laden with great plentie of victuals at diuerse places of the land, for the reliefe of the people. Besides this, the citizens of London laid out two thousand marks to buy food out of the common chest of orphans: and the foure and twentie aldermen, euerie of them put in his twentie pound a peece

The stir
caused by
eating
nuts &
apples.

The lord
maior of
London
commenced
for his
careful
provision
of coine
from
beyond
the seas
in the
time of
dearth.

Abr. Fl. outd
Henric Knighton
Canon of
Leicester
abbey.

The cause
of the
scarcitie
was not
want
of bread
or
coine.

wooll
sold
dogchape
the stone.

Provision
made
for
the
poore.

Charitic of
London!

A dolphin taken
at London-
bridge.

1392

Ambassadors
sent to the
French king
to treat of
peace.

Sir Robert
Biquet a
Frenchman
king Richard
his priue
chamber.

The dukes of
Lancaster &
York, the
earls of Derby
and Huntington,
the lord Thomas
Berke, the
bishops of
Durham and
London were
sent to, as
was said
last.
A small am-
bassade.
The duke of
Lancaster, a
prince of great
renowne.

piece for necessarie prouision, for feare of famine, likeli to fall vpon the citie. And they laid vpon their store in sundrie of the fittest and most conuenient places they could chuse, that the needie, and such as were wong with want, might come & buy at a certeine pite so much as might suffice them and their familie: and they which had not readie monie to paie downe presentlie in hand, their woyd and credit was taken for a yeaers space next following, and their turne serued. Thus was prouision made that people should be relieved, and that none might perish for hunger.

On Christmasse day, a dolphin that came forth of the sea vpon the Thames vnto London-bridge, was espied of the citizens as he plaid in the water, and being followed & pursued, with much adoe was taken. He was ten fot long, and a monstrous growne fish, so as the sight of him was strange to manie that beheld him. He was thought by his comming so farre into the landward, to foreshew such stormes and tempests as within a weeke after did raginglie follow. We haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had bene first broched by the French king, by sending ambassadors to the king of England, to moue the same. Which motion being throughlie considered of the estates assembled in this last parliament, it was decreed, that it should go forward (as before ye haue heard) and so about Candelmasse, the lord Thomas Berke, sir Lewis Clifford, and sir Robert Biquet, with diuerse other in their companie, were sent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, found him lodgd in his house of Loure, where they declared to him the good affection of the king their maister toward peace. And the better to bring it to passe, they shewed that king Richards desire was to haue some place and time appointed for commissioners to meet, with authoritie to treat and conclude vpon articles, as should be thought expedient. The French king greatlly honored these ambassadors, in feasting and banketting them for the space of six daies together, and for answer, concluded with them, that he himselfe, with his vnckles and other of his counsell, would be at Amiens by the middell of March next ensuing, there to abide the king of Englands comming, and his vnckles, if it should please them thither to come.

The English ambassadors said there was no doubt, but that either the king himselfe, or his vnckles should be there at the day assigned, with full authoritie to conclude anie agreement that should seeme reasonable, and so those ambassadors returned with great gifts presented on the kings behalfe to each of them, sir Robert Biquet excepted, vnto whome it seemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a Frenchman borne, he had euer serued the Spaniards or Englishmen, and was now one of king Richards priue chamber. The king of England (as some write) was once minded to haue passed the seas himselfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finally the duke of Lancaster, the bishop of Durham, and others, were sent thither with a traine nere hand of a thousand horses. At their comming into France, they were roiallie receiued: for the French king had made no lesse preparation for the duke of Lancasters comming, than if he had bene emperor. The duke of Lancaster berelie was esteemed to be a verie mightie prince, and one of the wisest and sagest princes in all christendome, in those daies; so that it seemed the French king reioiced greatlly, that he might come to haue conference with him. There were with the French king here at Amiens, his brother the duke of Anoureigne; his vnckles, the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Burgognie, & a great number of earles, lords,

and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Englishmens comming, for avoiding of strife and debate that might arise betwixt the English and French, a proclamation was set forth containing certeine articles, for the demeanour which the French men should obserue towards the Englishmen.

Whilste they there remained, all the Englishmens charges were borne by the French king, from their setting forth from Calis, till they came backe thither againe. As touching their treatie, manie things were proponed, diuerse demands made, and some offers, though to small purpose, for they toke not effect, insomuch as they departed without concluding anie thing, further than that the truce which was to end at Midsummer next, was prolonged to continue one yere more, that in the meane time, the lords and estates of the realme of England might assemble, and with good aduise deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agree vnto a determinate peace, or to pursue the doubtfull chanches of warre. And such was the end of that roiall ambassage, to the furnishing forth whereof, the king demanded an aid as well of the abbats and priors, as of the cities and good towne through the whole realme.

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaster, and other the ambassadors that had bene at Amiens, a counsell of the lords and chiefe states of the realme was called at Stamford, the which (as if it had bene vnto a parliament) there came forth of euerie good towne certeine persons appointed to deliberate and take aduise in so weightie a matter, as either to conclude vpon peace, or else vpon warre. But in the end they brought little or nothing to passe, sauing that they agreed to haue the truce to indure for twelue moneths longer: both kings sware to obserue the same, afore such as were appointed to see their othes receiued. About the same time came the duke of Gelderland into this realme, being the kings coufine, a right valiant and hardie gentleman: he was honorablie receiued and welcomed of the king, and of his vnckles, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. This duke of Gelderland counselled the king not to conclude peace, either with the Frenchmen or Scots, except vpon such conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honorablie to him and his realme, promising that if he had occasion to make warre against either of those two nations, he would be ready to serue him with a conuenient power of men at armes of his countrie. After he had bene here a time, and highlie feasted and banketted, as well by the king as other great estates of the realme, he returned home, not without diuerse rich gifts.

The king about this season sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them the summe of one thousand pounds, which they incourteouslie refused to lend: and mozeouer they fell vpon an Italian or Lombard (as they termed him) whom they beat and nere hand slue: because he offered to lend the king that monie. Whereof when the king was aduertised, he was sore moued against them, and calling together the most part of the pæres and noble men of his realme, declared vnto them the froward dealings of the Londoners, complaining soze of such their presumption. The lords and great men, seeming not greatlie to fauour the Londoners, gaue counsell that the insolent pride of those presumptuous persons might with speed be repelled. The citizens of London in those daies (as should appeare) vsing their authoritie to the bittermost, had deuised and set forth diuerse orders and constitutions to abridge the libertie of forreiners that came to the citie to vitter their commodities. Religious men that wrote the doings of that age, seemed also to find fault with them, for that they fauored Wickliffes opinions, & therefore did

The truce
prolonged for
a yere.
Thom. Walf.

A counsell at
Stamford.

The duke of
Gelderland
commeth into
England.

The duke of
Gelderland
dissuadeth
the king from
peace with the
French and
Scots.

The London-
ners refuse to
lend the king
a thousand
pounds.

charge them with infidelitie, and mainteining (I know not how) of Lollards & heretikes: but howsoever the matter went they fell at this present into the kings heinie displeasure.

A great fire
kindled about
a little sparke.

Some there be that write, how the king plied the first quarrell against the maiors and shiriffes, for a riot committed by the unruly citizens, against the servants of the bishop of Salisbury: for that there one of the same bishops servants had taken a horse-lofe fro a bakers man, as he passed by in Fleetstreet with his basket to serue his masters customers, and would not deliuer it againe, but bzaie the bakers mans head, when he was earnest to haue recovered the lofe, the inhabitants of the street rose, and would haue had the bishops man to prison for breaking the kings peace: but he was rescued by his fellows, and escaped into Salisbury house, that stood there within the alle, and as then belonged to his master the bishop of Salisbury, being at that time high treasurer of England. The people being set in a rage for the rescue so made, gathered together in great multitudes about the bishops palace gate, and would haue fetched out the offender by force.

A riot by the
Londoners
upon the bi-
shop of Salis-
burys men.

To conclude, such a hurling was in the street, that the maior, with the shiriffes, & diuers aldermen came thither with all speed, to take order in the matter, and to see the peace kept; but after the coming thither of the maior, the commons of the citie resorted to the place in far greater numbers than before; and the more they were, the worse they were to rule, and would not be persuaded to quiet themselves, except the bishops servant, whose name was Walter Romane, might be had out of the house, and committed to prison: but at length, after manie assaults, lifts, & other indeuours made to haue broken up the gates of the house, the maior & aldermen, with other discret commoners appeased the people so, as they brought them to quiet, and sent euery man to his house.

waiter Ro-
mane.

The bishop was then at Windsor, where the court lay, who being informed of this matter, by a gracious report, and hapilie in worse manner than the thing had happened indeed, took such indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell archbishop of Yorke, then lord chancellor of England, he went to the king and made an heinous complaint against the citizens for their misdemeanors, so that his displeasure was the more kindled against the citizens, in so much that, whether in respect of this last remembred complaint, or rather for their uncourteous deniall to lend him the thousand pounds, and misusing the Lombard that offered to lend the same, I cannot saie; but sure it is, that the maior and shiriffe, and a great sort more of the citizens, were sent for to come to the court, where diuers misdemeanors were objected and laid to their charge: and notwithstanding, what excuse they pretended, the maior and shiriffes with diuers other of the most substantiall citizens, were arrested. The maior was committed to the castell of Windsor, and the other, vnto other castels and holds, to be safely kept, till the king, by the aduise of his counsell, should determine further what should be done with them.

The bishop of
Salisbury
maketh a gra-
uous complaint
of the London-
ers to the
king.

The maior &
shiriffes of
London sent
for to wind-
soze to the
king, & there
imprisoned.

The liberties
of London
seized.

A gardian ap-
pointed to go-
uerne the citie
of London.

Anno Reg. 16.
Sir Edward
Darlingrug
lord warden
of London.

The liberties of the citie were seized into the kings hands, and the authoritie of the maior utterly ceased, the king appointing a warden to gouerne the citie, named sir Edward Darlingrug knight, that should both rule the citie, and see that euery man had iustice ministered, as the case required. This sir Edward Darlingrug began to gouerne the citie of London by the name of lord warden, the one and twentieth of June, on which day the king entered into the 16 years of his reigne: by reason it was thought that the said sir Edward Darlingrug was over-favourable to the citizens, he continued in his office

but till the first of Iulie, and being then discharged, one sir Baldwine Radington, a right circumspect and discret knight, was put in that rowe, who knew how both to content the kings mind, and to comfort the citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obtained, to the reliefe of their sorow and heauinesse.

Darlingrug
remoued, &
Baldwine
Radington
made lord
warden of
London.

At length, the king, through sute and instant labour made by certeine noble men, speciallie the duke of Glocester, began somewhat to relent and pacifie himselfe, as touching his rigorous displeasure against the Londoners, calling to mind the great honour he had diuerse waies receiued at their hands, with the great gifts which they had likewise bestowed vpon him, whereupon he purposed to deale the more mildlie with them; and so sent for diuers of the chiefe citizens to come vnto Windsor, where he then kept his court, there to shew forth the priuileges, liberties, and lawes of their citie, as well the new as old, that with the aduise of his counsell, he might determine which should remaine in force, and which should be abolished. Hereupon, when the said priuileges, and liberties were laid forth, to the view of such persons as had to consider of them, some were ratified, some permitted by tolleracion, and some utterly condemned and abrogated.

The libertes
of London in
part com-
mited in part
condemned.

Neither might they recouer at that present, either the person or dignitie of their maior, nor obtaine the kings entire fauour, till they had satisfied the king of the damages and injuries by them done, either to him or his people. And where he had bene at great charges, in preparing forces to chastise them, as he was determined, if they had not submitted themselves vnto him, they were sure that their purses must answer all that he had laid forth about that matter. They therfore with humble submission, in recompense & satisfaction of their trespasses, offered to giue him ten thousand pounds, but they were for this time sent home, and appointed to returne againe at a certeine day, not understanding what they must pay, till the king with the aduise of his counsell had taken further order for them. At length, through such baile sute as was made for the quieting of the kings hot displeasure towards the Londoners, he was contented to pardon all offenses past. But first, the citizens were told, that the king meant to come from his manor of Shene, to the citie of London, and then vndoubtedly, vpon knowledge had of their good meanings, hereafter to beare themselves like lo-uing subjects, they should obtaine his fauour.

The citizens aduertised hereof, did not onelie prepare themselves to meet him, and to present him with gifts in most liberall manner; but also to adorne, decke, and trim their citie with sumptuous pageants, rich hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all points like as is vsed at ante coronacion. At the day appointed, there met him (beside other) foure hundred of the citizens on horsebacke, clad in one luerie, presenting themselves in that order, vpon the head on this side Shene, and in most humble wise, craving pardon for their offenses past, besought him to take his waie to his palace of Westminster, thorough the citie of London. This sute made by the recorder, in name of all the citizens, he graciously granted, and so held on his iournie, till he came to London bridge, where vnto him was presented a passing faire steed, white, saddled, bziueled, and trapped in rich cloth of gold, parted with red and white. And likewise to the queene was giuen a milke white palfrey, saddled, bziueled, and trapped in the same sort, as the other was. These presents were thankfullie accepted, and so both the king and the queene passing forward, entered the citie, prepared and hanged with rich clothes (as before you haue heard) the citizens

A suit is
made

He was met
with page-
ants on the
bridge at
St. Dun-
stons church
& Southwark.

Gifts pre-
sented to the
king by the
Londoners to
pacifie his
displeasure
caused against
them.
Sir Richard
Darlinton
warden of
London.

standing

An. Reg. 15, 16.

m. 1392.

Darlingrug
removed, & in
Walworth
Raodington
made lord
warden of
London.

Whose gifts by
the Londoners
to the king.

Tho. Walgyn.
The liberties
of London re-
newed by king
Richard.

The liberties
of London in
part confir-
med in part
condemned.

Abt. Fl. out of
Henrie Knighton
canon of
Lester abbe.

3 sweet sa-
thy crifice.

He was met
with proce-
ssion of the bi-
shop & clergy
at St. Geo-
rge's church in
Southwark.

Gifts pre-
sented to the
king by the Lon-
doners to pe-
cuniate his dis-
pleasure con-
firmed against
them.
Richard
rejoiced in
his don.

standing on each side the streets in their liveries, cri-
ng: King Richard, king Richard.

At the standard in Cheape, was a right sumptuous
stage ordeined, on which were set diuerse personages,
and an angell that put a rich crowne of gold, garni-
shed with stone and pearle vpon the kings head, as
he passed by, and likewise an other on the queenes
head. This done, the king rode to Paules, and there
offered, and so took his horse againe, and rode to
Westminster, where the maior and his companie ta-
king their leaue, returned to London. On the mor-
row, the maior and his brethren went againe to
Westminster, and there presented the king with two
basens gilt, & in them two thousand nobles of gold,
beseeching him to be good and gracious lord to the ci-
tie; he receiued their present in courteous manner,
and gaue them manie comfort table words. The third
daie after, they receiued a new confirmation of all
their old liberties (at the least such as might be an aid
to the citie, and no detriment to forreiners) wherefore,
by counsell of their frends, they ordeined a table for
an altar of silver and gilt, ingrauen with image, and
inamed in most curious wise, containing the
stoie of saint Edward, it was valued to be worth a
thousand marks. This was presented to the king, the
which he shortly after offered to the shrine of saint
Edward within the abbey. The Londoners belee-
ued, that by these gifts they had bene quite rid of all
danger; but yet they were compelled to giue the king
after this, ten thousand pounds, which was collected
of the commons in the citie, not without great of-
fense and grudging in their minds.

You haue heard hitherto, what means was made
by the maior, aldermen, and whole bodie of the com-
monaltie of London to procure the kings maiesties
(in whose disfauour they were deeply drownded) grati-
ous reconciliation. Wherein though there hath bene
large matter deliuered; yet to set forth the dignitie
thereof the fuller, take here by the waie the report of
Henrie Knighton. In the yeare (saith he) 1392, the
king called a great counsell on the morrow after
Trinitie sundae at Stamford, about certeine af-
fares concerning the Frenchmen, in which counsell
he assembled together all the old soldiers of his reime,
that by the aduise of the elder sort he might see what
were best for him to do in the premises. The king al-
so held a great counsell at Nottingham, on the feast
of St. John the Baptist, whereat he caused the maior
of London with the foure and twentie aldermen, the
two shiriffes, and foure and twentie of the best com-
moners of the citie in the second degre to be con-
uened before him. Here he charged them that they
had forfeited a certeine bond of 9000 pounds to the
king, besides the losse of their liberties and priuile-
ges. Which obligation or bond they had made in for-
mer time to the king, their deserts requiring the
same. Now the king, after rehearsall made of their
new offenses & faults, discharged the maior, the two
shiriffes, and the rest of his officers of their offices,
and sent the maior and the two shiriffes to certeine
places of custodie as his prisoners, defeating the ci-
tie of London of the honour of all their priuileges; in
so much that a citizen or freeman should haue no
more prerogative than a forreiner or stranger. He
appointed also the lord Edward Balering to be go-
uernor thereof, to keepe and see kept the kings lawes
and his liege people within London in due order, un-
till such time as the king had otherwise provided for
them. And he set them a day to answer the king and
his counsell to certeine interrogatoies on the feast
of St. Marie Magdalen then next ensuing, at Wind-
sor. In the meane while, at the mediation of certeine
frends and wellwillers, the kings indignation was
somewhat mitigated and allwaged towards them; in

so much that at length he released the maior and the
shiriffes, and sent them home to their houses; set-
ting ouer them notwithstanding a new keeper or go-
uernour of the citie, and reseruing in his hand all the
priuileges of the citie. In the meane time, on the sun-
daie next after the feast of the Assumption of the ble-
sed virgin Marie; all the wealthiest and worthiest
commoners of the citie came to the king, and sub-
mitted themselves and all their goods to his grace,
and then did he first receiue and take them into his
fauour. On the wednesdaie ensuing, the king was
purposed to come into London, and the citizens in
multitudes innumerable met him on horsebacke; &
they that had no horses went out on foot to welcome
him thither; women also and infants shewed them-
selves vnto him; likewise the bishop of London,
with all the clergie, no order, degre, condition, estate,
or sex of ecclesiasticall dignitie being excused, went
out in procession to meet the king and the queene with
great reioicing. It was reported how in that proce-
ssion there were aboute fure hundred boies in surplices.
Whereouer, the citizens of London trimmed the
outsides of their houses and chambers in euerie street
through which the king and the queene were to passe,
from St. Georges to Westminster. As for the hou-
ses of the welthier sort, they were brauely garnished
with clooth of gold, silver, tissue, velvet, & other sump-
tuous stuffe whatsoeuer by any possible means could
be gotten. In Cheapside there was a conduit, out of
the which two spouts ran with read wine & white, and
vpon the conduit stood a little boie apparelled in white
like an angell, hauing a golden cup in his hand, who
presented wine to the king and queene to drinke as
they passed by. In the meane time they offered to the
king a golden crowne of great value, and another
golden crowne to the queene; and a while after pas-
sing forwards, they presented to the king a golden
tablet of the Trinitie, to the value of eight hundred
pounds; and to the queene another golden tablet of
St. Anne, whome she had in speciall deuotion and re-
uerence, because hir owne name was Anne. Such,
and so great, and so wonderfull honours did they to the
king, as the like in former times was neuer done to
ante king of this realme: and so going forward, they
brought the king and the queene to Westminster
hall. The king sitting in his seat roiall, & all the peo-
ple standing before him; one in the kings behalfe as
his speaker, gaue the people thanks for the great ho-
nour and princelie presents which they had bestowed
vpon the king; and being bidden to call euerie man
to his businesse and affaires, it was told them that
in the next parlement they should haue their finall
answer.

At the same time, the duke of Glocestre, hauing re-
ceiued monie to leaue an armie, which he should haue
conueied ouer into Ireland, of which countrie, a good
while before that present, the king had made him
duke, was now readie to set forward, when suddenlie
through the malice of some priuie detractours about
the king, he was contermanded, and so his iourne
was staied, to the great hinderance and preiudice of
both the countries of England and Ireland: for e-
uen vpon the same that was bytued of his comming
into Ireland, in manner all the Irish lords determi-
ned to submit themselves vnto him, so greatlie was
his name both loued, reuerenced, and feared, euen a-
mong those wild and sauage people. This yeare Ro-
bert Clare, late earle of Wrenford, and duke of Ire-
land, departed this life at Louaine in Babant, in
great anguish of mind, & miserable necessitie: which
young gentleman (doubtlesse) was apt to all com-
mendable exercises and parts fit for a noble man, if
in his youth he had bene well trained and brought
vp in necessarie discipline.

The duke of
Glocestre
made duke of
Ireland.

His iourne
into Ireland
vnluckilie
staied.

Clare, late
duke of Ire-
land, dieth at
Louaine.

This

1393
The. Wals.
The parliament
at Winchester

The chance-
rie and kings
bench kept at
Pothe and fro
thence remo-
ued to London.

Eures.

The Ile of
Man.

The dukes of
Lancaster &
Glocester
sent to France
to treat of a
peace.

The French
commissioners
would haue
Calis rased
to the ground.

The demand
of the English
commissioners.

Order taken,
that the de-
mands on
either side
should be set
downe in writ-
ting, the bet-
ter to be con-
sidered of.

This yeare after Christmasse, a parliament was called at Winchester, in which onelie a grant was made by the cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expens of the duke of Lancaster & Glocester, that were appointed to go ouer into France, to treat of peace, betwixt the two kingdomes. The courts of the kings bench and chancerie, which had bene removed from Westminster to Pothe, either in dissaour onelie of the Londoners, or in fauour of the citizens of Pothe, for that the archbishop of that citie, being lord chancellor, wished to aduance (so farre as in him laie) the commoditie and wealth thereof, were neuertheless about this season brought backe againe to Westminster, after they had remained a small time at Pothe, to the displeasure of manie. ¶ This yeare, the lord Auberie de Ware, uncle to the late duke of Ireland, and twentieth of Februarie, John Eures, constable of Douer castell, & lord steward of the kings house departed this life, in whose roome the lord Thomas Persie that before was vicechamberlaine was created lord steward; and the lord Thomas Beaumont was made constable of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports; and the lord William Scrope was made vicechamberlaine, who about the same time, bought of the lord William Montacute the Ile of Man, with the regalitie thereof, for it is a kingdome; as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth.

The dukes of Lancaster and Glocester went ouer into Calis, and downe to Bullongne came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie. These noblemen were sufficientlie furnished with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by sea and land, betwene the two realmes of France and England, and all their alies. The place appointed for them to treat in, was at Balingham, where tents and pavilions were pight vp, for the ease of both parties. They met there twice or thise a weeke, in a faire tent prepared for the purpose, about nine of the clocke in the forenone. This was about the beginning of Maie. When they entered first into communication, and had seene each others authoritie, one of the first demands that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calis rased, in such wise, as there should neuer be anie habitation there after that time. The dukes of Lancaster and Glocester answered hereunto, how they had no authoritie to conclude so farre, but that England should hold Calis still, as in demesne, and true inheritance; and therefore, if they purposed to enter any further in the treatie of peace, they should cease from that demand and speake no moze thereof. When the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie heard their two cousins of England answer so roundlie, they spake no moze of that matter.

When the dukes of Lancaster and Glocester demanded to haue restitution of all such lands as had bene deliuered, either to king Richard, or to king Edward the third, or to anie their deputies or commissioners, and also to haue fullie paid the summe of florens that was left vnpaid, at the time when the warre reuiued betwixt England and France: and this the English lawiers proued to stand with equitie and reason. But neuertheless, the lords and chancellors of France argued to the contrarie, and so agree they could not, inso much as the Frenchmen required, that if the Englishmen meant to haue anie conclusion of peace, they should draw to some next points. At length, the four dukes took order, that all their demands on either side should be set downe in writing, and deliuered to either partie interchangeably, that they might be regarded at length, and such as should be found unreasonable, to be rased or reformed. After they had communed together diuerse times, and remained there sixtene daies, they ap-

pointed to aduertise the two kings of their whole dealings, and after nine daies space to meet againe. The French dukes rode to Abbeville, where the French king then laie: and the English dukes returning to Calis, wrote to the king of England, of all the whole matter. The duke of Glocester was harder to deale with in each behalfe, concerning the conclusion of peace, than was the duke of Lancaster, for he rather desired to haue had warre than any peace, except such a one as should be greatlie to the advantage and honour of the realme of England: and therefore the commons of England vnderstanding his dispositi- on, agreed that he should be sent, rather than anie other. For where in times past the Englishmen had greatlie gained by the warres of France, as well the commons, as the knights and esquires, who had by the same maintained their estate, they could not giue their willing consents, to haue anie peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reason of the wars, to profit themselves, as in times past they had done. The French king & nobles of France were greatlie inclined to peace, and so likewise was the king of England, & the duke of Lancaster. But the Frenchmen were so subtil, and vsed so manie darke and coloured words, that the Englishmen had much ado to vnderstand them: which offended much the duke of Glocester. But neuertheless, at the daie prefixed, these four dukes met againe at Balingham, and with the French lords came the king of Armentie, newlie returned into France south of Grecia, for into his owne countrie he durst not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, the strong towne of Conich, which the Genouaues held, excepted.

The king of Armentie would gladlie that peace might haue bene established betwixt France and England, in hope to procure the sooner some aid of the kings to recouer his kingdome. But to conclude after that the dukes, and other with them associat as assistants, had diligentlie perused and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not passe nor seale to anie, till all darke and obscure words were clærelie declared, opened, and made perfect, so that no generall peace might be concluded. Notwith- standing, as Froissard saith, a truce for foure peares space, vpon certeine articles was agreed to be kept as well by sea as by land. It was thought, that when they were at point to haue growne to agreement concerning manie articles, if the French king had not newlie fallen into his former disease of frensie, there had better effect followed of this treatie; but by occasion of his sicknesse, each man departed, before that anie principall articles could be fullie ordered and made perfect. The same time, sir Thomas Persie the younger was made lord warden of Burde- aur and Aquitaine.

In Seperember, much hurt was done, thorough exceeding great thunder, lightening, and tempests, which chanced in manie parts of England, but spect- allie in Cambridgeshire, where manie houses were burned, with no small quantitie of coine. Great in- undations and floods of water followed shortly af- ter in October, which did much hurt at Burie, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew walls of houses, and put men and women in great danger of drowning. In Essex also in September, great mortallitie fell by pestilence amongst the people, whereof manie died. ¶ The towne of Chierburg was restored againe to the king of Nauarre, who had in- gaged it to the king of England, for two thousand markes. ¶ A parliament was holden at Westmin- ster, which began in the octaues of saint Hilarie. ¶ The king purposing to go ouer into Ireland, requir- ed a subsidie, the cleargie granted to him a whole tenth, toward the furnishing forth of that iourne, if he

Warri-
er
duke
calle
dell.

The
quan

The
city
of
Sh
cause
quar
there

The English
gentlemen
maintained by
the French
warres.

The subsidies
of the French
men.

The commo-
dities
gathered
againe.

The king of
Armentie.

Shelburne
doubtfull
words
opened.

A truce for
four peares
betweene
England and
France.

Anno Reg.
Great tem-
pests.

Spitchhart
done by great
floods in
Suffolke.
A great play
in Essex.

1394

The
Lan-
leth
quar
An

the English
intended by
French
reces.

he subtilly
be French
in.

he commis-
sions meet
time.

he king of
Ireland.

blow and
subtilly
was to be
used.

truce for
are peared
between
England and
France.

no Reg. 17.
reat com-
m.

hath hurt
me by great
as in
trouble.
great plague
at C.

1394.

Constance be-
cause the
duke of Lan-
caster and the
earle of Arun-
dell.

The death of
quene Anne.

The de-
fence of the
house of
Sperne be-
cause the
quene died
there.

Anno Reg. 18.
proclamation
that all J:
rishmen should
returne into
their countie.

The English
pale in Ire-
land almost
left
desolate.

The peacelie
names of
Ireland in
Edward
the third his
days.

The duke of
Lancaster sail-
eth into J:
quene with
an armie.

he went himselfe; if he went not, yet they agreed to
give to him the moiety of a tenth. In time of this par-
lement, there appeared great euill will to remaine
betwixt the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Ar-
rundell, for the duke imposed to the earle, that about
the Crystallation of the crosse, he late with a companie
of armed men in the castell of Holt by Chester, the
same time that the countie there rose against the
duke, with their capitaine Nicholas Clifton, and his
complices, whome he ment (as the duke alledged) to
haue aided against him: but this the earle flatlie de-
nied, and with probable reasons so excused himselfe,
as the quarrell at length was taken up, and the par-
ties for the time well quieted.

This yeare on Whitsundae being the seauenty
of June, quene Anne departed this life, to the great
griefe of hir husband king Richard, who loued hir in-
tirelie. She decessed at Sperne, and was buried at
Westminster, vpon the south side of saint Edwards
shrine. The king took such a conceit with the house of
Sperne, where she departed this life, that he caused the
buildings to be throwne downe and defaced, where-
as the former kings of this land, being wearie of the
citie, used custumable thither to resort, as to a place
of pleasure, and seruing hightie to their recreation.
Thus the king, the duke of Lancaster, and his sonne
the earle of Derby, were twid owers, all in one sea-
son: for the ladie Constance duchesse of Lancaster
daughter to Peter king of Spaine, decessed the
last yeare, whilste hir husband the duke of Lancaster
was at the treatie in France: at the same time al-
so decessed the countesse of Derby, wife to the lord
Henric earle of Derby. Moreover, in this yeare
1394, Isabell duchesse of Porke departed this life,
that was halfe sister to the duchesse of Lancaster, be-
ing borne of one mother. She was buried at Lang-
leie.

This yeare in August, was a proclamation set
forth, that all Irishmen should auoid this land, and
returne home into their owne countie, before the
feast of the Patinitie of our ladie, on paine of death.
The occasion of which proclamation was, for that
such multitudes of Irishmen were come ouer into
this region, in hope of gaine, that the countie in
Ireland, subiect to England, were in manner left
void of people, so that the enemies spoiled and wasted
those countie at their pleasure, finding few or none
to withstand them. And where king Edward the
third had placed in Ireland his bench and iudges,
with his exchequer, for the good administration of iu-
stice and politike gouernement to be used there, he
received from thence pearelie in reuenues and pro-
fits, comming to his owne cofers, the summe of thir-
tie thousand pounds: the king now laid forth no lesse
a summe to repell the enemies, which by absence of
those that were come ouer hither, could not other-
wise be resisted, with the power of the rebels was so
increased, and the force of the countie subiect, tho-
rough lacke of the former inhabitants, so dimini-
shed. About the feast of the Patinitie of our ladie,
the king set forward to passe into Ireland, hauing
made such preparation for that iourne, as the like
for Ireland had not bene heard of at ante time be-
fore. There went out with him the duke of Glocester,
the earles of March, Nottingham, and Rutland, the
lord Thom as Berse lord steward, and diuerse other
of the English nobilitie.

The duke of Lancaster, that in the thirteenth yeare
of king Richards reigne had bene created by autho-
ritie of parlement, duke of Aquitaine, was about
this present time sent thither, with fine hundred
men of armes, & a thousand archers, to take posses-
sion of that duchie, according to the kings grant, by
his letters patents thereof had, made, and confir-

med with his seale, in presence of the most part of
all the nobles and great lords of England, to hold all
that countie to the said duke and his heires for euer
in as large manner and forme, as his father king
Edward the third, or anie other kings of England,
or dukes of Aquitaine before time had holden, and
as king Richard at that season had & held the same,
the homage alwaies yet reserued to the kings of
England for euer. But all this notwithstanding, at
his comming thither, so farre were the Galcoignes,
and other people of those marches from receiuing
him with ioy and triumph, that they plainelie told
him, they would not atturue to him, nor be vnder
his iurisdiction at ante hand, although he had brought
ouer with him commissioners sufficientlie authori-
sed, both to discharge them of their former alligiance
to the king, and to inuest him in possession of that du-
chie, in maner and forme as before is said.

But now to returne to king Richard, ye shall vn-
derstand, that when all his prouision and roial ar-
mie was readie, about Michaelmas, he toke the sea,
and landed at Waterford the second of October, and
so remained in Ireland all that winter: his people
were lodged abroad in the countie, and lay so wari-
lie as they might. For although the Irishmen durst
not attempt anie exploit openlie against the Eng-
lishmen, after the kings arrivall with so puissant an
armie, yet they would feale sometimes vpon them,
where they espied anie aduantage, and disquiet them
in their lodgings. But when the English still pre-
uailed, diuerse of the greatest princes among them
came in, and submitted themselves. Amongst other,
four kings are mentioned, as the great Dnell king
of Meth, Bine of Thomond king of Thomond, Ar-
thur Macmur king of Lineister, and Conhur king
of Cheueno and Darpe: these kings were courteou-
lie interteined and much made of by king Richard,
who kept his Christmas this yeare at Dubline. And
after that feast was ended, he held a parlement there,
to the which all his subiects of Ireland, vnto whom it
appertained, resorted, as well those that had conti-
nued vnder the English gouernement afozetime, as
those that were latelie yelded.

Also at the same time, after the octaues of the E-
piphanie, the duke of Porke, lord warden of Eng-
land, now in the kings absence, caused a parlement
to be called at Westminster, to the which was sent
forth of Ireland the duke of Glocester, that he might
declare to the commons the kings necessitie, to haue
some grant of monie to supplie his want, hauing
spent no small quantitie of treasure in that iourne
made into Ireland. The dukes words were so well
heard and beleued, that a whole tenth was granted
by the clergie, and a fifteenth by the laitie; but not
without protestation, that those paiements were
granted of a mere good will, for the loue they bare
to the king, and to haue his businesse go forward,
which because it required great expences, both for
that his owne rofall person was abiding in Ireland
about the subduing of the rebels, as also because his
retinue and power could not be maintained without
excessive charges; they seemed to be no lesse desirous
to haue the same ended, than they which were daile
agents in the same, not without feare of misfortune
likelie to befall them, hauing to deale with a people
of such barbarous and rebellious behauior.

At the same time, those that followed Wickliffes
opinions, set vp publikelie on the church doze of
Paulus in London, and the church dozes of West-
minster, certaine writings, containing accusations
of the clergie, and conclusions, such as had not com-
monlie bene heard, against ecclesiasticall persons,
and the vse of the sacraments, as the church then
maintained. They were incouraged thus to do, as it
was

The Gal-
coignes flatlie
refuse to ac-
cept the duke
of Lancaster
for their so-
ueraigne.

R. Richard
passeth ouer
into Ireland
with a migh-
tie armie.

Froissard.
Four Irish
kings submit
themselves to
R. Richard.

1395
A parlement
holden in
Ireland.

A parlement
at Westmin-
ster, king Ri-
chard being
in Ireland.

The Wickles
writs wrote ag-
ainst the
clergie.

The clergie
complainte to
the king of the
wicklenists,
and their fa-
uourers.

R. Richard
knighteth the
four Irish
kings, and
others.
Froissard.

R. Richard
returneth out
of Ireland.

R. Richards
dealings a-
gainst the fa-
uourers of the
wicklenists.

Abr. Fl. out of
Henrie Knighton
canon of
Leicester
abbey.

was said, by some noble men, and knights of great worship, as sir Richard Sturrie, sir Lewes Cliford, sir Thomas Latimer, sir John Pontacute, & others, who comforted & picked forward those kind of men, then called heretikes & Lollards, to the confounding of monks, friers, and other religious persons, by all waies they might. Whereupon, the archbishop of Porke, the bishop of London, and certeine other as messengers from the whole state of the clergie, passed ouer into Ireland, where, to the king they made a grievous complaint, as well against those that had framed and set forth such writings, as against them that maintained them in their doings, and therefore besought him with speed to returne home into England, there to take such order, for the restraining of those misordered persons, as unto the reliefe of the church might be thought expedient, being then in great danger of sustaining irreconerable losse and damage, if good reformation were not the sooner had. King Richard hearing these things, upon good deliberation had in the matter, determined to returne home, but first on the day of the Annuntiation of our ladie, he made the foure aboue remembred kings, to wit, Ouell, Bine of Thomond, Arthur of Spachmur, and Conhur, knights, in the cathedrall church of Dublin, and one likewise sir Thomas Wyden, sir Joasas Wado, and his cosine sir John Wado.

This done, and now after that they were set in quiet in that countrie (the rebels not being so hardie as to stirre, whilest such a mightie armie was there ready at hand to assaile them) the king about Easter came backe into England without anie more adow, so that the gaine was thought nothing to counteruaile the charges, which were verie great: for the king had ouer with him in that iourne, foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand archers, as Froissard saith he was informed by an English esquier that had bene in that iourne. The king at his comming ouer, did not forget what complaint the archbishop of Porke, and the bishop of London had exhibited to him, against those that were called Lollards, and heretiks, whereupon immediatlie, he called before him certeine of the noble men, that were thought and knowne to fauour such kind of men, threatening terrible, if from thence forth they should in anie wise comfort and relieue them. He caused sir Richard Sturrie to receiue an oth, that he should not mainteine from that day forward anie such erroneous opinions, menacing him, and as it were, couenanting with him by an interchangeable oth, that if euer he might vnderstand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he should die for it a most shamefull death.

By the report of H. Knighton it should seme, that this sea (as he calleth them) mightilie increased, to the no small offense of the lords tempozall and spirituall, whereupon after sundrie complaints, and serious solicitations for the supplanting of them, commissions were granted, and the tenure of them (as it should seme) though not absolutelie, yet in part executed. Now therefore listen what mine author saith, whose addition, though by his owne supputation of peares it require to be placed elsewhere; yet for the consonancie of the matter, and because writers varie greatlie in their accounts of time, I haue here inserted the same, as in a verie conuenient place of the historie. The noblemen and the commons (saith Henrie Knighton) seeing the ship of the church, with these & other innumerable errors, & verie lewd opinions as it were on all sides from day to day with ceaselesse violence and force to be shaken; besought the king in the parlement, that redresse might be had hereof, lest the arke of the faith of all the church by such violences and inforcements giuen in those daies,

should through want of gouernement be battered without remedie, and the glorious realme of England by corrupting of faith should by little and little be drawne into a distresse of grace and losse of hono. Wherefore the king vRING the sound counsell of the whole parlement, commanded the archbishop of Canturburie, & the rest of the bishops of the realme, to execute their charge and office, all and euerie of them in his and their diocesse, according to the canon lawes, more seuerelie and resolute; to correct the offenders, to examine their English books more fullie and substantiallie, to root out errors with all their induozs, to bring the people into an vnitie of the right faith, to weed by out of the church all netles, thistles, and hambles wherewith the is disgraced; and to beautifie hir with lillies and roses; and should cause an establisment of his roiall power more boldlie and frontlie. And the king forthwith commanded, without delate, that his letters patents should be sent abroad into all and euerie shire of his kingdome; and appointed in euerie shire certeine searchers for such books and their fauourers; charging them to applie a speedie remedie vnto these disorders, and to lay by the rebels in the berie next gaoles, till the king sent vnto them. But verie slow execution or none at all folloved, because the houre of correction was not yet come. [Whobest, to prepare and make an entrance to the purposed reformation and correction of those enormities, he gaue out a commission against the Wicklenists, a copie whereof foloweth both in Latine and English. Whereby the world may see how the springing church of Christ was hated and abhorred of the antichristian rout.]

Copia regia commissionis aduersus Lollardos & Lollardorum sequaces.

Richardus Dei gratia rex Anglia & Francia, & dominus Hibernia, dilectis sibi magistro Thoma Brightwell in theologia doctori, decano collegij noui operis Leicestria, & Gulielmo Chesulden prabendario prabendae eiusdem collegij, ac dilectis & fidelibus nostris Richardo de Barow Chinall, & Roberto Langham, salutem. Quia ex insinuatione credibili certitudinaliter informatur, quod ex insana doctrina magistrorum Iohannis Wickliffe dum vixit, Nicholai Herford, Iohannis Liston, & suorum sequacium, quam plures libri, libelli, schedule, & quaterni, haresibus & erroribus manifestis in fidei catholica lesionem, & sana doctrina derogationem, expresse, & palam, & notorie redundantes, frequentius compilantur, publicantur, & conscribuntur, tam in Anglico quam in Latino, ac exinde opiniones nefaria sana doctrina contrariantes, oriuntur, crescunt, & manuteneantur, ac praedicantur, in fidei orthodoxa enervationem, ecclesiam sanctam subuersionem, & ex consequenti (quod absit) quamplurimum incredulitatem, eorumque animarum periculum manifestum. Nos zelo fidei catholicae, cuius sumus & esse volumus defensores in omnibus (ut tenemur) moti salubriter & induciti, nolentes huiusmodi hareses aut errores infra terminos nostrae potestatis, quatenus poterimus, oriri, seu quomodolibet pullulare: assignamus vos coniunctim & diuisim, ad omnes & singulos libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos huiusmodi doctrinae dictorum Iohannis, Nicholai, Iohannis, & sociorum sequacium, seu opinionum aliquam minus sanam continentes, ubicumque, & in quorumcumque mani-

bus, possessione, seu custodia inueniri poterunt, infra libertates vel extra, inuestigandum, capiendum, & arrestandum, & penes concilium nostrum cum omni celeritate possibilibus deferri faciendum, ut tunc ibidem de iisdem ordinare valeamus, prout de ausamento concilij nostri predicti fore viderimus faciendum: ac etiam ad proclamandum, & ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum, ne quis cuiuscumque status, gradus, seu conditionis fuerit, sub pænâ imprisonmenti & forisfacturatum, quæ nobis forisfacere poterit, aliquas huiusmodi prauas & nefarias opiniones manuteneat, docere, pertinaciterque defendere, clam vel palam, seu huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaterinos detinere, scribere, vel scribi facere, aut emere vel vendere presumat quouis modo, sed omnes & singulos huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaterinos secum habitos & inuentos, ad mandatum nostrum vobis reddat, seu reddi faciat indilate. Et ad omnes illos, quos post proclamationem & inhibitionem predictis contrarium inueneritis facientes, & huiusmodi nefarias opiniones manuteneat, coram vobis prefato Thoma decano & Gulielmo euocandum, & diligenter examinandum: & cum inde legitime cuius fuerint, ministris proximis, prout committendum, in iisdem detinendum, quousque à suis erroribus, hæresibus, & prauis opinionibus resipiscant, seu nos pro deliberatione eorundem aliter duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dicta præmissa cum omni diligentia & efficacia intendatis, & ea faciatis & exequamini in forma prædicta. Damus autem tam vniuersis & singulis viris ecclesiasticis, quam vicecomitibus, maioribus, balliis, ministris, & alijs fidelibus & subditis nostris, tam infra libertates quam extratene presentium firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis, & cuilibet vestrum, in præmissis faciendis assistentes sint, consulentes, & auxiliantes, prout decet. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tertio die Maij, anno regni nostri undecimo.

A copie of the kings commision against the Lollards or Wickleuists and their followers: Englished by A.F.

Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloued, maister Thomas Brightwell doctor in diuinitie, deane of the college of the new worke of Leicester, and to William Cheselden prebendarie of the prebend of the same college, and to our beloued and trustie subiects, Richard of Barow Chinall, and Robert Langham, greeting. For so much as we are certeinlie informed by credible report, that by the vnfound doctrine of maister Iohn Wickliffe, whiles he liued, of Nicholas Herford, Iohn Liffon, and their followers, many bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets expressed, euidentlie, and notoriouly, warning with manifest heresies and errors, to the hurt of the catholike faith, & the abolishment of sound doctrine, are commonlie compiled, published, and written, as well in English as in Latine, and therevpon wicked opinions contrarie to sound doctrine, doo spring, grow, and are mainteined and preached to the weakening of the right

faith, the ouerthrow of holie church, and consequentlie (which God forbid) the misbeleefe of a great many, & the manifest danger of their soules. We being moued with zeale to the catholike faith, whereof we are, and will be defenders in all things, as we are bound, vnwilling that such heresies or errors within the limits of our iurisdiction, so far as we are able, should grow, or by any meanes spring vp: doo asigne you iointlie and seuerallie, all and singular the bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets containing such doctrine of the said Iohn, Nicholas, Iohn, and their fellow-followers, or any of their corrupt opinions, wheresoeuer, & in whose hands, possession, or keeping soeuer they shalbe found within the liberties or without, them to search, take, arrest, and cause to be brought before our counsell with all possible speed, that then and there we may take order for the same accordingly, as by the aduise of our foresaid counsell we shall see requisite to be doone. And also to proclaime, and on our behalfe firmelie to forbid all and euerie one, of whatsoeuer state, degree, or condition he be, vnder paine of imprisonment and forfeitures, which to vs he shall forfeit, any of these wicked and lewd opinions to mainteine, teach, obstinatlie to defend, priuile or openlie, or any of these bookes, libels, scheduls & pamphlets to keepe, write, or cause to be written, but all and euerie such booke and bookes, libels, scheduls, and pamphlets with them had & found, at our commandement vnto you to deliuer, or cause to be deliuered without delaie. And all them, whome after proclamation and inhibition you shall find dooing contrarie to the premisses, and such lewd opinions mainteining, to call forth before you the said Thomas the deane, & William, and them to examine: & when they shalbe lawfullie conuincid therein, to commit them to the next officers & prisons, there to be kept, till they haue recanted their errors, heresies, and wicked opinions; or till we for their deliuerance shall otherwise thinke order to be taken. And therefore we command, that you intend the said premisses, with all diligence and effect, and the same doo and execute in forme aforesaid. We doo also give in streict commandement and charge, to all and euerie as well churchman & churchmen, as shiriffes, maiors, bailiffes, officers, and other our trustie subiects, as well within the liberties as without, by the tenor of these presents, to assist, counsell, and helpe you and euerie of you in doing the premisses, as it is convenient. In witness whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the twentieth third day of Maie, and the eleuenth yeare of our reigne.

About this time, as Henrie Knighton saith in the yeare 1382, maister William Courtenie archbishop of Canturburie, brother to the earle of Derby, visited the diocese of Lincoln, and on the feast of Saint Juno the virgin he visited maister John Bokingham bishop of Lincoln in the cathedrall church of Lincoln, with the chapter and an hundred of the canons, and he came to Leicester abbete in visitation, the Sunday before the feast of All Saints, where he abode all the Tuesday, and on the next also

Archbishop of Canturburie visitatio.

Wicklensis
excommunicat.
sacred.

of All saints being mondate, calling together all the canons of the said monastrie, with the chaplains of his owne chappell, euerie of them having in their hands burning candels. The same archbishop confirmed sentence of excommunication against the Lollards or Wicklensis, with their fauourers, which either now mainteined or caused to be mainteined, or hereafter did mainteine or should mainteine the errors and opinions of master John Wickliffe, in the diocese of Lincolne. On the morrow next after All saints, the same bishop flathed out his sentence of excommunication like lightning in open sight, with a crosse set vp right, with candels burning bright, and with bels rone aloud, and namelie against those of Leicester towne that had too much defiled and infected the said towne and countrie. The archbishop departing from thence, went to saint Peters church, to a certeine anchoresse named Spaldis there kept as in a closet, whom he reprocuing about the foresaid errors and opinions of the Lollards, and finding hir answers scarce aduiseple made, cited hir that she should appeare before him, on the sundaie next ensuing, in saint James his abbey at Northampton, to answer vnto the foresaid erroneous and prophane points. Now she appeared at the day appointed, and renouncing hir errors, and hauing penance intolmed hir, she went awaie reformed. But till the second day before the feast of saint Lucie, she kept hir selfe out of hir closet, and then entred into the same againe. Other Lollards also were cited, and appeared at Wyford, and in other places, as the archbishop had commanded them: who renouncing their superstitious errors, and forswearing their prophane opinions, did open penance. Also one William Smith was made to go about the market place at Leicester, clothed in linnen [or in a white sheet] holding in his right arme the image of the Crucifix, and in his left the image of saint Katharine, because the said Smith had sometimes cut in peces and burned an image of saint Katharine, whereof he made a fire to boile him hearbes in his hunger.

A ridiculous
penance.

In those daies there was a certeine matrone in London, which had one onelie daughter, whome marie daies she instructed and trained by to celebrat the masse, and she set by an altar in hir priue or secret chamber with all the ornaments thereunto belonging, and so she made hir daughter manie daies to attire hir selfe like a priest, and to come to the altar, and after hir maner to celebrat the masse. Now when she came to the words of the sacrament, she cast hir selfe flat on hir face before the altar, & made not the sacrament; but rising vp, dispatched the rest of the masse euen to the verie end, hir mother helping hir therein, and doing hir deuotion. This error a long time lasted, till at last by a certeine neighbour that was secretlie called to such a masse, it was told abroad, and came to the bishops eares, who causing them to appeare before him, talked with them about that error, and compelled the yong woman openlie to shew the priestlie shawing of hir haire, whose head was found to be all bare and bald. The bishop sighing and sorrieng that such an error should happen in the church in his time, made manie lamentations, and hauing intolmed them penance, dispatched and sent them away. Thus far Henrie Knighton. [It is not to be doubted, but that in these daies manie of the female sex be meddling in matters impertinent to their degre, and inconuenient for their knowledge; debating & scanning in their priuat conuenticles of such things as wherabout if they kept silence, it were for their greater commendation; presuming, though not to celebrat a masse, or to make a sacrament; yet to vnder take some publike pece of seruice incident to the ministrie: whose over-sauoeie rashnesse bring

Soldnesse of
women in ec-
clesiasticall
matters
taied.

bolstered and borne by with abbettoys not a few, wher it be by ecclesiasticall discipline corrected. I wot not; but of the vnuformed presbiterie I am sure it is lamented.]

A certeine thing appeared in the likenesse of fier in manie parts of the realme of England, now of one fashion, now of another, as it were euerie night, but yet in diuerse places all Nouember and Decem-
ber. This fierie apparition, oftentimes when any bodie went alone, it would go with him, and would stand still when he stood still. To some it appeared in the likenesse of a turning whele burning; to other some round in the likenesse of a barrell, flathing out flames of fier at the head; to other some in the likenesse of a long burning lance; and so to diuerse folke at diuerse times and seasons it shewed it selfe in diuerse formes and fashions a great part of winter, specialie in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire: and when manie went together, it approached not nere them, but appeared to them as it were a far off. In a parlement time there was a certeine head of war made by the art of necromancie (as it was reported) which head at an houre appointed to speake, uttered these words following at thre times, and then ceased to speake any more. These be the words; first, The head shall be cut off; secondlie, The head shall be lift vp aloft; thirdlie, The feet shall be lift vp aloft above the head. This happened in the time of that parlement which was called the merclesse parlement, not long before the parlement that was named the parlement which wrought wonders. In Aprill there was sene a fierie dragon in manie places of England; which dreaddfull sight as it made manie a one amazed, so it ministred occasion of mistrust to the minds of the maruelloys, that some great mischance was imminent, whereof that burning apparition was a prognostication. In this kings daies (as faith Thomas Walsingham) whose report, because I am here dealing with certeine prodigious accidents importing some strange euent, I am the more bold to interlace about the troublesome time when discord sprang betwene the king and his youtlie companions with the duke of Lancaster, in the moneth of Maie, there happened a conjunction of the two greatest planets, namelie Jupiter and Saturne, after the which did follow a verie great commotion of kingdoms, as in the procelle of this historie may appeare.

The French king about this time summoned a conuocation of the French cleargie, to decide and search out the power of the two popes, which of them had fuller right and authoritie in saint Peters chaire, for the schisme and diuision betwene the two popes was not yet ended. The French cleargie wrote in the behalfe of Clement their pope, & confirmed their script or writing with the vniuersitie seale of Paris. Which writing Charles the French king sent over to Richard king of England, that touching these doubts and difficulties he with the councill of his cleargie might deliberat. Wherefore king Richard summoned a conuocation at Wyford of the learned diuines as well regents as not regents of the whole realme; who wrote for and in the behalfe of Urbane their pope of Rome, and confirmed their writing with the vniuersitie seale of Wyford, & sent it ouer sea to Paris vnto the French king. But nothing was done further in the premises, both popes, vnder the shadow or shelter of schisme preuailing betwene them, increasing their title & interest. [This is the last record found in Henrie Knighton, who for that which he hath done touching chronographie, hath written the blindnesse of the time wherein he liued, and his order considered) though not so well as the best, yet not so ill as the worst; and whose collections, if they were laid together,

A fierie apparition of the
uerie likenesse.

A head of war
wrought by
necromancie
speake both.

A fierie dragon
sene in
diuers places.

Abt. Fl. am. d.
Thom. Wals-
in Rich. 2. pag.
341.

A conjunction
of Jupiters
& Saturne.

A schisme be-
twene two
popes for the
diuinitie of
saint Peters chaire.

A herie appar-
ition of di-
uerse like-
nesses.

The Danes
and the Eng-
lish merchants
on the seas.

Great pikes
were by the
Danish pi-
rates of the
Englishmen.

A head of weat
sought by
necromancie
speakesh,

A herie dya-
gon scene in
diuers places,

Abt. Fl. out of
Thom. Wallin.
in Rich. 2. pag.
341.

A continuatid
of Jupiter &
Saturne.

A schisme be-
tweene two
n. popes for the
e. dignitie of S.
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together, would afford a large augmentation to ma-
ters of chronicle: but in spite that so abruptlie he brea-
keth off, and continueth his annales no further than
this yeare, 1395.]

This yere, the Danes that late rowing on the seas
did much hurt to the English merchants, taking and
robbing manie English ships, and when the haue
tollnes along the coasts of Northfolke, made forth
a number of ships, and ventured to fight with those
pirats, they were vanquished by the Danes, so that
manie were saue, and manie taken prisoners, which
were constrained to paie great ransoms. The en-
mies also found in ransacking the English ships,
twenty thousand pounds, which the English mer-
chants had aboard with them to buy wares with, in
place whither they were bound to go. In the same
yeare, William Courtenie archbishop of Cantur-
burie, hauing more regard to his diuine priuat com-
moditie, than to the discommoditie of others, purcha-
sed a bull of the pope, whereby he was authorized to
leane through his whole prouince foure pence of the
pound of ecclesiasticall promotions, as well in pla-
ces exempt, as not exempt, no true nor lawfull cause
being shewed or pretended, why he ought so to doe; and
to see the execution of this bull put in practice, the
archbishop of Bozke, and the bishop of London, were
named and appointed.

Manie that feared the censures of such high ere-
ctioners, chose rather to paie the monie forthwith,
than to go to the law, and be compelled happlie, man-
ger their good willes. Some there were that appea-
led to the see of Rome, meaning to defend their cause
and to procure that so vnlawfull an exaction might
be reuoked. Speciallie, the prebendaries of Lincoln
stood most stiffelie against those bishops, but the death
of the archbishop that chanced shortlie after, made an
end of those so passing great troubles. This yeare,
John Waltham bishop of Salisburie, and lord trea-
surer of England departed this life, and by king Ri-
chard his appointment had the honor to haue his bo-
die interred at Westminster amongst the kings. Af-
ter this decease, Roger Walden that before was se-
cretarie to the king, and treasurer of Calis, was
now made lord treasurer.

Anno Reg. 19.
We haue heard, that in the yeare 1392, Robert
Aber duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine
in Wabant. King Richard therefore this yeare in
November, caused his corps being embalmed, to be
conueied into England, and so to the priore of Col-
mie in Essex, appointing him to be laid in a coffin of
pyperle, and to be adorned with princelie garments,
hauing a chaine of gold about his necke, and rich
rings on his fingers. And to shew what loue and af-
fection he bare vnto him in his life time, the king
caused the coffin to be opened, that he might behold
his face bared, and touch him with his hands: he ho-
nored his funerall erequies with his presence, ac-
compained with the countesse of Drenford, mother
to the said duke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and
manie other bishops, abbats, and priors: but of no-
ble men there were verie few, for they had not yet
digested the ennie and hatred which they had concei-
ued against him.

The duke of
Ireland's corps
conueied from
Louaine into
England, and
there rouallie
interred.

Freward.

The Cal-
coignes sent
vnto the Rich.
signifying vnto
him, that
they ought
not to be di-
uiced from
the crowne.

In this meane while, the duke of Lancaster was
in Calcoigne, treating with the lords of the coun-
trie, and the inhabitants of the good townes, which
utterlie refused to receiue him otherwise than as a
lieutenant of the king of England, and in the end
addressed messengers into England, to
signifie to the king, that they had bene accustomed
to be gouerned by kings, and meant not now to be-
come subiects to anie other, contrarie to all reason,
sith the king could not (sauiug his oth) alien them
from the crowne. The duke of Lancaster vied all

waies he might deuise, how to win their good willes,
and had sent also certeine of his trustie counsellors
ouer hither into England, as sir William Perreer,
sir Peter Clifton, and two clerkes learned in the
lawe, the one called maister John Huech, and the o-
ther maister John Richards a canon of Leicester,
to plead and sollicit his cause.

But to be breefe, such reasons were shewed, and
such matter unfolded by the Calcoignes, whie they
ought not be separated from the crowne of Eng-
land, that finally (notwithstanding the duke of Glo-
cester, and certeine other were against them) it was
decreed, that the countrie and duchie of Aquitaine
should remaine still in demesne of the crowne of
England, least that by this transporting thereof, it
might fortune in time, that the heritage thereof
should fall into the hands of some stranger, and en-
emie to the English nation, so that then the homage
and souereigntie might perhaps be lost for euer. In-
deed, the duke of Gloucester, being a prince of an high
mind, & loth to haue the duke of Lancaster at home,
being so highlie in the kings fauor, could haue bene
well pleased, that he should haue enioied his gift, for
that he thought thereby to haue bothe all the rule a-
bout the king, for the duke of Bozke was a man ra-
ther coueting to liue in pleasure, than to deale with
much businesse, and the weightie affaires of the
realme.

About the same time, or somewhat before, the king
sent an ambassage to the French king, the archbi-
shop of Dublin, the earle of Rutland, the earle Har-
shall, the lord Beaumont, the lord Spenser, the lord
Clifford named Lewes, and twenty knights with
fortie esquiers. The cause of their going ouer, was to
intreat of a marriage to be had betwixt him, and the
ladie Isabell, daughter to the French king, the be-
ing as then not past eight yeares of age, which be-
fore had bene promised vnto the duke of Britaines
sonne: but in consideration of the great benefit that
was likelie to insue by this communication and a-
liance with England, there was a meane found to
vndoe that knot, though not presentlie. These Eng-
lish lords, at their comming to Paris, were tofullie
receiued, and so courteously intertained, banquetted,
feasted, and cherished, and that in most honorable
sort, as nothing could be more: all their charges and
erpenes were borne by the French king, and when
they should depart, they receiued for answer of their
message, verie comfortable words, and so with hope
to haue their matter sped, they returned.

But now when the duke of Lancaster had, by law-
eng forth an inestimable masse of treasure purcha-
sed in a manner the good willes of them of Aquitaine,
and compassed his whole desire, he was suddenlie
countermanded home by the king, and so to satisfie
the kings pleasure, he returned into England, and
comming to the king at Langley, where he held his
Christmasse, was receiued with more honor than
loue, as was thought; whereupon he rode in all hast
that might be to Lincoln, where Katharine Swin-
ford as then late, whom shortlie after the Epiphanie,
he toke to wife. This woman was borne in Bel-
nault, daughter to a knight of that countrie, called
sir Paou de Ruet: she was brought vp in hir youth,
in the duke of Lancasters house, and attended on
his first wife the duchesse Blanch of Lancaster, and
in the daies of his second wife the duchesse Con-
stance, he kept the foresaid Katharine as his concu-
bine, who afterwards was married to a knight of
England, named Swinford, that was now deceas-
ed. Before she was married, the duke had by hir
three children, two sonnes and a daughter; one of the
sons was named Thomas de Beaumont, & the other
Henrie, who was brought vp at Aken in Almaine,
15 b b. f. p. 100

The grant of
the duchie of
Aquitaine to
the duke of
Lancaster re-
uoked.

Ambassadors
sent into
France to
treat a mar-
riage betweene
king Richard
& the French
king's daughter.

Thom. Walf.

1396

The duke of
Lancaster mar-
ried a ladie
of a meane
estate, whose
he had kept as
his concubine

procured a good lawyer, and was after bishop of Exeter.

For the love that the duke had to these his children, he married their mother the said Katharine Swinford, being now a widow, whereof men marvelled much, considering his meane estate was farre vnmet to match with his highnesse, and nothing comparable in honoz to his other two former wiues. And indeed, the great ladies of England, as the duchesses of Glocester, the countesses of Derby, Arundell and others, descended of the blood roiall, greatlie disdeined, that she should be matched with the duke of Lancaster, and by that means be accounted second person in the realme, and preferred in some before them, and therefore they said, that they would not come in anie place where she should be present, for it should be a shame to them that a woman of so base birth, and concubine to the duke in his other wiues daies, should go and haue place before them. The duke of Glocester also, being a man of an high mind and stout stomach, misliked his brothers matching so meanelie, but the duke of Yorke bare it well inough, and berelie, the ladie his selfe was a woman of such bringing vp, and honorable demicanz, that enie could not in the end but giue place to well deseruing. About this season, the doctrine of of John Wickliffe still nightlie spread abroad here in England. The schisme also still continued in the church, betwixt the two factions of cardinals French and Romane, for one of their popes could no soner be dead, but that they ordined an other in his place.

In this eighteenth yeare also was a wonderfull tempest of wind in the months of Iulie and August, and also most speciallie in September, by violence whereof, in sundrie places of this realme, great and wonderfull hurt was done, both in churches and houses. The ambassadoz that had bene latelie in France, about the treatie of the marriage (as before we haue heard) went thither againe, and so after that the two kings by sending to and fro were growne to certeine points and covenants of agreement, the earle marshall, by letters of procuration, married the ladie Isabel, in name of king Richard, so that from thenceforth she was called queene of England. Amongst other covenants and articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to indure betwixt the two realms of England and France, for tearme of thirtie yeares. The pope wrote to king Richard, beseeching him to assist the prelates against the Lollards (as they tearmed them) whom he pronounced to be traitors, both to the church and kingdome, and therefore he besought him to take order for the punishment of them, whom the prelates should denounce to be heretikes.

At the same time, he sent a bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at his hands or at the hands of his legats or nuncios purchased to be his chapleins, and accompting themselves there, by exempt from their order; so that now they were by this reuocatorie bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obserue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the friers well, namelie the minors, that sought by all means they might deuise, how to bring their brethren home againe, which by such exemptions in being the popes chapleins, were segregated & diuided from the residue of their fraternitie or brotherhood. The king in this twentieth yeare of his teigne, went ouer to Calis with his vnckles the dukes of Yorke and Glocester, and a great manie of other lords and ladies of honour, and thither came to him the duke of Burgonie, and so they communed of the peace. There was no entinie to the conclusion thereof but the duke of Glocester, who shewed well

by his words that he wished rather war than peace, in somuch as the king stood in doubt of him, least he would procure some rebellion against him by his subiects, whom he knew not to fauour greatly this new alliance with France.

The king after the duke of Burgonie had talked with him thoughtlie of all things, and was departed from him, returned into England (leaving the ladies still at Calis) to open the covenants of the marriage and peace vnto his subiects, and after he had finished with that businesse, and vnderstood their minds, he went againe to Calis, and with him his two vnckles, of Lancaster and Glocester, and diuerse prelates and lordes of the realme; and shortly after came the French king to the bankside of Arde, accompanied with the dukes of Burgonie, Berry, Britaine and Bourbon. There was set vp for the king of England a right faire and rich pavilion a little beyond Guines within the English pale; and another the like pavilion was pight vp also for the French king on this side Arde, within the French dominion; so that betwixt the said pavilions was the distance of thre score & ten paces, and in the midwaie betwixt them both, was ordeined the third pavilion, at the which both kings comming from either of their tents sundrie times should meet and haue communication together.

The distance betwixt the two tents was beset on either side in time of the intervieu with knights armed with their swords in their hands; that is to say, on the one side stood foure hundred French knights in armor with swords in their hands, and on the other side foure hundred English knights armed with swords in their hands, making as it were a lane betwixt them through the which the two kings came and met, with such noble men as were appointed to attend them. And a certeine distance from the two first pavilions, were appointed to stand such companies of men as either of them by appointment had conuanted to bring with them. The two kings before their meeting, receiued a solemne oth for assurance of their faithfull and true meaning, to obserue the sacred lawes of amitie one toward an other in that their intervieu, so as no damage, violence, molestation, arrest, disturbance, or other inconuenience should be practised by them, or their friends and subiects; and that if anie disorder rose through anie mishap, arrogancie, or strife moued by anie person, the same should be reformed, promising in the words of princes to assist one an other in suppressing the malice of such as should presume to do or attempt anie thing that might sound to the breach of friendlie amitie, during the time of that assemble eight daies before, and seven daies after.

On the fir and twentieth of October, the king of England remoued from Calis toward the castell of Guines, and with him the duke of Berry, who was sent to take his oth. The morow after, being the euen of Simon and Jude, the kings met, and the lordes of France, to wit, the duke of Berry, Burgonie, Orleans, and Bourbon, the earle of Sanoie, the vicount of Speaur, and others conueied the king of England; and from him were sent to conduct the French king diuerse of the English lordes, as the two dukes of Lancaster and Glocester, foure earles; to wit, of Derby, Rutland, Nottingham, and Northumberland. After the two kings were come together into the tent for that purpose prepared, it was first accorded betwixt them, that in the same place where they thus met, should be builded of both their costs a chapell for a perpetuall memorie, which should be called The chapell of our ladie of peace. On saturdaye being the feast daie of the apostles Simon and Jude, the kings talked together of certeine articles touching

The French king greeteth his daughter to king Richard in marriage.

The manner of the marriage between king Richard and the French king.

Fabian.

The order of the French kings seating at table.

Fabian.

The oth of the two kings.

The expectes of king Richard at this intervieu.

The marriage solemnized at Calis.

The chapel of our ladie of peace.

The marriage London the citize mette the & the que on Black heath.

Wickliffe's increase.

The earle marshall assisteth the French kings daughter, in the name of king Richard.
Anno Reg. 20.
A truce for 30 yeares betwixt England and France.
Tho. Walin.

The popes letters to R. Rich. against the Wickliffites

R. Richard goeth ouer to Calis.

An. Reg. 20.

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oyjay
ha-led
of our ladies
be- peace.de,
ow-
ingThe French
king his
daughter to
king Richard
in marriage.The order of
the French
kings service
at table.The expe-
tes of king
Richard at
this inter-
view.The marriage
consumized at
Calis.The mayor of
London and
the citizens
meete the R.
& the queene
on Blackes-
heath.

ding the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded by
on the same, they receiued either of them an oth vpon
the holie Euangelists, to obserue and keepe all the
covenants accorded vpon.

On the mondaie the French king came to the
king of England his pavillion, and the same time
was brought thither the yong queene Isabell daugh-
ter to the French king; who there deliuered hir vnto
king Richard, who taking hir by the hand kissed hir, &
gave to hir father great thanks for that so honorable
and gracions a gift, openlie protesting, that vpon the
conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receiue
hir, that by such assent both the realmes might con-
tinue in quietnesse, and come to a good end and per-
fect conclusion of a perpetuall peace. The queene was
committed to the duchesses of Lancaster & Glocester,
to the countesses of Huntingdon and Stafford, to the
marchionesse of Dublin daughter to the lord Con-
ric, to the ladies of Hamure, Woinings, and others;
which with a noble traine of men and horses, con-
ueied hir to Calis: for there were twelve charrets
full of ladies & gentlewomen. This done, the kings
came together into the king of Englands pavillion
to dinner. The French king sate on the right side of
the hall, and was roiallie serued after the manner of
his countrie, that is to saie, of all maner of meats
appointed to be serued at the first course in one migh-
tie large dish or platter, and likewise after the same
sort at the second course. But the king of England
was serued after the English manner. When the
tables were taken vp, and that they had made an
end of dinner, the kings kissed ech other, and toke
their horses. The R. of England brought the French
king on his waie, and at length they toke leaue either
of other, in shaking hands and embracing on horse-
backe. The French king rode to Arde, and the king
of England returned to Calis.

¶ We haue omitted (as things superfluous to
speake of) all the honorable demerit and courteous
interreinment used and shewed betwixt these prin-
ces and noble men on both parts, their sundrie fea-
stings and banquetings, what rich apparell, plate, and
other furniture of cupboards and tables, the princelie
gifts and rich iewels which were presented from one
to another, struing (as it might seme) who should
shew himselfe most bounteous and liberall: beside
the gifts which the king of England gaue vnto the
French king, and to the nobles of his realme (which
amounted aboue the summe of ten thousand marks)
the R. of England spending at this time (as the same
went) aboue three hundred thousand marks. After
the kings returne to Calis on wednesday next in-
suing, being All hallows daie, in solemne wise he
married the said ladie Isabell in the church of saint
Nicholas, the archbishop of Canturburie doing the
office of the minister.

The thursdaie after, the dukes of Orleans and
Bourbon came to Calis to see the king & the queene:
and on the fridaie they toke their leaue and depar-
ted, and rode to saint Omers to the French king.
On the same daie in the morning the king and the
queene toke their ship, and had faire passage: for
within three houres they arrived at Dover, from
whence they sped them towards London, whereof
the citizens being warned, made out certaine horse-
men well appointed in one luerie of colour, with a
deuile imbrodered on their sleeves, that euerie com-
pantie might be knowne from other, the which with
the mayor and his brethren, clothed in skarlet, met the
king and queene on Blackheath, and there doing
their duties with humble reverence attended vpon
their maiesties till they came to Westminster: where
the king comanded the mayor with his compantie to
returne, for that he was appointed to lodge that

night at Westminster.

Shortlie after, to wit, the thirteenth of Nouember,
the yong queene was conueied from thence with
great pompe vnto the Tower, at which time there
was such pteale on London bridge, that by reason
thereof, certeine persons were thrust to death: a-
mong the which the prior of Ciptrie, a place in C-
ter was one, and a worshipfull matrone in Coznehill
an other. The morow after she was conueied to
Westminster with all the honoz that might be deu-
sed, and finally she crowned queene vpon sun-
daie being then the seauenth of Januarie. On the
two and twentieth of Januarie was a parlement be-
gun at Westminster, in which the duke of Lancaster
caused to be legitimated the issue which he had begot
of Katharine Swinfort, before she was his wife. At
the same time Thomas Beaufort came to the said
duke, by the said Katharine, was created earle of
Sommerfet. ¶ There was an ordinance made in the
saime parlement, that iustices should not haue arie
to sit with them as assistants. ¶ Aftercouer, there was
a tenth granted by the clergie to be paid to the kings
ble at two severall termes in that present peare. In
this peare the king contrarie to his oth reuoked the
iustices forth of Ireland, whom by constraint (as be-
fore ye haue heard) he was enforced to banish, there-
by to satisfie the noble men that would haue it so.

In this twentieth peare of his reigne king Richard
receiuing the summones of monie (for the which the
strong towne of West was ingaged to him) by writ
counsell (as manie thought) deliuered it vnto the
duke of Britaine, by reason whereof no small sparke
of displeasure arose betwixt the king and the duke of
Glocester, which kindled by such a flame (as it was
easie to do) finding matter enough to feed vpon in
both their bress, that finally it could no longer be
kept downe, nor by anie meanes quenched. In the
moneth of Februarie, the king holding a sumptuous
feast at Westminster, many of the soldiors that were
newlie come from West pleased into the hall, and
kept a roome together. Whom as the duke of Gloce-
ster beheld, and vnderstood what they were, to re-
member how that towne was giuen by contrarie
to his mind and pleasure, it grieved him not a little:
and therefore as the king was entred into his cham-
ber, and few about him, he could not forbear, but
brake forth, and said to the king: Sir, saw ye not those
felowes that sate in such number this daie in the hall,
at such a table? The king answered that he saw
them, and asked the duke what they were? To whom
the duke made this answer: Sir, these be the soldiors
that came from West, and haue nothing now to take
for, nor yet know how to thift for their linings, and
the worse, for that (as I am informed) they haue bene
euill paid. When said the king; What is against my
will, for I would that they should haue their due wa-
ges; and if anie haue cause to complaine, let them
shew the matter to the tresuroz, and they shall be
reasonable answered: and herewith he commanded
that they should be appointed to foure certeine villa-
ges about London, there to remaine, and to haue
meate, drinke, and lodging vpon his charges till they
were paid.

Thus as they fell into reasoning of this matter, the
duke said to the king: Sir, your grace ought to put
your bodie in paine to win a strong hold or towne by
seats of war, yer you take vpon you to sell or deliuer
anie towne or strong hold gotten with great adven-
ture by the manhod and pollice of your noble proge-
nitours. To this the king with changed countenance
answered and said: Uncle, how say you that? And
the duke boldlie without feare recited the same a-
gaine, not changing one word in anie better sort.
¶ Wherevpon the king being more chafed, replied; Sir,
B b b. g. thinke

Certeine
thrust to death
in the pteale
on London
bridge.
John Stow.
The queens
coronation.
1397

The duke of
Lancaster his
bastards made
legitimate by
parlement.

The iustices
reuked out of
exile.

West yielded
vp to the duke
of Britaine.

Private
grudge be-
twixt the
king and the
duke of Glo-
cester.

The talke be-
twixt the king
and the duke
of Glocester.

Out of a
French pam-
phlet.

cc thinke you that I am a merchant, as a berie sole, to sell my lund: By saint John Baptiste no; but truth it is, that our cosine the duke of Britayne hath satisfied us in all such summes of monie as our progenitors lent unto him, and to his ancestors, upon gage of the said towne of Brest, for the which reason and conscience will no lesse but that the towne should thereupon be to him restored. Upon this multiplieng of wordes in such presumptuous manner by the duke against the king, there kindled such displeasure he thort them, that it never ceased to increase into flames, till the duke was brought to his end.

The earle of
saint Paule
his counsell to
R. Richard.

The earle of saint Paule at his last coming into England to receiue king Richards oth for observing the truce, had conference with the king of diuerse matters. The king by wate of complaint, thewed unto him how little the duke of Gloucester was in hindering all such matters as he would haue go forward, not onlie seeking to haue the peace broken betwixt the realmes of England & France, but also promoting trouble at home, by stirring the people to rebellion. The earle of saint Paule hearing of this stout demeanor of the duke, told the king that it should be best to provide in time against such mischeifs as might insue thereof, and that it was not to be suffered, that a subiea should behave himselfe in such sort toward his prince. The king marking his wordes, thought that he gaue him good and faithfull counsell, and thereupon determined to suppress both the duke and other of his complices, and toke more diligent regard to the salengs & doings of the duke than before he had done. And as it cometh to passe that those which suspect anie euill, do euer deeme the worst, so he toke euerie thing in euill part, insomuch that he complained of the duke unto his brethren the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke, in that he should stand against him in all things and seeke his destruction, the death of his counsellors, and ouerthrow of his realme.

The dukes of
Lancaster &
Yorke extol
the duke of
Gloucester to
the king.

The two dukes of Lancaster and Yorke to deliuer the kings mind of suspicion, made answer, that they were not ignorant, how their brother of Gloucester, as a man sometime rash in wordes, would speake oftentimes more than he could or would bring to effect, and the same proceeded of a faithfull hart, which he bare towards the king, for that it grieved him to vnderstand, that the confines of the English dominions should in anie wise be diminished: therefore his grace ought not to regard his wordes, sith he should take no hurt thereby. These persuations quieted the king for a time, till he was informed of the practise which the duke of Gloucester had continued (as the same went amongst diuerse persons) to imprison the king. For then the duke of Lancaster and Yorke, first repprouing the duke of Gloucester for his too liberall talking, uttering vnadvisedlie wordes that became not his person, and which to haue concealed had tended more to the opinion of vertue, than to lash out whatsoever his vnfaied mind afforded, which is a great fault (as in effect the poet noteth: 60

Eximia est virtus prestare silentia rebus,

At contra gravis est culpa tacenda loqui)

and perceuing that he set nothing by their wordes, were in doubt least if they should remaine in the court still, he would upon a presumptuous mind, in trust to be borne out by them, attempt some outrageous enterpryse. Wherefore they thought best to depart for a time into their countries, that by their absence he might the sooner learne to staie himselfe for doubt of further displeasure. But it came to passe, that their departing from the court was the casting awaie of the duke of Gloucester. For after that they were gone, there ceased not such as bare him euill will, to procure the R. to dispatch him out of the way.

The duke in deed sore stomached the matter, that his counsell might not be followed in all things, and speciallie for that he saw (as he toke it) that the king was misled by some persons that were about him, otherwise than stood with his honor: for refection thereof, he conferred with the abbat of saint Albons, and the prior of Westminster. The abbat was both his cosine and godfather: and having on a date both the duke and the prior at his house in saint Albons, after dinner he fell in talke with the duke and prior, and amongst other communication requested of the prior to tell truth, whether he had anie vision the night before or not. The prior seemed loth to make a direct answer, but at length being earnestly requested as well by the abbat as the duke, he declared that he had a vision in deed, which was, that the realme of England should be destroyed through the misgouernement of king Richard. By the virgin Marie, said the abbat, I had the verie same vision. The duke hereupon disclosed unto them all the secrets of his mind; and by their desires presentlie contrived an assemble of diuerse great lords of the realme at Arundell castell that daie forthwith, at what time he himselfe appointed to be there, with the earles of Derby, Arundell, Spershall, and Gloucestre: also the archbishop of Canturburie, the abbat of saint Albons, the prior of Westminster, with diuerse others.

These estates being come to Arundell castell at the daie appointed, about the verie beginning of the one and thirtieth yeare of king Richards reigne, they swore ech to other to be assistant in all such matters as they should determine, and therewith received the sacrament at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, who celebrated masse before them the morow after. Which done, they withdrew into a chamber, and fell in counsell together, where in the end they light upon this point; to take king Richard, the dukes of Lancaster & Yorke, and commit them to prison, and all the other lords of the kings counsell they determined should be strangled and hanged. Such was their purpose which they ment to haue accomplished in August following. But the earle marshall that was lord deputie of Calis, and had married the earle of Arundells daughter, discovered all their counsell to the king, and the verie daie in which they should begin their enterpryse. The king had the earle marshall take heed what he had said, for if it proved not true, he should repent it: but the earle constantlie hereunto answered, that if the matter might be proved otherwise, he was contented to be strangled and quartered.

The king hereupon went to London, where he dined at the house of his brother the earle of Huntington in the street behind All halloves church upon the banke of the riuer of Thames, which was a right faire and statelie house. After dinner, he gaue his counsell to vnderstand all the matter; by whose aduise it was agreed, that the king should assemble forthwith what power he might conuenientlie make of men of armes & archers, and straightwaies take horse, accompanied with his brother the earle of Huntington, & the earle marshall. Hereupon at six of the clocke in the afternone, the last houre when they used to go to supper, the king mounted on horsebacke, and rode his waie; whereof the Londoners had great marvell. After that the king began to approach the dukes house at Westmister, where he then laie, he commanded his brother the earle of Huntington to ride afoze, to know if the duke were at home, and if he were, then to tell him that the king was coming at hand to speake with him.

The earle with ten persons in his companie accompanying his pale (for the king had made no great hall

A conference
betweene the
duke of Gloucester, and the
abbat of saint
Albons.

Out of an old
French pamphlet
belonging to
the
Story.

Anno Reg. 1.

The duke
Gloucester
rested.

The part
of the comp
rators.

The earle
marshall be
closeth the
company.

Out of a
French
pam.

The earle of
Huntington
& the
R. Grace.

A conspiracie
betweene the
duke of Glo-
cester, and the
abbat of Saint
Albans.

Out of an old
french pam-
phlet belong-
ing to John
Stow.

25

25

Anno Reg. 21.

The duke of
Glocester ar-
rested.

The purpoſe
of the conspi-
rators.

The earle
marshall dis-
closeth the
conspiracie.

Out of an old
french pam-
phlet.

The earle of
Rutland saith
R. Grafton.

all the night before, as should appeare by his iournie) came to the house, and entering into the court, asked if the duke were at home, and understanding by a gentlewoman that made him answer, that both the duke and duchesse were yet in bed, he besought hir to go to the duke, and to shew him that the king was comming at hand to speake with him, and forthwith came the king with a competent number of men of armes, and a great companie of archers, riding in to the base court, his trumpets sounding before him. The duke herewith came downe into the base court, where the king was, hauing none other apparell vpon him, but his shirt, and a cloke or a mantell cast about his shoulders, and with humble reuerence said that his grace was welcome, asking of the lords how it chanced they came so earlie, and sent him no word of their comming. The king herewith courteously requested him to go and make him readie, and appoint his horse to be fabled, for that he must needs ride with him a little waite, and conferre with him of businesse. The duke went by againe into his chamber to put vpon him his clothes, and the king alighting from his horse, fell in talke with the duchesse and hir ladies. The earle of Huntington and diuerse other followed the duke into the hall, and there staid for him, till he had put on his raiment. And within a while they came forth againe all together into the base court, where the king was deliuiting with the duchesse in pleasant talke, whom he willed now to returne to hir lodging againe, for he might staid longer, and so toke his horse againe, and the duke likewise. But shortly after that the king and all his companie were gone forth of the gate of the base court, he commanded the earle marshall to apprehend the duke, which incontinentlie was done according to the kings appointment.

Here we find some variance in writers. For as by an old french pamphlet (which I haue seene) it should appeare, the king commanded first, that this duke should be conueied vnto the towre, where he ment to commen with him, & not in any other place: but neuerthelesse, the king shortly after appointed, that he should be sent to Calis, as in the same pamphlet is also conteined. Other write, that immediatlie vpon his apprehension, the earle marshall conueied him vnto the Thames, and there being set aboard in a ship prepared of purpose, he was brought to Calis, where he was at length dispatched out of life, either strangled or smothered with pillowes (as some do write.) For the king thinking it not good, that the duke of Glocester should stand to his answer openly, because the people bare him so much good will, sent one of his iustices called William Biskill, an Irishman borne, ouer vnto Calis, there to inquire of the duke of Glocester, whether he had committed any such treasons as were alledged against him, and the earles of Arundell and Marlowe, as after shall be specified. Justice Biskill hearing what he confessed vpon his examination, wrote the same as he was commanded to do, and therewith speedilie returned to the king, and as it hath bene reported, he informed the king (whether trulie or not, I haue not to say) that the duke frankly confessed euerie thing, wherewith he was charged. Wherevpon the king sent vnto Thomas Mowbraye earle marshall and of Spotingham, to make the duke secretlie awaie.

The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings commandement, though the king would haue had it done with all expedition, wherby the king conceived no small displeasure, and sware that it should cost the earle his life if he quickly obied not his commandement. The earle thus as it seemed in manner enforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should haue taken ship to passe ouer into England,

and there in the lodging called the pynces In, he caused his servants to cast featherbeds vpon him, and to smother him to death, or otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write.) This was the end of that noble man, fierce of nature, hastie, wilfull, and giuen more to war than to peace: and in this great lie to be discommended, that he was euer repining against the king in all things, whatsoeuer he wished to haue forward. He was thus made awaie not so lone as the bzute ran of his death. But (as it should appeare by some authors) he remained allue till the parlement that next ensued, and then about the same time that the earle of Arundell suffered, he was dispatched (as before ye haue heard.) His bodie was afterwards with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plashie within the church there, in a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there erected.

The same euening that the king departed from London towards Plashie, to apprehend the duke of Glocester, the earle of Rutland and the earle of Kent were sent with a great number of men of armes and archers to arrest the erle of Arundell; which was done easilie enough, by reason that the said earle was trained with faire words at the kings hands, till he was within his danger: where otherwile he might haue bene able to haue saued himselfe, and deliuered his friends. The earle of Marlowe was taken, and committed to the towre the same day that the king had willed him to dinner, and shewed him verie good countenance. There were also apprehended and committed to the towre the same time, the lord John Cobham, and sir John Cheinie knights. The earle of Arundell was sent to the Ile of Wight, there to remaine as prisoner, till the next parlement, in the which he determined so to prouide, that they should be all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of some commotion that might arise amongst the commons, he caused it by open proclamation to be signified, that these noblemen were not apprehended for any offense committed long agoe, but for new trespasses against the king, as in the next parlement should be manifestlie declared and proued.

Shortly after, he procured them to be indicted at Spotingham, suborning such as should appeale them in parlement, to wit, Edward earle of Rutland, Thomas Mowbraye earle marshall, Thomas Holland earle of Kent, John Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort erle of Summerset, John Mowbraye earle of Salisbury, Thomas lord Spenser, and the lord William Scrope lord chamberleine. In the meane time, the king fearing that might be attempted against him by those that fauoured these noblemen that were in durance, sent for a power of Cheshire men, that might day and night keepe watch and ward about his person. They were about two thousand archers, paid weekelie, as by the annales of Britaine it appeareth. The king had little trust in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the earle of Huntington, and the earle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Boke, and in the earle of Salisbury: in these onelie he reposed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certeine knights and gentlemen of his priuie chamber.

In the meane time, whiles things were thus in broile, before the beginning of the parlement, diuers other, beside them of whom we haue spoken, were apprehended and put in sundrie prisons. The parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster the 17 of September, and writs therevpon directed to euerie of the lords to appeare, and to bring with them a sufficient number of armed men and archers in their best arraio: for it was not knownen how the dukes of Lancaster and Boke would take the death

* For he was
son to a king,
and uncle to a
king.

The earle of
Arundell was
apprehended.

The names
of the appe-
lants.

A gard of
Cheshire men
about the
king.

The lords
appointed to
come in war-
like manner to
the parliament.

Polydor.

The dukes of
Lancaster &
Yorkie assen-
ble their
powers to re-
sist the kings
dealings.

Caxton.
Folun.
Polydor.

The king and
the dukes re-
conciled.

Caxton.

The great
parlement.

of their brother, nor how other pères of the realme would take the apprehension and imprisonment of their kinsmen, the earles of Arundell and Warwike, and of the other prisoners. Suerlie the two dukes when they heard that their brother was so suddenly made awaie, they wist not what to saie to the matter, and began both to be sorrowfull for his death, and doubtfull of their owne states: for sith they saw how the king (abused by the counsell of euill men) abstained not from such an heinous ad, they thought he would afterwards attempt greater misorders from time to time. Therefore they assembled in all hast, great numbers of their seruants, friends, and tenants, and coming to London, were receiued into the citie. For the Londoners were right soie for the death of the duke of Glocester, who had euill sought their fauour, in somuch that now they would haue bene contented to haue ioined with the dukes in seeking reuenge of so noble a mans death, procured and brought to passe without law or reason, as the common byte then walked; although peradventure he was not as yet made awaie.

Here the dukes and other fell in counsell, and manie things were proponed. Some would that they shuld by force reuenge the duke of Glocesters death, other thought it met that the earles Marhall and Huntington, and certeine others, as chiefe authours of all the mischance should be pursued and punished for their demerites, hauing trained by the king in vice and euill customes, euen from his youth. But the dukes after their displeasure was somewhat asswaged; determined to coner the stings of their griefes for a time, and if the king would amend his maners, to forget also the iniuries past. In the meane time the king laie at Eltham, and had got about him a great power (namelic of those archers, which he had sent for out of Cheshire, in whome he put a singular trust more than in any other.)

There went messengers betwixt him and the dukes, which being men of honour did their indouour to appease both parties. The king discharged himselfe of blame for the duke of Glocesters death, considering that he had gone about to breake the truce, which he had taken with France, and also stirred the people of the realme to rebellion, and further had sought the destruction and losse of his life, that was his soueraigne lord and lawfull king. Contrariwise, the dukes assured, that their brother was wrongfullie put to death, hauing done nothing worthe of death. At length, by the intercession and meanes of those noble men that went to and fro betwixt them, they were accorded, & the king promised from thenceforth to do nothing but by the assent of the dukes: but he kept small promise in this behalfe, as after well appeared.

When the time came, that the parlement shoulde be holden at Westminster, according to the tenour of the summons, the lords repaired thither, furnished with great retinues both of armed men and archers, as the earle of Derby, the earle Marhall, the earle of Kentland, the lord Spenser, the earle of Northumberland, with his sonne the lord Henrie Percy, and the lord Thomas Percy the said earles brother, also the lord Scrope treasurer of England, & diuerse other. All the which earles and lords brought with them a great & strong power, euerie of them in their best array, as it were to strengthen the king against his enemies. The dukes of Lancaster and Yorkie were likewise there, giuing their attendance on the king with like furniture of men of armes & archers. There was not halfe lodging sufficient within the citie & suburbs of London for such companys of men as the lords brought with them to this parlement, called the great parlement: in somuch that they were constrained to lie in villages abroad ten or twelue

miles on ech side the citie.

In the beginning of this parlement, the king greatly complained of the misdeemeanour of the pères and lords of his realme, as well for the things done against his will and pleasure, whiles he was young, as for the streit dealing, which they had shewed towards the quene, who was threë houres at one time on his knees before the earle of Arundell, for one of his esquiers, named John Caluerlie, who neuer the lesse had his head smit fro his shoulders, & all the answer that he could get, was this: Madam, praye for your selfe, and your husband, for that is best, and let this sute alone. Those that set forth the kings greunances, as prolocutors in this parlement were these: John Bushie, William Bagot, and Thomas Cræne. The king had caused a large house of timber to be made within the palace at Westminster, which he was called an hall, covered aboue head with tiles, and was open at the ends, that all men might see through it. This house was of so great a compasse, that scarce it might stand within the romie of the palace. In this house was made an high throne for the king, and a large place for all estates besides to sit in. There were places also made for the appellants to stand on the one side, and the defendants on the other, and a like romie was made behind for the knights and burgeses of the parlement. There was a place deuised for the speaker, named sir John Bushie, a knight of Lincolnshire, accounted to be an exceeding cruell man, ambitious, and couetous beyond measure.

Immediatlie after, ech man being placed in his romie, the cause of assembling that parlement was shewed, as that the king had called it for reformation of diuerse transgressions and oppressions committed against the peace of his land by the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and others. Then sir John Bushie stood forth, and made request on the behalfe of the communalte, that it might please the kings highnesse for their heinous ads attempted against his lawes and roiall maiestie, to appoint them punishment according to their desertings, and speciallie to the archbishop of Canturburie (who then sat next the king) whome he accused of high treason, for that he had euill counselled his maiestie, inducing him to grant his letters of pardon to his brother the earle of Arundell, being a ranke traitor.

When the archbishop began to answer in his owne defense, the king willed him to sit downe againe and to hold his peace, for all shoulde be well. Here with sir John Bushie besought the king, that the archbishop shoulde not be admitted to make his answer, which if he did, by reason of his great wit and good behaviour, he feared least he shoulde lead men awaie to beleue him: so the archbishop might be heard no further. Sir John Bushie in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour, due and accustomed, but inuented vnused termes and such strange names, as were rather agreeable to the diuine maiestie of God, than to any earthlie potentate. The prince being desirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech, and gaue god care to his talke.

Thus when the archbishop was constrained to keepe silence, sir John Bushie proceeded in his purpose, requiring on the behalfe of the commons, that the charters of pardons granted vnto the traitors, to wit, the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, shoulde be reuoked by consent of all the estates now in parlement assembled. The king also for his part protested, that those pardons were not voluntarie granted by him, but rather extorted

The king
greunances
opened vnto
parlement.

Thom. V.

Thom. V.
John Bushie
William Bagot
Thomas Cræne.

A new hall
made within
the palace at
Westminster
for the arrange-
ment of the
lords and commons.

Additions to
Polydor.

Sir John
Bushie
speaker.

The chi-
of pardons
red to y
made by
parlement

The arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie sit-
ting in par-
lement is ac-
cused of treason
by the speaker

Thom. V.

The arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie
condemned
perpetuall
imprisonment
Sir John
Bushie

The ear-
Arundell
reigned

The du-
Arundell
Shrewsbury
English
this ar-
rangement.

1397.

The kings
reuners
sented in
parlement.ho. Walling,
John Bussie,
William 234.
of, Thomas
Franc.A new house
made south
of the palace
of Westminster
in the reign
of the
kings indicated.Additions to
Polychron.
Sir John
Bussie
speaker.The arch-
bishop of Can-
terburie sit-
ting in parle-
ment is accus-
ed of treason
by the speakerimpudent
sceler.

An. Reg. 21.

by compulsion, and therefore he besought them that
euerie man would shew forth their opinions what
they thought thereof. There were two other persons
of great credit with the king, besides sir John Bus-
sie, that were, as before ye haue heard, verie ear-
nest to haue those charters of pardon reuoked and
made void, to wit, sir William Bagot, and sir Tho-
mas Crene.

But bicause this matter seemed to require good
deliberation, it was first put to the bishops, who with
small adu gaue sentence, that the said charters were
renocable, and might well inough be called in: yet
the archbishop of Canturburie in his answer here-
unto said, that the king from whome those pardons
came, was so high an estate, that he durst not saie,
that anie such charters by him granted, might be re-
noked: notwithstanding, his brethren the bishops
thought otherwise: not considering (saith Thomas
Wallingham) that such reuoking of the kings char-
ters of pardon should sound highlie to the kings dis-
honor: forsomuch as mercie and pardoning trans-
gressions is accounted to be the confirmation and
establishing of the kings seat and roiall estate.

The temporall lords perceiving what the bishops
had done, did likewise giue their consents, to reuoke
the same pardons: but the iudges with those that
were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but
finallie the bishops pretending a scrupulositie, as if
they might not with safe consciences be present
where iudgement of blood should passe, they appoint-
ed a laie man to be their prolocutor, to serue that
turne. To conclude, at length all manner of charters
of pardon were made void, for that the same seemed
to impeach the suertie of the kings person. When sir
John Bussie and his associates had obtained that re-
uocation, it was further by them declared, that the
earle of Arundell had yet an other speciall charter of
pardon for his owne person, which he had obtained
after the first. And therefore sir John Bussie ear-
nestlie requested in name of the communalitie that
the same might likewise be reuoked.

The question then was asked of the bishops, who
declared themselves to be of the like opinion, touch-
ing that charter, as they were of the other. At that
selie time the archbishop of Canturburie absented
himselfe from the parlement, in hope that the king
would be his friend, and stand his verie good lord, for
that he had promised nothing should be done against
him in the parlement whilst he was absent. But
nevertheless, at the importunate sute of the said
sir John Bussie and others, the archbishop was con-
demned unto perpetuall exile, and appointed to auoid
the realme within six weekes. And therewith the king
sent secretlie to the pope for order that the archbishop
might be removed from his see to some other, which
sute was obtained, and Roger Walden lord treasu-
rer was ordeined archbishop in his place, as after
shall appeare.

On the feast daie of saint Mattheu, Richard sit-
ting Alone, earle of Arundell, was brought forth to
swaie before the king and whole parlement to such
articles as he was to be charged with. And as he
stood at the bar, the lord Penill was commanded by
the duke of Lancaster, which sat that daie as high
steward of England, to take the hood from his necke,
and the girle from his waste. When the duke of Lan-
caster declared unto him, that for his manifold rebel-
lions and treasons against the kings maiestie he had
bene arrested, and hitherto kept in ward, and now
at the petition of the lords and commons, he was
called to answer such crimes as were there to be ob-
tained against him, and so to purge himselfe, or else to
suffer for his offences, such punishment as law ap-
pointed.

First, he charged him, for that he had traitorously
risen in armour against the king in companie of the
duke of Gloucester, and of the earle of Warwick, to
the breach of peace, and disquieting of the realme.
His answer hereto was, that he did not this upon
anie euill meaning towards the kings person, but
rather for the benefit of the king and realme, if it were
interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be. It
was further demanded of him, whie he procured let-
ters of pardon from the k. if he knew himselfe gilt-
lesse. He answered, that he did not purchase them for
anie feare he had of faults committed by him, but
to staie the malicious speech of them that neither lo-
ued the king nor him. He was againe asked, whether
he would denie that he had made anie such rode with
the persons before named, and that in companie of
them he entred not armed unto the kings presence
against the kings will and pleasure? To this he an-
swered, that he could not denie it, but that he so
did.

Then the speaker sir John Bussie, with open
mouth, besought that iudgement might be had a-
gainst such a traitour: and pour faithfull commons
(said he to the king) aske and require that so it may
be done. The earle turning his head aside, quietlie
said to him; Not the kings faithfull commons require
this, but thou, and what thou art I know. Then the
eight appellants standing on the other side, cast their
gloues to him, and in prosecuting their appeale (which
alreadie had bene read) offered to fight with him
man to man to iustifie the same. Then said the earle,
If I were at libertie, and that it might so stand with
the pleasure of my soueraigne, I would not refuse to
proue you all liars in this behalfe. Then spake the
duke of Lancaster, saieing to him; What haue you
further to saie to the points before laid against you?
He answered, that of the kings grace he had his let-
ters of generall pardon, which he required to haue al-
lowed. Then the duke told him, that the pardon was
reuoked by the prelates and noble men in the parle-
ment, and therefore willed him to make some other
answer. The earle told him againe that he had an
other pardon vnder the kings great seale, granted
him long after of the kings owne motion, which also
he required to haue allowed. The duke told him, that
the same was likewise reuoked. After this, when the
earle had nothing more to saie for himselfe, the duke
pronounced iudgement against him, as in cases of
treason is vsed.

But after he had made an end, and paused a
little, he said: The king our soueraigne lord of his
mercie and grace, bicause thou art of his blood,
and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remit-
ted all the other paines, sauing the last, that is to
saie, the beheading, and so thou shalt onelie lose thy
head; and forthwith he was had awaie, & led through
London vnto the Tower hill. There went with him
to see the execution done six great lords, of whome
there were three earles, Nottingham (that had marri-
ed his daughter) Kent (that was his daughters son)
and Huntington, being mounted on great horses,
with a great companie of armed men, and the fierce
bands of the Cheshire-men, furnished with ares,
swords, bowes and arrowes, marching before and
behind him, who onelie in this parlement had licence
to beare weapon, as some haue written. When he
should depart the palace, he desired that his hands
might be loosed to dispose such monie as he had in his
purse, betwixt that place and Charingcrosse. This
was permitted, and so he gaue such monie as he had
in almes with his owne hands, but his armes were
still bound behind him.

When he came to the Tower hill, the noble men
that were about him, moued him right earnestlie to
acknow,

The earle of
Arundell his
answers to
the points of
his indictment.The earle of
Arundell con-
demned.

acknowledge his treason against the king. But he in no wise would so do, but maintained that he was neuer traitour in word or deed: and herewith perceiving the earles of Nottingham and Kent, that stood by with other noble men busie to further the execution (being as ye have heard) of him and alied to him, he spake to them, and said: Trulie it would haue bene seemed you rather to haue bene absent than here at this businesse. But the time will come yet it be long, when as manie shall meruell at your misfortune as do now at mine. After this, forgiuing the executioner, he besought him not to torment him long, but to strike off his head at one blowe, and falling the edge of the sword, whether it was sharpe enough or not, he said: It is verie well, do that thou hast to do quickly, and so kneeling downe, the executioner with one stroke, strake off his head: his bodie was buried together with his head in the church of the Augustine friers in Breadstreet within the citie of London.

The execution of the earle of Arundell.

The death of this earle was much lamented among the people, considering his sudden fall and miserable end, where as not long before among all the noblemen of this land (within the which was such a number, as no countrie in the world had greater store at that present) there was none more esteemed: so noble and valiant he was, that all men spake honour of him. After his death, as the same went, the king was sore vexed in his sleepe with horrible dreames, imagining that he saw this earle appeare unto him threatening him, & putting him in horrible feare, as if he had said with the poet to king Richard;

*Nunc quod factorum venio memor umbra tuorum,
Insequor & vultus officia forma tuos.*

Quid.

With which visions being sore troubled in sleepe, he cursed the daie that ever he knew the earle. And he was the more vnquiet, because he heard it reported, that the common people toke the erle for a martyr, inso much that some came to visit the place of his sepulture, for the opinion they had conceived of his holinesse. And where it was bytuted abroad as for a miracle, that his head should be growne to his bodie againe, the tenth daie after his buriall, the king sent about ten of the clocke in the night, certeine of the nobilitie to see his bodie taken vp, that he might be certified of the truth. Which done, and perceiving it was a fable, he commanded the friers to take downe his armes that were set vp about the place of his buriall, and to cover the graue, so as it should not be perceived where he was buried.

The earle of Warwike as reigned of treason.

But now to returne to the parlement. After the death of this earle, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was brought forth to abide his trial by parlement, and when his accusers charged him in like points of treason, such as before were imputed to the earle of Arundell; he answered that he neuer meant euill to the kings person, nor thought that those rodes and assemblies that were made in companie of the duke of Gloucester, the earle of Arundell, and others, might not be accounted treason. But when the iudges had shewed him, that they could not be otherwise taken than for treason, he humbly besought the king of mercie and grace. The king then asked of him whether he had rid with the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of Arundell, as had bene alleged: He answered that he could not denie it, and wished that he had neuer seene them. Then said the king, Do ye not know that you are guiltie of treason: He answered againe, I acknowledge it; and with sobbing teares besought all them that were present, to make intercession to the kings maiestie for him.

Then the king and the duke of Lancaster communed, and after the king had a while with silence considered of the matter, he said to the earle; By

saint John Baptiste, Thomas of Warwike, this confession that thou hast made, is vnto me more auailable than all the duke of Gloucesters and the earle of Warwikes lands. Herewith the earle making still intercession for pardon, the lords humbly besought the king to grant it. Finally the king pardoned him of life, but banished him into the Ile of Man, which then was the lord Scropes, promising that both he, and his wife, and children, should haue good intertainment. Which promise notwithstanding was but slenderly kept, for both the earle and the countesse liued in great penurie (as some write) and yet the lord Scrope, that was lord chamberleine, had allowed for the earles diet foure thousand nobles yerelie paid out of the kings coffers.

On the mondaie next after the arraignment of the earle of Warwike, to wit, the foure and twentie of September, was the lord John Cobham, and sir John Cheine arraigned, and found guiltie of like treasons for which the other had bene condemned before: but at the earnest instance and sute of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and banished, or (as Fabian saith) condemned to perpetuall prison. The king desirous to see the force of the Londoners, caused them (during the time of this parlement) to muster before him on Blacke heath, where a man might haue seene a great number of able personages. And now after that the parlement had continued almost till Christmasse, it was adiourned vntill the quinden of S. Hilarie, then to begin againe at Shyrewelburie.

The king then came downe to Lichfield, and there held a roiall Christmasse, which being ended, he toke his iourne towards Shyrewelburie, where the parlement was appointed to begin in the quinden of saint Hilarie, as before ye haue heard. In which parlement there holden upon prorogation, for the loue that the king bare to the gentlemen and commons of the shire of Chesser, he caused it to be ordeined, that from thenceforth it should be called and knowne by the name of the principalitie of Chesser: and herewith he intituled himselfe prince of Chesser. He held also a roiall feast, keeping open household for all honest commers, during the which feast, he created five dukes and a duchesse, a marquesse, and foure earles. The earle of Derby was created duke of Hereford, the earle of Nottingham that was also earle marshall duke of Norfolk, the earle of Rutland duke of Auberle, the earle of Kent duke of Surrie, and the earle of Huntington duke of Worcester; the lady Margaret marshall countesse of Norfolk, was created duchesse of Norfolk; the earle of Summer set marques Dorset, the lord Spenser earle of Gloucester, the lord Beuill surnamed Mairable earle of Westmerland, the lord William Scrope lord chamberleine earle of Wiltshire, and the lord Thomas Berke lord steward of the kings house earle of Worcester.

And for the better maintenance of the estate of these noble men, whome he had thus aduanced to higher degrees of honour, he gaue vnto them a great part of those lands that belonged to the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Warwike, and Arundell. And now he was in good hope, that he had rooted vp all plants of treason, and therefore cared lesse who might be his friend or his fo, than before he had done, esteeming himselfe higher in degree than anie prince liuing, and so presumed further than ever his grandfather did, and toke vpon him to beare the armes of saint Edward, joining them vnto his owne armes. To conclude, what soeuer he then did, none durst speake a word contrarie thereto. And yet such as were chiefe of his counsell, were esteemed of the commons to be the worst creatures that might be,

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Thom.

The parliam
adiourned to
Shyrewelburie

The king
keepeth his
Christmasse
at Lichfield,
1398

The king
made a prin
cipalitie.

R. Richard
prince of
Chesser.
Creation of
dukes and
earles.

The
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Right
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R. Richard
beareth
Edward his
armes.

Polydo
R. Rich
his earl
became

as the dukes of Aumarle, Dorset, and Hereford, the earle of Arundell, Sir John Bussy, Sir William Bagot, and Sir Thomas Greene: which these last remembered were knights of the Bath, against whom the commons vndoubtedly bare great and pained hatred.

The duke of Hereford appealed the duke of Dorset.

But now to proceed. In this parlement holden at Shyewsburie, the lord Reginald Cobham, being a verie aged man, simple and byright in all his dealings, was condemned for none other cause, but for that in the eleventh yere of the kings reigne he was appointed with other to be attendant about the king as one of his gouernours. The acts and ordinaunces also deuised and established in the parlement holden in the eleventh yere were likewise repealed. Moreover, in this parlement at Shyewsburie, it was decreed, that the lord John Cobham should be sent into the Isle of Gernesie, there to remaine in exile, hauing a small portion assigned him to liue vpon. The king so wrought & brought things about, that he obtained the whole power of both houses to be granted to certeine persons, as to John duke of Lancaster, Edmund duke of York, Edmund duke of Aumarle, Thomas duke of Surrie, John duke of Hereford, John marquisse Dorset, Roger earle of March, John earle of Salisburie, and Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Gloucester, and William earle of Arundell, John Bussy, Henrie Chelmeke, Robert Teie, and John Coulofer knights, or to leauen or eight of them. These were appointed to heare and determine certeine petitions and matters yet depending and not ended: but by vertue of this grant, they proceeded to conclude vpon other things, which generallie touched the knowledge of the whole parlement, in derogation of the states thereof, to the disadvantage of the king, and perillous example in time to come.

The authority of both houses in parliament granted to certeine persons.

Thom. Walc.

The parlement dissolved to Shyewsburie

The king except his Chastellanie & Richfield, 1398

Cheshire take a prison

Richard prince of Chester, Creation of dukes and earles.

The pope's bulls against the breakers of his statutes.

Rightfull beys bulgins.

Richard rareth saint Edward his crown.

Polidore, Richard's curli go.

binare desires. By means thereof, the lords of the realme began to feare their owne estates, being in danger of his furious outrage, whome they took for a man destitute of sobrietie and wisdom, and therefore could not like of him; that so abused his authority.

Hereupon there were sundrie of the nobles, that lamented these mischances, and specially the two their graces vnto such; by whose haughtie counsell they understood the king to be misled; and this they did, to the end that they being about him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better counsell; or else by having knowledge what euill report went of him, might mend his manners mislikes of his nobles. But all this in vaine; for so it fell out, that in this parlement holden at Shyewsburie, Henrie duke of Hereford accused Thomas Bolobzaie duke of Dorset, of certeine words which he should utter in talke had betwixt them, as they took together lately before betwixt London and Stratford, bounding highlie to the kings dishonour. And for further proofe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Dorset in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloyall to the king, and enemie vnto the realme. This supplication was read before both the dukes, in presence of the king: which done, the duke of Dorset took vpon him to answer it; declaring that whatsoeuer the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselike like an vntrue knight as he was. And when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it: he taking his hood off his head, said: My soueraigne lord, even as the supplication which I take you inposeth, right so I saie for truth, that Thomas Bolobzaie duke of Dorset is a traitour, false and disloyall to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, and to all the states of your realme.

The duke of Hereford appealed the duke of Dorset.

Thom. Walc.

When the duke of Dorset being asked what he said to this, he answered: Right vere lord, with your fauour that I make answer vnto your cosin here, I saie (your reuerence saued) that Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, like a false and disloyall traitor as he is, doth lie, in that he hath said of me other wise than well. So more said the king, we haue heard enough; and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of York the duke of Aumarle constable of England; and the duke of Surrie marshall of the realme vnder toke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford: but the duke of Northfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windsoe castell, and there garded with keepers that were appointed to see him falselike kept.

The duke of Surrie marshall and the duke of Aumarle constable of England.

Now after the dissolving of the parlement at Shyewsburie, there was a date appointed about six weeks after; for the king to come vnto Windsoe, to heare and to take some order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windsoe for the king to sit with the lords and prelates of his realme: and so at the date appointed, he with the said lords & prelates being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Dorset defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. And then began Sir John Bussy to speake for the king, declaring to the lords how they should understand, that where the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as appertained to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against

The order of the proceeding in this appeal.

an other, and to shall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the one being constable, and the other marshall, to go unto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalfe, to grow to some agreement: and for his part, he would be ready to pardon all that had bene said or done amisse betwixt them, touching any harme or dishonor to him or his realme: but they answered both assuredly, that it was not possible to haue any peace or agreement made betwixt them.

When he heard that they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought forthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Here with an herald in the kings name with loud voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew his reason, or else to make peace together without more delaye. When they were come before the king and lords, the king spake himselfe to them, willing them to agree, and make peace together: for it is (said he) the best waie ye can take. The duke of *Posfolke* with due reuerence hereunto answered it could not be so brought to passe, his honor faued. When the king asked of the duke of *Hereford*, what it was that he demanded of the duke of *Posfolke*, and what is the matter that ye can not make peace together, and become friends?

Then stood forth a knight; who asking and obtaining licence to speake for the duke of *Hereford*, said; Right deare and soueraine lord, here is *Henric* of *Lancaster* duke of *Hereford* and earle of *Derbie*, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that *Thomas* *Mowbray* duke of *Posfolke* is a false and disloyal traitor to you and your roiall maiestie, and to your whole realme: and likewise the duke of *Hereford* saith and I for him, that *Thomas* *Mowbray* duke of *Posfolke* hath receiued eight thousand nobles to pay the soldiers that kepe your towne of *Calis*, which he hath not done as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of *Posfolke* hath bene the occasion of all the treason that hath bene contriued in your realme for the space of these eightene yeares, & by his false suggestions and malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and to be murdered your right deare vnckle, the duke of *Glocester*, sonne to king *Edward*. Moreover, the duke of *Hereford* saith, and I for him, that he will proue this with his bodie against the bodie of the said duke of *Posfolke* within liks. The king herewith waxed angrie, and asked the duke of *Hereford*, if these were his words, who answered: Right deare lord, they are my words; and hereof I require right, and the battell against him.

There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of *Posfolke*, and obtaining, it began to answer thus: Right deare soueraine lord, here is *Thomas* *Mowbray* duke of *Posfolke*, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which *Henric* of *Lancaster* hath said and declared (sauiug the reuerence due to the king and his counsell) is a lie; and the said *Henric* of *Lancaster* hath falselie and wickedlye lied as a false and disloyal knight, and both hath bene, and is a traitor against you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to do with my bodie against his: right deare lord, I beseech you therefore, and your counsell, that it maie please you in your roiall discretion, to consider and marke, what *Henric* of *Lancaster* duke of *Hereford*, such a one as he is, hath said.

The king then demanded of the duke of *Posfolke*, if these were his words, and whether he had any more to saie. The duke of *Posfolke* then answered for himselfe: Right deare sir, true it is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people of the towne of *Calis*; which I haue done, and I do anouch

that your towne of *Calis* is as well kept at your commandement as euer it was at any time before, and that there neuer hath bene by any of *Calis* any complaint made unto you of me. Right deare and my soueraine lord, for the voiage that I made into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of *Aumarle* & I made into *Almane*, where we spent great treasure: *Marie* true it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of *Lancaster*, that there sitteth: but neuer the less he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the which I yeld him hartie thanks. This is that which I haue to answer, and I am ready to defend my selfe against mine aduersarie; I beseech you therefore of right, and to haue the battell against him in upright iudgement.

After this, when the king had communed with his counsell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand forth, that their answers might be heard. The king then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agree and make peace together, but they both statlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of *Hereford* cast downe his gage, and the duke of *Posfolke* took it vp. The king perceiving this demeanour betwixt them, swore by saint *John Baptist*, that he would neuer seeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therefore sir *John* *Buttie* in name of the king & his counsell declared, that the king and his counsell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie of battell appointed them at *Coventrie*. Here writers disagree about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a morndae in August; other vpon saint *Lamberts* daie, being the senententh of September, other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king assigned them not onlie the daie, but also appointed them liks and place for the combat, and thereupon great preparation was made, as to such a matter appertained.

At the time appointed the king came to *Coventrie*, where the two dukes were ready, according to the order prescribed therein, comming thither in great arrate, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall liks there to be erected and prepared. The sundaie before they should fight, after dinner the duke of *Hereford* came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir *William* *Bagot*) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the daie appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie, came the duke of *Posfolke* to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of *Hereford* armed him in his tent, that was set vp nere to the liks, and the duke of *Posfolke* put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautiful house, hauing a faire perclois of wood towards the gate, that none might see what was done within the house.

The duke of *Aumarle* that daie, being high constable of England, and the duke of *Surrie* marshall, placed themselves betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and when they saw their time, they first entered into the liks with a great companie of men apparelled in silke sendall, imbrodered with siluer, both richlie and curiouslie, euerie man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime came to the barriers of the liks, the duke of *Hereford*, mounted on a white courser, barded with greene & blew velvet imbrodered sumptuously with swans and antelops of goldsmiths worke, armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was, he answered;

The objection against the duke of *Posfolke*.

The combat appointed to be done at *Coventrie*. The first pamphlet. John Stow. Fabian.

The duke of *Posfolke* his answer for himselfe.

An. Reg. 21.

"answered; I am Henrie of Lancaster duke of De-
 "reford, which am come hither to demand redress
 "against Thomas Spowbzaie duke of Norfolk, as a
 "traitor untrue to God, the king, his realm, and me.
 "Then incontinentlie he swore upon the holie Evan-
 "gelists, that his quarrell was true and iust, and upon
 "that point he required to enter the lists: when he put
 "up his sword, which before he held naked in his hand,
 "and putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his
 "horse, and with speare in hand, entered into the lists,
 "and defended from his horse, and let him downe in
 "a chaire of greene velvet, at the one end of the lists,
 "and there reposed himselfe, abiding the coming of
 "his aduersarie.

Some after him, entered into the field with great
 triumph, king Richard, accompanied with all the
 peers of the realme, and in his companie was the
 earle of saint Daule, which was come out of France
 in post to see this challenge performed. The king had
 there about ten thousand men in armour, least some
 frate or tumult might rise amongst his nobles, by
 quarrelling or partaking. When the king was set in
 his seat, which was richlie hanged and adorned; a
 king at armes made, open proclamation, prohibi-
 ting all men in the name of the king, and of the high
 constable and marshall, to enterpise or attempt to
 approach, touch any part of the lists upon paine of
 death, except such as were appointed to order or mar-
 shall the field. The proclamation ended, another he-
 "rald cried; Behold here Henrie of Lancaster duke
 "of Hereford appellant, which is entred into the lists
 "to tal to do his denoir against Thomas Spowbzaie
 "duke of Norfolk defendant, upon paine to be found
 "false and recreant.

The duke of Norfolk howered on horsebacke at
 the entrie of the lists, his horse being barbed with cri-
 mosen velvet, imbrodered richlie with lions of sil-
 uer and mulberie trees; and when he had made his
 oth before the constable and marshall that his quar-
 "rell was iust and true, he entred the field manfullie,
 "sailing aloud: God aid him that hath the right, and
 "then he departed from his horse, & fate him downe in
 "his chaire which was of crimosen velvet, courtined
 "about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall
 "biewed their speares, to see that they were of equall
 "length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the
 "duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of
 "Norfolk by a knight. When the herald proclaimed
 "that the traueses & chaires of the champions should
 "be removed, commanding them on the kings be-
 "halfe to mount on horsebacke, & addresse themselves
 "to the battell and combat.

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horsed, and clo-
 sed his hauberk, and cast his speare into the rest, and
 when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiously
 towards his enimie six or seven paces. The duke of
 Norfolk was not fullie set forward, when the king
 cast downe his warder, and the heralds cried, Ho, ho.
 When the king caused their speares to be taken from
 them, and commanded them to repaire againe to
 their chaires, where they remained two long houres,
 while the king and his counsell deliberatlie consul-
 ted what order was best to be had in so weightie a
 cause. Finally, after they had deuised, and fullie de-
 termined what should be done therein, the heralds
 cried silence; and sir John Wustie the kings secreta-
 rie read the sentence and determination of the king
 and his counsell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was,
 that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fiftene
 daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne be-
 fore the terme of ten peares were expired, except by
 the king he should be repealed againe, and this upon
 paine of death; and that Thomas Spowbzaie duke of
 Norfolk, because he had soluen sedition in the realme

by his words, should likewise auoid the realme, and
 neuer to returne againe into England, nor approach
 the borders or confines thereof upon paine of death;
 and that the king would stae the profits of his lands,
 till he had leuied thereof such summes of monie as
 the duke had taken vp of the kings treasure for the
 wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still un-
 paid.

When these iudgements were once read, the king
 called before him, both the parties, and made them to
 sweare that the one should neuer come in place
 where the other was; willinglie, nor haue any com-
 pany to gather in any foreign region; which oth they
 both receiued humbly, and so went their wayes. The
 duke of Norfolk departed sorrowfullie out of the
 realme into Almaine, and at the last came to Venice,
 where he for thought and melancholie deceased: for
 he was in hope (as writers report) that he should
 haue bene borne out in the matter by the king, which
 when it fell out otherwise, it greiued him not a little.
 The duke of Hereford took his leaue of the king at
 Eltham, who there released foure peares of his ban-
 nishment: so he took his iourne ouer into Calis, and
 from thence went into France, where he remained.
 ¶ A wonder it was to see what number of people ran
 after him in euerie towne and street where he came,
 before he took the sea, lamenting and bewailing his
 departure, as who would saie, that when he departed,
 the onelie shield, defense and comfort of the common
 wealth was bared and gone.

At his coming into France, king Charles hear-
 ing the cause of his banishment (which he esteemed
 to be vertie light) receiued him gentle, and him hono-
 rable interteined, in so much that he had by fauour
 obtained in mariage the onelie daughter of the duke
 of Berry, uncle to the French king, if king Richard
 had not bene a let in that matter, who being thereof
 certified, sent the earle of Salisburie with all speed
 into France, both to surmize by untrue suggestion,
 heinous offenses against him, and also to require the
 French king that in no wise he would suffer his con-
 sine to be matched in mariage with him that was so
 manifest an offendor. This was a pestilent kind of
 proceeding against that nobleman then being in a
 foreign countrie, hauing bene so honorable receiued
 as he was at his entrance into France, and vpon
 victo and good liking of his behauiour there, so for-
 ward in mariage with a ladie of noble linage. So
 sharpe, so seuerer, & so heinous an accusation, brought
 to a strange king from a naturall prince, against his
 subiect, after punishment inflicted (for he was ban-
 shed) was inough to haue made the French king his
 fatal fo, & vpon suspicion of assaieng the like treche-
 rie against him, to haue throwne him out of the li-
 mits of his land. But what will enuie leaue unat-
 tempted, where it is once settled? And how are the ma-
 licious tormented with egermes of reuenge against
 them whom they maligne, wpinging themselves in
 the meane tyme with inward pangs gnawing them
 at the hart: whereunto serueth the poets allusion,

*Inuidia Siculi non inueniunt tyranni
 Maius tormentum.*

On the twelfth day this yeare, the river that pas-
 seth betwixt Snelleston or Snellston, and Harewood,
 two villages not far from Bedford, suddenlie ceased
 his course, so as the chanell remained drie by the
 space of thre miles, that any man might enter into,
 and passe the same drie foot at his pleasure. This di-
 uision, which the water made in that place, the one
 part seeming as it were not to come nere to the o-
 ther, was iudged to signifie the reuolting of the sub-
 iects of this land from their naturall prince. It may
 be, that the water of that river sanke into the
 ground, and by some secret passage or chanell toke
 course

The duke of
 Hereford be-
 loved of the
 people.

The duke of
 Hereford is
 honorable in-
 tertained with
 the French
 king.

Froissard.

Hor. lib. epist. 1.

1399

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The combat
 appointed to
 be done at
 Conentrie.
 The French
 pamphlet.
 John Stow.
 Fabian.

Anno Reg. 21.

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The order of
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The combat
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The king his
 done betwixt
 the two dukes

course till it came to the place where it might rise w
gaine as in other places is likewise done.

We have heard before, how the archbishop of Cantuarburie Thomas Arundell, was banished the citie, and Roger Walden was made archbishop in his steed, who was a great favourer of the cite of London, the which was chiefly about this season fallen into the kings displeasure : but by the diligent labour of this archbishop, and of Robert Wyke, then bishop of London, upon the humble supplication of the citizens, the kings wrath was pacified. But notwithstanding the kings mind, was made blanke charters were denied, and brought into the cite, which minde of the substantiall and wealthie citizens were sore to seeke, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were sent abrood into all shires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring arose among the people : for when they were so sealed, the kings officers wrote in the same what liked them, as well for charging the parties with payment of monie, as other wise.

In this meane time, the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Chies place in Holborne, and lieth buried in the cathedrall church of Saint Paule in London, on the northside of the high altar, by the ladie Blanch his first wiffe. The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance, in renouing his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneis generall to sue luerie for him, of any manner of inheritances or possessions that might come from thenceforth fall vnto him, and that his homage might be required, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his utter vndowing.

This hard dealing was much disliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against the meaner sort: but namelye the duke of Powke was therewith soe moved, who before this time, had bozne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie nere, as the death of his brother the duke of Gloucester, the banishment of his nephew the said duke of Hereford, and other moe iniuries in great number, which for the slipperie pouth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget aswell as he might. But now perceiving that neither law, iustice nor equitie could take place, where the kings willfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose, he considered that the glorie of the publike wealth of his countrie must needs decaye, by reason of the king his lacke of wit, and want of such as would (without flatterie) admonish him of his dutie: and therefore he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place, and to leaue the following of such an vnaduised captaine, as with a leaden sword would cut his owne throat.

Whereupon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne
went to his house at Langley, reioicing that nothing
had misshapened in the common-wealth though
his deuile or consent. The common brute ran, that
the king had set to farme the realme of England, vn-
to sir William Scrope earle of Wilthshire, and then
treasuro: of England, to sir John Buthie, sir John
Bagot, and sir Henrie Greene knights. ¶ About the
same time, the earle of Arundels sonne, named Tho-
mas, which was kept in the duke of Creters house,
escaped out of the realme, by meanes of one Will-
iam Scot mercer, and went to his vncle Thomas A-
rundell late archbishop of Cantarburie, as then so-
journing at Cullen. ¶ King Richard being desirous

sale of revenues to furnish such a princely post as he manifested by his great names of monk of **Monte** of the great lords and prelates of his realm, long as it lasted temporal, and the habits of other monasteries, granting them in governance, he belittled to them his better persons for allance, that he would have the monks be governed at a date appointed: and so not only banding the better men.

And after this yearely and tenn yearly shires
 of the Realme by waite of putting them to the sword
 to paie no small summes of money; for redeeming
 their prisoners that they had aye the Duke of Gloce-
 ster, the Duke of Arundell, and all other, when they
 rose in armes against him. The nobles, gentlemen,
 and commons of those shires were enforced also to
 receiue a new oath to allowe the king of their fidelitie
 in time to come; and withall certaine peeres and o-
 ther honorable personages were sent into the same
 shires to perswade men to this painment; and to see
 things ordered at the pleasure of the prince; and saue
 the fines which the nobles, and other the meane
 estates of those shires were constrained to paie, were
 not small; but exceeding great; to the offense of ma-
 nie. Moreover, the kings letters patents were sent
 into euery shire within this land by vertue whereof,
 an oath was demanded of all the kings liege people
 for a further assurance of their due obedience, and
 they were constrained to ratifie the same in writing
 vnder their hands and seales.

Wherouer they were compelled to put their hands and seales to certeine blankes, wherof ye haue heard before, in the which, when it pleased him he might write what he thought good. There was also a new oth deuised for the thirsties of euerie countie throughe the realme to receiue: finallye, manie of the kings liege people were throughe spite, enuie, and mallice, accused, apprehended, & put in prison, and after brought before the constable and marshall of England, in the court of chivalrie, and might not otherwise be deliuered, except they could iustifie themselves by combat and fighting in lists against their accusers hand to hand, although the accusers for the most part were lustie, yong and valiant, where the parties accused were perchaunce old, impotent, maimed and sicklie. Whereupon not onelie the great destruction of the realme in generall, but also of euerie singular person in particular, was to be feared and looked for.

¶ About this time the bishop of Calcedon came into England; with letters apostolicall of admonition, that the faithfull and lofall of the land shoud of their goods disburse somewhat to the emperor of Constantinople, who was extremelie bered and troubled by the Tarrars, and their capteins called Poet. And to the intent that the peres of the land might be made the more willing and toward to bestow their contribution in this behalf, the pope granted vnto all benefactors (trulie contrite and confessed) full remission, and wazaped in his bitter censures all such as considered those that were willing to bestow their beneuolence in this case; considering, that although the emperor was a schismaticke, yet was he a christian, and if by the infidels he should be oppressed, all christendome was in danger of ruine; hauing in his mind that saluing of the poet full fit to his purpose.

¶ In this yere in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old bate trees withered, and afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew trewe againe, a strange sight, and supposed to import some unknowne event. ¶ In this meane time the king being advertised that the wild Irish daily wasted and destroyed the towncs and villages within the English pale, and had slaine manie of the soldiers which laye there in garison for defense of that countrey,

Galjan.

Blank character,

The Death of
the Duke of
Lancaster.

The Walf.

The duke of
Yorke misli-
keth the court
& goeth home.

The realm
let to farm
by the king.

Tho. Walf.

3 nists
winds

The king
leth ouer
Ireland
a great
Fabian.
Caxton.
The duke
yoke ha
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the king
ing in I
land.
Hen. Mar

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Indirect Dealings.

Abr. Fl. ont.
Thom. W.
pag. 395.

Abbr. Fl. ent.
Thom. W. S.
Mag. 391.

Polyd:

Macmur
beth to the
offering
parlor.

3 miles at
Windsor.

The king sat
with over into
Ireland with
a great armie.
H. Mar.

New crea-
tions.

The payment
of these fines
was called a
pittance as it
were to please
the king. With-
all, but it came
displeased ma-
nie that were
thus constrain-
ed to pale a-
gainst their
willes.

The people
confirm the
oth of allegi-
ance by swi-
ring sealed.

Indirect
dealings.

Abr. Fl. out of
Thom. Wall.
pag. 395.

Abr. Fl. out of
Thom. Wall.
pag. 395.

Polydor.

Pioneers set a
work to cut
downe woods.

Spacur sent
back to the king
offering a
parley.

countie, determined to make effionnes a boiage thi-
ther, & prepared all things necessarie for his passage
now against the spring. A little before his setting
forth, he caused a iusts to be holden at Windsor: of
fourtie knights and fourtie esquiers, against all com-
mers, & they to be apparelled in greene, with a white
falcon, and the queene to be there well accompani-
ed with ladies and damfels. When these iusts were
finished, the king departed toward Bristol, from
thence to passe into Ireland, leaving the queene with
hir traine still at Windsor: he appointed for his
lieutenant generall in his absence his uncle the duke
of York: and so in the moneth of Aprill, as dinerse
authors write, he set forward from Windsor, and fi-
nally took shipping at Milford, and from thence
with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of
men of armes and archers he sailed into Ireland.
The first daie next after his arrival, there were slain
two hundred Irishmen at Fford in Ikenlis within
the countie of Kildare, by that ballant gentleman
Jenico Dartois, and such Englishmen as he had
there with him: and on the morrow next ensuing the
citizens of Dublin invaded the countie of Dubzin,
and slue thirtie and thre Irishmen.

The king also after he had remained about seven
daies at Waterford, marched from thence towards
Bilkenie, and comming thither, staid thereabout
fourtene daies, looking for the duke of Aumarle that
was appointed to have met him, but he failed and
came not, whereupon the king on Spidsummer even
set forward againe, marching straight towards the
countie of Spacur: the principall rebell in that
season within Ireland, who keeping himselfe among
woods with three thousand right hardie men, seemed
to passe little for any power that might be brought a-
gainst him. Yet the king appoaching to the skirts of
the woods, commanded his soldiers to fier the houses
and villages: which was executed with great for-
wardnesse of the men of war. And here for some va-
liant act that he did, or some other favourable respect,
which the king bare to the lord Henrie sonne to the
duke of Hereford, he made him knight. & this Hen-
rie was after king of England, succeeding his fa-
ther, and called by the name of Henrie the first. There
were nine or ten others made knights also at the
same time.

Moreover, there were two thousand & five hundred
pioneers set a worke to cut downe the woods, and to
make passages through, and so then the Englishmen
entred, and by force got through: for the Irishmen
were feared the English bowes, but yet now and then
they espied their advantage, assailed oftentimes
Englishmen with their darts, and slue diuerse that
went abroad to fetch in forrage. The uncle of Spa-
cur having a wishie or with about his necke, came
in and submitted himselfe, and likewise manie other
naked and bare legged, so that the king seeming to
pity their miserable state, pardoned them, and after-
ward he also sent unto Spacur, promising that if he
would come in and requite pardon as his uncle had
done, he would receive him to mercie: but Spacur
understanding that for want of vittels, the king
must needs retire within a short time, he refused the
kings offer. The king with his armie remaining in
those parts 11 daies, was in the end constrained to
come backe, when all their vittels were spent: for
more than they brought with them they could not
get. They lost manie houses in this iourne for want
of provision and forrage.

As the king was withdrawing towards Dublin,
marching through the countie, in despite of his eni-
mies, that hovered still about his armie, Spacur
sent to the king, offering to talke of an agreement, if
it should please him to send any noble man to meet

him at a place appointed. The king hereupon com-
manded the earle of Gloucester to take with him two
hundred lances, and a thousand archers, and to go to
trie if he might by persuation cause him to come in
and submit himselfe. The earle went, and comming
to talke with him, found him so obstinate, that their
parle streightwaies brake off: so taking leave each
of other, they departed, and the earle returned to the
king, to advertise him what he had done and percei-
ued by the communication which he had had with
Spacur.

The king was fore offended with the obstinates
of the rebell, that would not agree otherwise: but so
as he might remaine still at libertie, without danger
to suffer any manner of punishment for his passed of-
fenses. Whereupon the king after his comming to
Dublin, and that the armie had rested there, and in
the countie nere to the citie, for the space of fiftene
daies, he divided his people into thre parts, and sent
them abroad into the countie to pursue the enemies
and withall made proclamation, that who so ever
could bring Spacur unto his presence, should have
for his recompense a great reward: for he determi-
ned not to depart the countie, till he had him either
dead or alive. But he knew full little then what inci-
dents to hinder his purposed intention would after
follow.

The same daie that he sent abroad his armie thus
into thre severall parts, the duke of Aumarle with
an hundred sarkes arrived, of whose coming the king
was right iustill, and although he had used no small
negligence in that he came no sooner according to or-
der before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a
gentle nature) courteously accepted his excuse: whe-
ther he was in fault or not, I have not to saye; but
verelie he was greatlie suspected, that he dealt not
well in tarieng so long after his time assigned. But
now whilst the king rested at Dublin, his people to
deineaned themselves, that the most part of the re-
bels, that by manhood and policie were subdued, and
brought under subiection, and (as to be thought) if
no trouble had risen in England to have called him
backe, he meant to have rid by the woods, and made
some notable conquest at that time upon the rebels
that yet held out. Nevertheless, during the tyme of
his abode there, such was the prowesse of him and his,
that the Irish were well tamed, and forced to submit
themselves: and yet the kings power made no great
slaughter of them, if it be true that Christ. Okl. faith,
speaking herof in few words as after followeth:

*Peregit ad indomitos princeps Richardus Hibernos,
Inq. potestatem multo sine sanguine sauo
Marte reluctantes.*

*In Angl. preliq
sub Rich. 2.*

Now whilst he was thus occupied in deniffing hobs
to reduce them into subiection, and taking orders for
the good state and quiet government of the countie,
diuerse of the nobilitie, as well prelats as other, and
likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the
cities, towne, and communalitie, here in England,
perceiving daillie how the realme drew to utter ru-
ine, not like to be recovered to the former state of
wealth, whilst king Richard lived and reigned (as
they took it) devised with great deliberation, and
considerate advise, to send and signifie by letters un-
to duke Henrie, whom they now called (as he was
in deed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring
him with all convenient speed to conueie himselfe
into England, promising him all their aid, power and
assistance, if he expelling R. Richard, as a man not
meet for the office he bare, would take upon him the
scepter, rule, and diademe of his native land and re-
gion.

He therefore being thus called upon by messen-
gers and letters from his friends, and chafed through
the

The earle of
Gloucester.

Anno Reg. 23.
He came to
Dublin the
28 of June as
Henrie Marl.
saith.

The duke of
Aumarle.

The duke of
Lancaster so-
licit to ex-
pell king Ri-
chard, and to
take upon him
the regimēt.

The duke of
Bretagne a
great friend
to the duke of
Lancaster.

The duke of
Lancaster &
his adherents
came into
England.

Additions to
Polychron.

Thom. Vail.

Thom. Brit.

Proffaria.

Tho. Vailing.

The commons
came to resist
the duke of
Lancaster.

The duke of
Lancaster is
deceit in York-
shire.

Additions to
Polychron.

the earnest persuasion of Thomas Arundell, late
archbishop of Cantuarburie, who (as before we have
heard) had bene banished from his see, and banished
the realme by king Richards means, got him downe
to Britaine, together with the said archbishop, where
he was iustly receiued of the duke and duchesse,
and found such friendship at the dukes hands, that
there were certaine ships rigged, and made readie
for him, at a place in base Britaine, called La port
blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine: and
when all his promise was made readie, he took the
sea, together with the said archbishop of Cantuarburie,
and his nephew Thomas Arundell, sonne and heire
to the late earle of Arundell, beheaded at the Tow-
er hill, as you have heard. There were also with him,
Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham,
and sir Thomas Hamilton knights, John Poyn-
tre, Robert Waterton, & Francis Contesquires:
few else were there, for (as some write) he had not
past affere lances, as they termed them in those
daies, that is to saie, men of armes, furnished and
appointed as the ise then was. ¶ Yet other write,
that the duke of Britaine deliuered unto him three
thousand men of warre, to attend him, and that he
had eight ships well furnished for the warre, where
Broullard yet speaketh but of three. ¶ Moreover, where
Broullard and also the chronicles of Britaine auouch,
that he should land at Alimouth, by our English
writers it seemeth other wise: for it appeareth by their
assured report, that he approaching to the shore, did not
straight take land, but lay howering aloofe, and shew-
ed himselfe not in this place, and not in that, to see
what countenance was made by the people, whether
they meant enuoultie to resist him, or friendly to re-
ceiue him.

When the lord gouernour Edmund duke of Poike
was aduertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still
the sea, and was readie to arrive (but where he meant
first to set foot on land, there was not any that under-
stood the certentie) he sent for the lord chancellor Ed-
mund Stafford bishop of Excester, and for the lord
treasurer William Scrope earle of Wilthire, and
other of the kings priue counsell, as John Baskie,
William Bagot, Henrie Greene, and John Knollys
knights: of these he required to know what they
thought good to be done in this matter, concerning
the duke of Lancaster, being on the sea. Their ad-
uise was, to depart from London, vnto S. Albons,
and there to gather an armie to resist the duke in his
landing, but to how small purpose their counsell ser-
ued, he conclusion thereof plainly declared, for the
most part that were called, when they came thither,
boldly protested, that they would not fight against
the duke of Lancaster, whome they knew to be evil
dealt withall.

The lord treasurer, Baskie, Bagot, and Greene,
perceiuing that the commons would cleaue vnto,
and take part with the duke, slipped away, leaving
the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chan-
cellor to make what shift they could for themselves:
Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ire-
land; the other fled to the castell of Wiltshire, in hope
there to be in safetie. The duke of Lancaster, after
that he had coasted along the shore a certeine time,
had got some intelligence how the peoples minds
were affected towards him, landed about the begin-
ning of Iulie in Pockshire, at a place sometime cal-
led Hamenpur, betwixt Hail and Widdington, and
with him not past threescore persons, as some write;
but he was so iustly receiued of the lords, knights,
and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means
by their helpe) forthwith to assemble a great num-
ber of people, that were willing to take his part.
The first that came to him, were the lords of Lin-

colnshire, and other countie adioining, as the
lords Willoughbie, Roos, Darcie, and Beaumont.

At his coming, vnto Doncaster, the earle of
Northumberland, and his sonne sir Henrie Persie,
wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the
earle of Westmerland, came vnto him, where he
swore vnto those lords, that he would demand no
more, but the lands that were to him descended by in-
heritance from his father, and in right of his wife.
¶ Moreover, he undertooke to cause the payment of tax-
es and tallages to be laid downe, & to bring the king
to good government, & to renouue from him the Que-
shire men, which were enuied of manie; for that the
king esteemed of them more than of any other; hap-
pily, because they were more faithfull to him than
other, readie in all respects to obey his commande-
ments and pleasure. From Doncaster hauing now
got a mightie armie about him, he marched forth
with all speed through the countie, coming by E-
welham vnto Werhelie: within the space of three
daies, all the kings castles in those parts were sur-
rendred vnto him.

The duke of Poike, whome king Richard had left
as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing
that his nephew the duke of Lancaster was thus ar-
riued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a
pulsant power of men of armes and archers (as be-
fore we have heard) but all was in vaine, for there
was not a man that would in his world thrust out one
arrows against the duke of Lancaster, or his parta-
kers, or in any wise offend him or his friends. The
duke of Poike therefore passing forth towards
Wiltshire to meet the king, at his coming forth of
Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Werhelie,
and there remained, till the coming thither of the
duke of Lancaster (whom when he perceived that he
was not able to resist) on the sabbath, after the feast
of saint James, which as that yeare came about, fell
vpon the fridaie, he came forth into the church, that
stood without the castell, and there communed with
the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Poike
were the bishops of Norwich, the lord Werhelie, the
lord Seimour, and other: with the duke of Lancaster
were these, Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Can-
tuarburie that had bene banished, the abbat of Leice-
ster, the earles of Northumberland and Westmer-
land, Thomas Arundell sonne to Richard late earle
of Arundell, the baron of Greiffoke, the lords Will-
loughbie and Roos, with diuers other lords, knights,
and other people, which dancie came to him from eu-
erie part of the realme: those that came not, were
spoiled of all they had; so as they were neuer able to
reouer themselves againe; for their goods being
then taken away, were neuer restored. And thus
that forsaie, and that for feare of losse, they came
flocking vnto him from euerie part.

At the same present there was assembled, and com-
mitted to safe custodie, the bishop of Norwich, sir
William Elmham, and sir Walter Barlee, knights,
Laurence Drex, and John Colsher esquires. On the
morrow after, the said dukes with their power,
went towards Wiltshire, where (at their coming)
they shewd themselves before the towne & castell,
being an huge multitude of people. There were in-
closed within the castell, the lord William Scrope
earle of Wiltshire and treasurer of England, sir
Henrie Greene, and sir John Baskie knights, who
prepared to make resistance: but when it would not
preuaile, they were taken and brought forth bound
as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lan-
caster. On the morrow next ensuing, they were arrai-
gued before the constable and marshal, and found
guilty of treason, for misgouerning the king and
realme, and forthwith had their heads smit off. Sir
John

A
3 pohl
and he

The duke of
Lancaster is
deceit to the facta
that was
then.

Out o
Dees
boke.

The duke of
the commons
captured here
to the duke of
Lancaster.

The duke of
Lancaster
married to
Sybil.

Scrope is
treason,
Baskie and
Greene are
traitors.

R. R.
return
of Ire
and la
in wa

An. Reg. 22.

3 pottike
manuelle.

John Russell was also taken there, who feining him-
selfe to be out of his wits, escaped their hands for a
time.

In this meane time, king Richard aduertised,
how the duke of Lancaster was landed in England,
and that the lords, gentlemen, and commons assem-
bled themselves to take his part, he forthwith caused
the lord Henrie, sonne to the said duke of Lancaster,
and the lord Humfrie, sonne to the duke of Gloce-
ster, to be that by fast in the castell of Trimme, and
with all speed made hast to retorne into England, in
hope with an armie to incounter the duke, before he
should haue time to assemble his friends together.
But here you shall note, that it fortuned at the same
time, in which the duke of Hereford of Lancaster,
whether ye list to call him, arrived thus in England,
the seas were so troubled by tempests, and the winds
blew so contrarie for anie passage, to come ouer forth
of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland,
that for the space of six weeks, he receiued no aduer-
tisements from thence: yet at length, when the seas
became calme, and the wind once turned anie thing
fauourable, there came ouer a ship, whereby the king
vnderstood the manner of the dukes arrivall, and all
his proceedings till that daie, in which the ship depar-
ted from the coast of England, whereupon he meant
forthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to
make resistance against the duke: but through per-
suasion of the duke of Aumarle (as was thought) he
staied, till he might haue all his ships, and other pro-
uision, fullie readie for his passage.

In the meane time, he sent the earle of Salisburie
ouer into England, to gather a power together, by
helpe of the kings friends in Wales, and Cheshire,
with all speed possible, that they might be readie to
assist him against the duke, vpon his arrivall, for he
meant himselfe to follow the earle, within six daies
after. The earle passing ouer into Wales, landed at
Contwaie, and sent forth letters to the kings friends,
both in Wales and Cheshire, to leaue their people,
& to come with all speed to assist the k. whose request,
with great desire, & very willing minds they fulfilled,
hoping to haue found the king himselfe at Contwaie,
inasmuch that within foure daies space, there were
to the number of fortie thousand men assembled, rea-
die to march with the king against his enemies, if he
had bene there himselfe in person.

But when they missed the king, there was a brute
spied amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead,
which wrought such an impression, and euill disposi-
tion in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that
for anie persuasion which the earle of Salisburie
might vse, they would not go forth with him, till they
saw the king: onelie they were contented to staie
fourteene daies to see if he should come or not; but
when he came not within that tearme, they would
no longer abide, but scaled & departed awaie; whereas
if the king had come before their breaking bp, no
doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Here-
ford in aduerture of a field: so that the kings ling-
ering of time before his comming ouer, gaue oppor-
tunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he
could haue wished, and toke from the king all occa-
sion to recover afterwards anie forces sufficient to
resist him.

At length, about eightene daies after that the king
had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he toke
the sea, together with the dukes of Aumarle, Crec-
ster, Surrie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with
the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carleill. They
landed nere the castell of Barclowlie in Wales, a-
bout the feast of saint James the apostle, and staied
a while in the same castell, being aduertised of the
great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got to-

gether against him, wherewith he was maruellouslie
amazed, knowing certeinlie that those which were
thus in armes with the duke of Lancaster against
him, would rather die than giue place, as well for the
hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. He
uerthelesse he departing from Barclowlie, hasted
with all speed towards Contwaie, where he vnder-
stood the earle of Salisburie to be still remaining.

He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men
as he had with him at that present (in whom all his
trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge him-
selfe of his aduersaries, & so at the first he passed with
a good courage: but when he vnderstood as he went
thus forward, that all the castles, euen from the bo-
ders of Scotland vnto Wyllow were deliuered vnto
the duke of Lancaster, and that likewise the nobles
and commons, as well of the south parts, as the
north, were fullie bent to take part with the same
duke against him; and further, hearing how his tru-
stie counsellors had lost their heads at Wyllow, he
became so greatlie discomfited, that forowfullie la-
menting his miserable state, he utterlie despaired of
his owne safetie, and calling his armie together,
which was not small, licenced euerie man to depart
to his home.

The soldiers being well bent to fight in his de-
fense, besought him to be of good chere, promising
with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and
all his partakers vnto death: but this could not in-
courage him at all, so that in the night next ensuing,
he stole from his armie, and with the dukes of Crec-
ster and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Ste-
phan Scrope, and about halfe a score others, he got
him to the castell of Contwaie, where he found the
earle of Salisburie, determining there to hold him-
selfe, till he might see the world at some better staie;
for what counsell to take to remedie the mischance
thus pressing vpon him he wist not. On the one part
he knew his title iust, true, and infallible; and his
conscience cleane, pure, and without spot of enuie or
malice: he had also no small assistance in the Welsh-
men, and Cheshire men. On the other side, he saw
the puissance of his aduersaries, the sudden depar-
ting of them whom he most trusted, and all things
turned vpside downe: he euidentlie saw, and mani-
festlie perceived, that he was forsaken of them, by
whom in time he might haue bene aided and relie-
ued, where now it was too late, and too farre ouer-
passed.

This suerlie is a verie notable example, and not
without the of all princes to be well weied, and dili-
gentlie marked, that this Henrie duke of Lancaster
should be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the
helpe and assistance (almost) of all the whole realme,
which perchance neuer thereof thought or yet dre-
amed; and that king Richard should thus be left deso-
late, void, and in despaire of all hope and comfort,
in whom if there were anie offense, it ought rather to
be imputed to the frailtie of wanton youth, than to
the malice of his hart: but such is the deceivable
iudgement of man, which not regarding things pre-
sent with due consideration, thinketh euer that
things to come shall haue good successe, with a plea-
sant & delitefull end. But in this detecting of the one,
& aduancing of the other, the prouidence of God is to
be respected, & his secret will to be wondered at. For
as in his hands standeth the donation of kingdoms,
so likewise the disposing of them consisteth in his
pleasure, which the verie pagans vnderstood right
well; otherwile, one of them would neuer haue said,

Regem timendum in propriis greges,

Reges in ipsos imperium est lous

Cuncta supercilio mouentia.

Sir Thomas Perle earle of Worcester, lord
Steward

Additions to
Polychron.R. Richard
in bitter de-
spaire.R. Richard
stealeth awaie
from his ar-
mie, and ta-
keth the castell
of Flint.A speciall
note worthy
to be well
noted.Hor. lib. car. 3.
ode. 1.duke of
Lancaster
was
takenarts of
mankind
bent
duke of
Lancasterduke of
Lancaster
was
takenpe 103
of
and
expressR. Richard
returneth out
of Ireland,
and lan-
deth in
Wales.

The earle of
Glocester
leaueth the
earle and fleeth
to the duke.

Steward of the kings house, either being so com-
manded by the king, or else upon displeasure (as some
write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother
the earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his wife
staffe, which is the representing signe and token of his
office, and without delaye went to duke Henrie.
When the kings servants of household saw this (for it
was done before them all) they dispersed themsel-
ues, some into one countie, and some into an other.
When the duke of Lancaster vnderstood that king
Richard was returned forth of Ireland, he left the
duke of York still at Bisslow, and came backe with
his power vnto Berkleie; the second daie he came
to Glocester, and so to Ross, after to Hereford, where
came to him the bishop of Hereford, and sir Edmund
Mortimer knight. On the sundae following, he
went to Lincolne, and there the lord Charleton came
to him. From thence he went to Ludlow, and the
next daie to Shrewsburie, where he rested one daie,
and thither came to him sir Robert Leigh, and sir
John Leigh, and manie other being sent from Che-
ster, to treat with the duke of Lancaster, for the citie
and countie of Chester, that were now readie to sub-
mit themselves vnto him in all things.

where for-
tune fauour-
eth, thither
the peoples
fauour fleeth.

The duke of
Lancaster
comming to
Chester.

There came hither vnto him the lord Seales, and
the lord Verbolfe, forth of Ireland, hauing bene
spoiled of all they had about them in Wales, as they
came through the countie. From Shrewsburie, he
kept on his iourne towards Chester, and lodging
one night by the waie, in a towne there in the bor-
ders of Wales, he came the second night to Chester,
and staid there certeine daies together, making a
solle muster of his armie there in sight of the citie.
The clergy met, & receiued him with procession: he
sent forthwith for his sonne & heire, & likewise for the
duke of Glocesters sonne & heire, that were as yet
remaining in Ireland, commanding them with all
speed to returne home into England. But the duke
of Glocesters sonne, through mischance perished, as
he was on the seas to come ouer, for whose losse his
mother took such griefe, that shortly after through
immoderate sorow she likewise passed out of this
transitorie life.

Perkin a
Lee.

In this meane time, king Richard being in the
castell of Conwaie sore discomfited, and fearing lest
he could not remaine there long in safetie, vpon
knowledge had by his trustie friends John Paulet,
and Richard Seimour, of the dealings and approach
of his aduersaries, sent the duke of Gloucester to talke
with the duke of Lancaster, who in this meane while
had caused one of king Richards faithfull and trustie
friends, sir Piers a Leigh, commonlie called Per-
kin a Lee, to lose his head, & commanded the same to
be set vp, vpon one of the highest turrets about all
the citie; and so that true and faithfull gentleman, for
his stedfast faith, and assured loialtie to his louing
soveraigne, thus lost his life. There came to him a-
bout the same time, or somewhat before, the dukes of
Aunmarle and Surrie, the lord Louell, and sir John
Stanleie, beseeching him to receiue him into his fa-
uour.

Out of maister
Dees booke.

By some writers it should seeme, not onelie the
duke of Gloucester, but also the duke of Surrie were
sent vnto duke Henrie from king Richard, and that
duke Henrie staid them both, and would not suffer
them to returne to the king againe, keeping the duke
of Gloucester still about him, and committing the duke
of Surrie to prison, within the castell of Chester. The
king here with went to Beaumaris, & after to Car-
naruan: but finding no prouision either of vittels or
other things in those castles, no not so much as a bed
to lie in, he came backe againe to Conwaie, and in
the meane time was the castell of Holt deliuered to
the duke of Hereford, by those that had it in keeping

Holt castell
deliuered to
the duke.

wherein was great store of icwels, to the value of
two hundred thousand marks, besides an hundred
thousand marks in readie coine. After this, the duke,
with aduise of his counsell, sent the earle of North-
umberland vnto the king, accompanied with foure
hundred lances, & a thousand archers, who comming
to the castell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him; and
from thence he passed forth towards Conwaie. But
before he approached nere the place, he left his power
behind him, hid closelie in two ambushes, behind a
craggie mountaine, beside the high waie that lea-
deth from Flint to Conwaie.

Some write
that the
bishop of
Hereford
was the
earle of
Hereford
that was
sent to
the king
of North-
umberland
to Con-
waie.

This done, taking not past foure or five with him,
he passed forth, till he came before the towne, and
then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe
conduct from the king, that he might come and talke
with him, which the king granted, and so the earle of
Northumberland passing the waie, entered the cas-
tell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that
if it might please his grace to undertake, that there
should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice
might be had, against such as were enemies to the
common-wealth, and had procured the destruction of
the duke of Gloucester, and other noblemen, and here-
with pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wher-
in he had offended him, the duke would be readie to
come to him on his knees, to craue of him forgue-
nesse, and as an humble subiect, to obeie him in all
dutyfull seruices. The king taking aduise vpon these
offers, and other made by the earle of Northumber-
land on the behalfe of the duke of Hereford, vpon the
earles oath, for assurance that the same should be per-
formed in eche condition, agreed to go with the earle
to meete the duke, and here vpon taking their horses,
they rode forth, but the earle rode before, as it were,
to prepare dinner for the king at Rutland, but com-
ming to the place where he had left his people, he
staid there with them.

The earle of
Northumber-
land was
sent to the
king.

The king
leaueth
Conwaie
castell, and
be-
siegeth him-
selfe to his
enemies.

The king keeping on his waie, had not ridden past
foure miles, when he came to the place where the am-
bushes were lodged, and being entred within dan-
ger of them, before he was aware, theued himselfe
to be sore abashed. But now there was no remedie
for the earle being there with his men, would not suf-
fer him to returne, as he gladlie would haue done if
he might; but being inclosed with the sea on the one
side, and the rocks on the other, hauing his aduersa-
ries so nere at hand before him, he could not shift a
waie by any meanes, for if he should haue fled backe,
they might easilie haue overtaken him, per he could
haue got out of their danger. And thus of force he
was then constrained to go with the earle, who
brought him to Rutland, where they dined, and from
thence they rode vnto Flint to bed. The king had be-
rie few about him of his friends, except onelie the
earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Carleill, the lord
Stephen Scrope, sir Nicholas Herebie, a sonne also
of the countesse of Salisburie, and Jenico Dartois
a Gascoigne that still wore the cognifance of deuil
of his maister king Richard, that is to saie, a white
hart, and would not put it from him, neither for per-
suasions nor threats; by reason whereof, when the
duke of Hereford vnderstood it, he caused him to be
committed to prison within the castell of Chester.
This man was the last (as saith mine author) which
wore that deuil, and theued well thereby his con-
stant hart toward his maister, for the which it was
thought he should haue lost his life, but yet he was
pardoned, and at length reconciled to the dukes fa-
uour, after he was king.

A constant
seruant.

But now to our purpose. King Richard being thus
come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the
eighteenth of August, and the duke of Hereford be-
ing still aduertised from houre to houre by poste,
how

Some write, that the archbishop of Canturburie and the earle of Northumberland went also with the earle of Northumberland to Conwaie.

The earle of Northumberland, lands a message to the king.

The king leauesh Conwaie castell, and be- takerh him- selfe to his enemies.

¶ constant
runt.

how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesday, and the nineteenth of August, he came thither, & mustered his armie befoze the kings presence, which undoubtedly made a passing faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Percy, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) master of the campe, under the duke, of the whole armie. There were come already to the castell, befoze the appochoing of the maine armie, the archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Aumarle, the earle of Worcester, and diuerse other. The archbishop entred first, and then followed the other, coming into the first ward.

The king that was walking aloft on the bales of the walls, to behold the coming of the duke a farre off, might see, that the archbishop and the other were come, and (as he toke it) to talke with him: where vpon he forthwith came downe vnto them, and beholding that they did their due reuerence to him on their knees, he toke them vp, and drawing the archbishop aside from the residue, talked with him a good while, and as it was reported, the archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured, not to haue anie hurt, as touching his person; but he suspected not as a prelat, but as a Pilat. For, was it no hurt (thinke you) to his person, to be spoiled of his roialtie, to be depouled from his crowne, to be translated from principallitie to prison, & to fall from honoz into honoz. All which befell him to his extreame hart greefe (no doubt:) which to increase, meanes alas there were manie; but to diminish, helps (God wot) but a few. So that he might haue said with the forlome man in the merciesse seas of his miseries,

*per fera nimis sumitur aquora ventis,
In medijs lacera naue relinquitur aquis.*

¶ Some write (as befoze in a marginall note I haue quoted) that the archbishop of Canturburie went with the earle of Northumberland vnto Conwaie, and there talked with him: and further, that euen then the king offered, in consideration of his insufficiencie to gouerne, & to resigne the crowne, and his kinglike title to the same, vnto the duke of Hereford. But forsomuch as those that were continually attendant about the king, during the whole time of his abode at Conwaie, and till his coming to Flint, do plainelie affirme, that the archbishop came not to him, till this tuesday befoze his removing from Flint vnto Chester. it maie be thought (the circumstances well considered) that he rather made that promise here at Flint, than at Conwaie, although by the tenour of an instrument, containing the declaration of the archbishop of York, and other commissioners sent from the estates assembled in the next parlement, vnto the said king, it is recorded to be at Conwaie, as after ye maie read. But there maie be some default in the copie, as taking the one place for the other.

But wheresoener this offer was made, after that the archbishop had now here at Flint, communed with the king, he departed, and taking his horse againe, rode backe to meet the duke, who began at that present to approach the castell, and compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and seemelie order, at the foot of the mountains: and then the earle of Northumberland passing forth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now advanced within two bowes shot of the castell, to the small reioicing (ye may be sure) of the forlorn king. The earle of Northumberland returning to the castell, appointed the king to be let to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and entred

the same all armed, his bassinet onelie excepted, and being within the first gate, he staied there, till the king came forth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

The king accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and sir Stephen Scrope knight, who bare the sword befoze him, and a few other, came forth into the vtter ward, and fate downe in a place prepared for him. Forthwith as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knee, and committing forthward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king toke him by the hand, and lift him vp, saying; Dere couline, ye are welcome. The duke humbly thanking him said; My soueraigne lord and king, the cause of my coming at this present, is (your honoz saued) to haue againe restitution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence. The king herunto answered; Dere couline, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that ye may inioy all that is yours, without exception.

¶ Meeting thus together, they came forth of the castell, and the king there called for wine, and after they had dronke, they mounted on horsebacke, and rode that night to Flint, and the next daie vnto Chester, the third vnto Pantwich, the fourth to Melcastell. Here, with glad countenance, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick met them, that had bene confined into the Ile of Rhé, as befoze ye haue heard; but now was renoked home by the duke of Lancaster. From Melcastell they rode to Stafford, and the first daie vnto Lichfield, and there rested saturday all daie. After this, they rode forth, and lodged at these places insuing, Couentre, Warrick, Northampton, Dunstable, & so came to London: neither was the king permitted all this while to change his apparell, but rode still through all these towne simple clothed in one sute of raiment, and yet he was in his time exceeding sumptuous in apparell, in so much as he had one cote, which he caused to be made for him of gold and stone, valued at 30000 marks: & so he was brought the next waie to Westminster.

As for the duke, he was receiued with all the ioy and pompe that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the bishops palace, by Pauls church. It was a wonder to see what great number of people, & what number of horses came to him, on the waie as he thus passed the countreies, till his coming to London, where (vpon his approach to the citie) the maior rode forth to receiue him, and a great number of other citizens. Also the cleargie met him with procession, and such ioy appeared in the countenances of the people, uttering the same also with words, as the like not lightlie bene seene. For in euery towne and village where he passed, children reioiced, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for ioy. But to speake of the great numbers of people that flocked together in the fields and streets of London at his coming, I here omit, neither will I speake of the presents, welcomings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the citizens and communalitie.

But now to the purpose. The next day after his coming to London, the king from Westminster was had to the Tower, and there committed to safe custodie. Many euill disposed persons, assembling themselves together in great numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from such as had the conueleng of him, that they might haue slaine him. But the maior and aldermen gathered to them, the worshipfull commons, and graue citizens, by whose policie, and not without much adde, the other were renoked from their euill purpose: albeit, befoze they might be pacified, they coming to Westminster,

The dukes behantour to the king at their meeting.

The dukes demand.

The king and the duke iourne together towards London.

R. Richard sumptuous in apparell.

The dukes receiuing into London.

The king committed to the tower.

¶ c. li. minister,

A parliament
in the kings
name.

minister, tooke maister John Selake deane of the kings chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there laid him fast in irons.

After this was a parliament called by the duke of Lancaster, using the name of king Richard in the writs directed forth to the lords, and other states for their summons. This parliament began the thirtieth daie of September, in the which manie heinous points of misgouernance and iniurious dealings in the administration of his kinglie office, were laid to the charge of this noble prince king Richard, the which (to the end the commons might be perswaded, that he was an vnprofitable prince to the common-wealth, and worthe to be deposed) were ingrossed by in 33 solempne articles, heinous to the eares of all men, and to some almost incredible, the verie effect of which articles here insue, according to the copie which I haue sene, and is abridged by maister Hall as followeth.

The articles objected to king Richard, whereby he was counted worthe to be deposed from his principalltie.

I Item, that king Richard wastfullie spent the treasure of the realme, and had giuen the possessions of the crowne to men vnworthie, by reason whereof, new charges more and more were laid on the poore commonaltie. And where diuerse lords, as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of parliament, to commune and treat of diuerse matters concerning the common-wealth of the realme, which being busie about the same communication, he with other of his assinite went about to impeach, and by force and menacing compelled the iudges of the realme at Shrewsburie to condescend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said lords, in so much that he began to raise warre against John duke of Lancaster, Richard earle of Arundell, Thomas earle of Warwick, and other lords, contrarie to his honor and promise.

2 Item, that he caused his viceroy the duke of Gloucester to be arrested without law, and sent him to Calis, and there without iudgement murdered him, and although the earle of Arundell upon his arraignment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shameful manner suddenly put to death.

3 Item, he assembled certaine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to the intent to make warre on the same lords, and suffered them to rob and pill, without correction or reuerence.

4 Item, although the king lateringlie, and with great dissimulation, made proclamation through out the realme, that the lords before named were not attached of any crime of treason, but onlie for extortion and oppressions done in this realme, yet he laid to them in the parliament, rebellion and manifest treason.

5 Item, he hath compelled others of the said lords servants and friends, by menaces and other bads, to make great othes to their bitter vnderstanding, and notwithstanding his pardon, yet he made them fine and punish.

6 Item, where diuerse were appointed to commune of the state of the realme, and the common-wealth thereof, the same king caused all the rolls and records to be kept from them, contrarie to promise made in the parliament, to his open dishonor.

7 Item, he withcraftillie commanded, that no man upon paine of losse of life and goods, should once

intreat him for the returne of Henrie now duke of Lancaster.

8 Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the pope or other piteite, the said king Richard, after he had obteined diuerse acts of parliament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then he obteined bulles and extreame censures from Rome, to compell all men straightlie to keepe the same, contrarie to the honour and ancient priuileges of this realme.

9 Item, although the duke of Lancaster had done his deuoir against Thomas duke of Dorset in proofe of his quarrell, yet the said king, without reason or ground, banished him the realme for ten years, contrarie to all equitie.

10 Item, before the dukes departure, he vnder his broad seale licenced him to make attornies to prosecute and defend his causes: the said king after his departure, would suffer none attorne to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

11 Item, the same king put out diuerse shiriffes lawfullie elected, and put in their romes diuerse other of his owne, subuerting the law, contrarie to his oath and honor.

12 Item, he bestowed great summes of monie, and bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repayment of the same, and yet not one pence paid.

13 Item, he feared men at the will of him and his vnhappy counsell, and the same treasure spent in folie, not paying poore men for their vittells and viands.

14 Item, he said, that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometimes in his breast, by reason of which fantastickall opinion, he destroyed noble men, and impouerished the poore commons.

15 Item, the parliament setting and enacting diuerse notable statutes, for the profit and advancement of the common-wealth, he by his priue friends and solicitors caused to be enacted, that no act then enacted, should be more prejudiciall to him, than it was to any of his predecessors: through which promise he did often as he liked, and not as the law did meane.

16 Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the shiriffes of the shire to remaine about one yeare or two.

17 Item, at the summons of the parliament, when knights and burghesses should be elected, that the election had bene full proceeded, he put out diuerse persons elect, and put other in their places, to serue his will and appetite.

18 Item, he had priue espials in entrie shires, to heare who had of him any communication, and if he committed of his lastenages living, or outrageous doings, he straightwaies was apprehended, and put to a greuous fine.

19 Item, the spiritualltie alleged against him, that he at his going into Ireland, erased manie notable summes of monie, beside plate and tewels, without law or custome, contrarie to his oath taken at his coronation.

20 Item, where diuerse lords and iustices were tworne to save the truth of diuerse things to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the roime, and profit of the king, the said king to menaced them with greuous threatnings, that no man would or durst save the right.

21 Item, that without the assent of the nobilitie, he caused the tewels, plate, and treasure, over into Ireland, to the great impoverishment of the realme: and all the good records for the common-wealth, and against his christianitie, he caused priuile to be imbested, and committed away.

22 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or sent to the king of Rome, or other regions, his

The
persua
crown
the dai

Fabian

his writing was so subtil and darke, that none o-
ther prince once beleued him, nor yet his owne
subiects.

23 Item, he most tyrannouslie and unprincelie
said, that the liues and goods of all his subiects were
in his hands, and at his disposition.

24 Item, that contrarie to the great charter of
England, he caused diuerse lustie men to appeale di-
uerse old men, vpon matters determinable at the
common law in the court partiall, because that
there is no triall, but onelie by battell: wherevpon,
the said aged persons, fearing the sequele of the
matter, submitted themselves to his mercie, whome
he fined and ransomed vnreasonablie at his will and
pleasure.

25 Item, he craftilie deuised certeine priuie
othes, contrarie to the law, and caused diuerse of his
subiects first to be sworn to obserue the same, and af-
ter bound them in bonds for keeping of the same, to
the great vndoing of manie honest men.

26 Item, where the chancelor, according to the
law, would in no wise grant a prohibition to a cer-
teine person, the king granted it vnto the same, vnder
his priuie scale, with great threatenings, if it
should be disobeyed.

27 Item, he banished the bishop of Canturburie
without cause or iudgement, and kept him in the par-
lement chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the bishops goods he granted to his suc-
cessor, vpon condition, that he should mainteine all
his statutes made at Shrewesburie anno 21, and
the statutes made anno 22 at Couentre.

29 Item, vpon the accusation of the said bishop,
the king craftilie perswaded him to make no answer
for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to
come to the parlement, and so without answer he
was condemned and exiled, and his goods seized.

These be all the articles of anie effect, which were
laid against him, saving foure other, which touched
onelie the archbishops matter: whose working
brought king Richard at length from his crowne.
Then for so much as these articles, and other heinous
and detestable accusations were laid against him in
open parlement, it was thought by the most part,
that he was worthy to be deposed from all kinglie
honor, and princelie gouernement: and to bring the
matter without slander the better to passe, diuerse of
the kings seruants, which by licence had access to
his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost
consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise
they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and
save his life.

The king is
perswaded to
reigne the
croune to
the duke.

And first, they aduised him willingly to suffer
himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his
owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might
without murder or battell obtaine the scepter and
diademe, after which (they well perceived) he gaped:
by meane whereof they thought he might be in per-
fect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether
his their persuasion proceeded by the suborning of
the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sin-
cere affection which they bare to the king, as suppo-
sing it most sure for such an extremitie, it is vncer-
taine; but yet the effect followed was, that for the
time being was: And notwithstanding, the king being
now in the hands of his enemies, and vnder the despa-
ring of all comfort, was easily perswaded to re-
signe his crowne and princelie preeminence, so
that in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that
were of him demanded. And so (as it should seeme by
the copie of an instrument hereafter following) he
renewed and voluntarilie was deposed from his
royall croune, and kinglie dignitie, the ninth be-
ing the nine and twentieth daie of September, and

feast of S. Michaell the archangel, in the yeare of
our Lord 1399, and in the thre and twentieth yeare of
his reigne. The copie of which instrument here in-
sueth.

A copie of the instrument touching
the declaration of the commissioners
sent from the states in par-
lement, vnto king
Richard.

His present indenture made the
nine and twentieth daie of Sep-
tember, and feast of saint Micha-
ell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399,
and the thre and twentieth yeare of king
Richard the second. Witnesseth, that
where by the auctoritie of the lords spiri-
tuall and temporall of this present parle-
ment, and commons of the same, the right
honorable and discret persons here vnder
named, were by the said auctoritie assign-
ed to go to the Tower of London, there
to heare and testifie such questions and an-
swers as then and there should be by the
said honorable and discret persons hard.
Know all men, to whome these present let-
ters shall come, that we, sir Richard
Scrope archbishop of Yorke, John bishop
of Hereford, Henrie earle of Northumber-
land, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Tho-
mas lord Berkeleie, William abbat of
Westminster, John prior of Canturburie,
William Thyrning and Hugh Burnell
knights, John Markham iustice, Tho-
mas Stow and John Burbadge doctors
of the ciuill law, Thomas Crpingham and
Thomas Grey knights, Thomas Ferebie
and Denis Lopeham notaries publike,
the daie and yere aboue said, betwene the
houres of eight and nine of the clocke be-
fore none, were present in the chiefe cham-
ber of the kings lodging, within the said
place of the Tower, where was rehearsed
vnto the king by the mouth of the foresaid
earle of Northumberland, that before time
at Conwaie in Northwales, the king be-
ing there at his pleasure and libertie, pro-
mised vnto the archbishop of Canturburie
then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the said
earle of Northumberland, that he for in-
sufficiencie which he knew himselfe to be
of, to occupie so great a charge, as to go-
uerne the realme of England, he would
gladlie leaue of and renounce his right and
title, as well of that as of his title to the
croune of France, and his maiestie roiall,
vnto Henrie duke of Hereford, and that to
do in such conuenient wise, as by the lear-
ned men of this land it should most suffi-
cientlie be deuised and ordeined. To the which
rehearsall, the king in our said presences
answered benignlie and said, that such pro-
mise he made, and so to do the same he was
at that houre in full purpose to performe
and fulfill: saving that he desired first to
haue personall speech with the said duke,
and with the archbishop of Canturburie
his cousins. And further, he desired to
haue a bill drawne of the said resignation,
that

This promise
he made at
flint rather
than at Con-
waie, as by
that which
goeth before it
may be partlie
conicured,

that he might be perfect in the rehearfall thereof.

After which bill drawne, and a copie thereof to him by me the said earle deliuered, we the said lordes and other departed: and vpon the same afternone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaster, at the last the said duke, with the archbishop of Canturburie and the persons afore recited, entered the foresaid chamber, bringing with them the lordes Ross, Aburgenie, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other. Where after due obeisance done by them vnto the king, he familiarlie and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appered) talked with the said archbishop and duke a good season; and that communication finished, the king with glad countenance in presence of vs and the other about rehearsed, said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person; yet for the more suertie of the matter, and for that the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the instrument whereby
king Richard resigneth the crowne to
the duke of Lancaster.

IN the name of God Amen: I Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c: lord of Ireland, acquit and assoile all archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, secular or religious, of what dignitie, degree, state, or condition so euer they be; and also all dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, lords, and all my liege men, both spirituall and secular, of what manner or degree they be, from their oth. of fealtie and homage, and all other deeds and priuileges made vnto me, and from all manner bonds of allegiance, regaltie and lordship, in which they were or be bounden to me, or anie otherwise constrained; and them, their heires, and successors for euermore, from the same bonds and oths I release, deliuer, and acquit, and set them for free, dissolued and acquit, and to be harmlesse, for as much as longeth to my person by anie manner waie or title of right, that to me might follow of the foresaid things, or anie of them. And also I resigne all my kinglie dignitie, maiestie and crowne, with all the lordships, power, and priuileges to the foresaid kinglie dignitie and crowne belonging, and all other lordships and possessions to me in anie maner of wise pertaining, of what name, title, qualitie, or condition soeuer they be, except the lands and possessions for me and mine obits purchased and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of possession, which I euer had or haue in the same lordships and possessions, or anie of them, with anie manner of rights belonging or appertaining vnto anie

part of them. And also the rule and gouernance of the same kingdome and lordships, with all ministrations of the same, and all things and euerie each of them, that to the whole empire and iurisdiccions of the same belongeth of right, or in anie wise may belong.

And also I renounce the name, worship, and regaltie and kinglie highnesse, clearelie, freelie, singularlie and wholie, in the most best maner and forme that I may, and with deed and word I leaue off and resigne them, and go from them for euermore; sauing alwaies to my successors kings of England, all the rights, priuileges and appurtenances to the said kingdome and lordships abovesaid belonging and appertaining. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my selfe to be, and haue beene insufficient and unable, and also vnprofitable, and for my open deserts not vnworthie to be put downe. And I sweare vpon the holie euangelists here presentlie with my hands touched, that I shall neuer repugne to this resignation, demission or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in anie maner by word or deed, by my selfe nor none other: nor I shall not suffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuile or apertlie. But I shall haue, hold, and keepe this renouncing, demission, and giuing vp for firme and stable for euermore in all and euerie part thereof, so God me helpe and all saints, and by this holie euangelist, by me bodilie touched and kissed. And for more record of the same, here openlie I subscribe and signe this present resignation with mine owne hand.

Now forthwith in our presences and others, he subscribed the same, and after deliuered it vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, saing that if it were in his power, or at his assignement, he would that the duke of Lancaster there present should be his successor, and king after him. And in token hereof, he tooke a ring of gold from his finger being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes finger, desiring and requiring the archbishop of Yorke, & the bishop of Hereford, to shew and make report vnto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to haue him his successor and their king after him. ¶ All this doone, euerie man tooke their leaue and returned to their owne.

Upon the morrow after being tuesday, and the last date of September, all the lordes spirituall and temporall, with the commons of the said parlement, assembled at Westmynster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousin of Lancaster to haue him his successor. And moreover shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand, which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This done, the question was first asked of the lordes, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted

granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessarie in avoiding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before done by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of record amongst other of the kings records for ever.

All this was done accordingly, for the articles which before yee haue heard, were readone and ingrosed by, and there shewed readie to be read; but for other causes more needfull as then to be preferred, the reading of those articles at that season, was deferred. Then forsomuch as the lords of the parlement had well considered the voluntarie resignation (of king Richard, and that it was behouefull and as they thought) necessarie for the weale of the realme, to proceed vnto the sentence of his deposing, there were appointed by the authoritie of all the estates there in parlement assembled, the bishop of saint Asaph, the abbat of Glasseburie, the earle of Gloucester, the lord Berkeley, William Whiting iustice, and Thomas Erpingham, with Thomas Craie, knights, that they should giue and pronounce the open sentence of the deposing of king Richard. Whereupon the said commissioners taking counsell together, by good and deliberate aduise therein had, with one assent agreed, that the bishop of S. Asaph should publish the sentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

The publication of king Richards deposing.

In the name of God Amen. We John bishop of S. Asaph, John abbat of Glasseburie, Thomas earle of Gloucester, Thomas lord Berkeley, William Whiting iustice, Thomas Erpingham & Thomas Craie knights, chosen and deputed speciall commissioners by the three states of this present parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, for all such matters by the said estates to vs committed: we vnderstanding and considering the manifold crimes, hurts, and harmes done by Richard king of England, and misgouernance of the same by a long time, to the great decaille of the said land, and vtter ruine of the same shortlie to haue bene, had not the speciall grace of our God therevnto put the sooner remedie: and also furthermore aduerting, that the said king Richard by acknowledging his owne insufficiencie, hath of his owne mere voluntarie and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule & gouernance of this land, with all rights and honours vnto the same belonging, and vtterlie for his merits hath iudged himselfe not unworthy to be deposed of all kinglie maiestie and estate roiall. We the premises well considering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (as aboue is said) committed, pronounce, decerne, and declare the same king Richard, before this to haue bene, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vninsufficient,

and vntoworthie of the rule and gouernance of the foresaid realmes and lordships, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the same belonging. And for the same causes we depriue him of all kinglie dignitie and worship, and of any kinglie worship in himselfe. And we depose him by our sentence definitiue, forbidding expresselie to all archbishops, and bishops, and all other prelates, dukes, marquesses, eccles, barons and knights, and all other men of the foresaid kingdome and lordships, subjects, and lieges whatsoeuer they be, that none of them from this daie forward, to the foresaid Richard as king and lord of the foresaid realmes and lordships, be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which sentence thus openlie declared, the said estates admitted forthwith the forenamed commissioners for their procurators, to resigne and yeld vnto king Richard, all their homage and fealtie, which in times past they had made and owght vnto him, and also for to declare vnto him (if need were) all things before done that concerned the purpose and cause of his deposing: the which resignation was rescripted till the morow following. Immediatlie as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forehead, and likewise on his breast, and after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people there being present, these words following.

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge or claime to the crowne.

In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the thirde, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my frends, to recouer the same, which was in point to be bridone for default of good gouernance and due iustice.

After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him downe in the place where before he had sitten. When the lords hauing heard and well considered this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood up & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, *Yea, yea, yea.* After which answer, the said archbishop going to the duke, and kneeling downe before him on his knee, addrested to him all his purpose in few words. The which when he had ended, he rose, & taking the duke by the right hand, led him vnto the kings seate, the archbishop of Yorke assisting him, and with great reuerence

The demand
of the archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie to
the commons.

Thom. Wals.
The duke of
Hereford pla-
ced in the res-
gall throne.

The arch-
bishop preached.

reuerence set him therein, after that the duke had first vpon his knees made his prayer in deuout manner vnto almighty God. When he was thus placed in his thorne to the great reioicing of the people, the archbishop of Canturburie began a breue collation, taking for his theme these words, written in the first booke of kings the ninth chapter; *Vir dominabitur in populo*, &c: handling the same, & the whole tenour of his tale to the praise of the king, whose sealed iudgement, grounded in wisdom, perfect reason, and ripe discretion was such (said he) as declared him to be no child, neither in peares, nor in light conditions, but a man able and meete for the gouernement of a realme: so that there was no small cause of comfort ministred to them through the fauourable goodnesse of almighty God, which had provided them of such a gouernor, as like a discret iudge shall deeme in causes by skillfull domes, and rule his subiects in upright equitie, setting apart all willfull pleasures, and childish inconstancie. This is a summarie of his oration. But because the qualitie of this volume is such, as that it hath set forth matters at large: I will laie downe the archbishops words, as they are recozded by Fabian in ample manner as followeth.

The archbishop of Canturburie his oration, framed vpon this text, *Vir dominabitur in populo*, &c: written in the first booke of kings and ninth chapter.

Abr. Fl. out of
Fabian, pag.
351.

These be the words of the high, and most mightie king, speaking to Samuel his prophet, teaching him how he should chosse and ordaine a gouernor of his people of Israel, when the said people asked of him a king, to rule them. And not without cause may these words be said here of our lord the king that is. For, if they be inwardlie conceiued, they shall giue vnto vs matter of consolation and comfort, when it is said that a man shall haue lordship and rule of the people, and not a child. For God threatneth not vs as he sometime threatned the people by Esai, saying: *Esa. 3. Et dabo pueros principes eorum, & effeminati dominabuntur eis*, I shall (saith our Lord) giue children to be their rulers & princes, and weake or fearefull shall haue dominion ouer them. But of his great mercie he hath visited vs, I trust his peculiar people, and sent vs a man to haue the rule of vs, & put by children that before time ruled this land, after childish conditions, as by the workes of them it hath rightlie appeared, to the disturbance of all this realme; and for want and lacke of a man. For, as saith the apostle Paule ad Corinthios, 1. capite 14. *Cum essem paruulus, loquebar vt paruulus*, &c: quando autem factus sum vir, euacuaui que erant paruuli, that is to say, When I was a child, I sauored and spake as a child, but at the time when I came vnto the estate of a man, then I put by all my childish conditions.

The apostle saith, he sauored and spake as a child, in whom is no stedfastnesse, or constancie. For a child will lightlie promise, and lightlie he will breake his promise, and doo all things that his appetite giueth him vnto, and forgetteth lightlie what he hath done. By which reason it followeth, that

needlie great inconuenience must fall to that people, that a child is ruler and gouernour of: nor it is not possible for that kingdome to stand in felicitie, where such conditions reigne in the head and ruler of the same. But now we ought all to reioice, that all such defaults be expelled, and that a man, and not a child, shall haue lordship ouer vs. To whom it belongeth to haue a sure rane vpon his twong, that he maie be knowne from a child, or a man vsing childish conditions: of whom I trust I maie say, as the wise man saith in his proverbs, *Proverb. 3. cap. Beatus homo qui inuenit sapientiam, & qui affluit prudentia*, that is to say, Blessed be the man that hath sapience or wisdom, and that aboundeth in prudence. For that man that is ruled by sapience, must needs loue & dread our Lord God, and who so loueth & dreadgeth him, it must consequentlie follow that he must keepe his commandements. By force whereof he shall minister true iustice vnto his subiects, and doo no wrong nor iniurie to any man.

So that then shall follow the words of the wise man the which be rehearsed, *Proverb. 10. Benedictio Domini super caput iusti, os autem impiorum operis iniquitatem*, that is to saie, The blessing of our Lord God shall light vpon the head of our king, being a iust and righteous man, for the twong of him worketh equitie and iustice; but the twong of the wicked & of sinners couereth iniquitie. And who so worketh or ministereth iustice in due order, he not onlie safeguardeth himself, but also holdeth people in a suertie of restfulness, of the which insueth peace and plentie. And therefore it is said of the wise king Salomon, *Eccles. 10. Beata terra cuius rex nobilis est, vel cuius principes vescuuntur in tempore suo*, which is to be vnderstanded, that blessed & happie is that land, of the which the king or ruler is noble and wise, and the princes be blessed that liue in his time. As who would say, they may take example of him to rule and guide their subiects. For by the discretion of a noble and wise man being in authoritie, manie evils be sequestred and set apart, all dissemblers put to silence. For the wise man considereth and noteth well the great inconueniences which dailye now growe of it, where the child or insipient drinketh the sweet and delicious words bnauidisedlie, and perceiueth not intoxication which they be mingled or mixt with, till he be inuironed and wrapped in all danger, as latelie the experience thereof hath bene apparent to all our sights and knowledges, & not without the great danger of all this realme. And all was for lacke of wisdom in the ruler, which deemed & taught as a child, giuing sentence of wilfulnesse and not of reason. So that while a child reigned, selfe-will & lust reigned, and reason with good conscience were outlawed, with iustice, stedfastnesse, and manie other vertues.

But of this perill and danger we be deliuered by the speciall helpe and grace of God,

An. Reg. 23.

God, *Quia vir dominabitur in populo*, that is to say, He that is not a child but perfect in reason. For he cometh not to execute his owne will, but his will that sent him, that is to wit, Gods will, as a man unto whome God of his abundant grace hath giuen perfect reason and discretion, to discern & deme as a perfect man. Wherefore not all onlie of this man we shall saye that he shall dwell in wisdom, but as a perfect man and not a child, he shall thinke, and deme, & haue such a circumspection with him, that he shall diligentlie fore-looke and see that Gods will be done, & not his. And therefore now I trust the words of the wise man, *Ecclesiast. 10. Shall be verified in our king: sciens, iudex sapiens indicabit populum*, & *principatus sensati stabilis erit*; that is (as saith the wiseman) A wise and discret iudge shall now deme his people, and the dominion or lordship of a discret wiseman shall stand stedfast. Whereupon shall then follow the second verie of the same chapter, *sciens, secundum iudicem populi, sic & ministri eius*, that is, Like as the head & soueraigne is replenished with all sapience and vertue, in guiding of his people, administering to them law, with due and convenient iustice, so shall the subiects againward be garnished with awe and louing dread, and beare unto him next God all honour, truth and allegiance.

So that then it may be concluded with the residue of the foresaid verses, *Qualis rex, talis & inhabitantes in ea*, which is to saye, Such as the ruler of the citie is, such then be the inhabitants of the same. So that consequentlie it followeth, a good master maketh a good disciple. And likewise an euill king or ruler shall lose his people, & the citie of his kingdome shall be left desolate and inhabited. Wherefore thus I make an end. In sted of a child wilfullie doing his lust and pleasure without reason, now shall a man be lord and ruler, that is replenished with sapience and reason, and shall gouerne the people by skilfull dome, setting apart all wilfulness and pleasure of himselfe. So that the word that I began with may be verified of him, *Ecce quia vir dominabitur in populo*. The which our lord grant, & that he may prosperously reigne unto the pleasure of God and wealth of his realme, Amen.

After the archbishop had ended, wishing that it might so come to passe, and the people answered, men; the king standing on his feet, said unto the lords and commons there present: I thanke you my lords both spirituall and temporall, and all the states of this land, and do you to wit, that it is not my will that any man thinke, that I by the waie of conquest should disherit any man of his heritage, franchises, or other rights, that him ought to haue of right, nor to put him out of that which he now inioieth, and hath had before time by custome or god law of this realme, except such priuat persons as haue bene against the good purpose, and the common profit of the realme. When he had thus ended, all the shiriffes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to exercise the same as before, which they could

not do whilst the kings rofall throne was void.

Whereupon, a proclamation was made, that the states should assemble againe in parlement on Monday then next ensuing, being the feast daie of saint Faith, which is the sixt of October; and that the Monday then next following, being the 13 of the same moneth, and the feast day of saint Edward the king and confessor, the coronation should be solemnized, and that all such as had to claime any seruice to be done by them at the same by any tenure, they should come to the White-hall in the kings palace, before the steward and constable of England, on saturday next before the same day of the parlement, and presenting their petitions that were due & rightfull, they should obtaine that to them appertained. Certe was also made on the kings behalfe, for calling of a parlement upon so short a warning, so as the knights and burgeses were not changed, but onelie appointed to assemble againe, as if the other parlement had rather bene continued than dissolved. The cause was alledged to be for easing of the charges that would haue risen, if ech man had bene sent home, and new knights and burgeses called.

These things done, the king rose from his place, and with a cheerful and right courteous countenance regarding the people, went to White-hall, where the same day he held a great feast. In the after none were proclamations made in the accustomed places of the citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth. On the morrow following, being Wednesday and first of October, the procurators above named repaired to the tower of London, and there signified unto king Richard the admission of king Henrie. And the aforesaid iustice William Whirning, in name of the other, and for all the states of the land, renounced unto the said Richard late king, all homage and fealties unto him before time due, in manner and forme as appertained. Which renuntiation to the depolish king, was a redoubling of his grace, in so much as thereby it came to his mind, how in former times he was acknowledged & taken for their liege lord and soueraigne, who now (whether in contempt or in malice, God knoweth) to his face swore him to be their king. So that in his beuines he might verie well haue said with a greiued plaintife,

Hec quanta fortis miseria mortalibus instans!
Ab hac quoties obliuia nominis apto!
O qui me finctus, quis me telluris huius
Perfusa sum tetrica vira deglutiat ore
Chasmatico?

T. Wals. Amine
sui querela s.

Thus was king Richard deprived of all kingly honour and princelie dignitie, by reason he was so giuen to follow euill counsell, and did such inconuenient waies and meanes, through insolent misgouernance, and youthfull outrage, though otherwaie a right noble and worthy prince. He reigned two and twentie yeares, three moneths and eight daies. He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus depolish, all the goods that he had, to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coine, besides plate and iewels, as a pledge and satisfaction of the injuries by him committed and done, in hope to be in more suretie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatsoeuer was promised, he was deceived therein. For shortly after his resignation, he was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & fro thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall heare.) He was semelie of shape and fauor, & of nature good enough, if the wickednesse & naughtie demeanour of such as were about him had not altered it.

This chance berelle was greatlie unfortunate, which fell into such calamitie, that he took it for the best waie he could deuise to renounce his kingdome, for the which mortall men are accustomed to hazard all

Thom. Wals.

The coronation proclamation.

The parliament.

King Henrie the fourth proclaimed.

T. Wals. Amine
sui querela s.

R. Richard deprived.

Hall,

His personage.

Harding.

The noble
house-keeping
of king Ri-
chard.Excesse in
apparell.Ignorant
prelats.

all they haue to attaine thereunto. But such misfor-
tune (or the like) oftentimes falleth vnto those prin-
ces, which when they are aloft, cast no doubt for pe-
rils that maie follow. He was prodigall, ambitious,
and much giuen to the pleasure of the bodie. He kept
the greatest port, and maintained the most plentiful
house that euer any king in England did either be-
fore his time or since. For there resorted daile to his
court about ten thousand persons that had meat and
drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there
were three hundred seruitors, and euery other office
was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamber-
lers, and landers, there were about three hundred
at the least. And in gorgeous and coslie apparell they
exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept with
in the bounds of his degre. Preomen and groomes
were clothed in silkes, with cloth of grate and skar-
let; other sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates.
And this vanitie was not onelie vsed in the court in
those daies, but also other people abroad in the towne
and countreies, had their garments cut far other wise
than had bene accustomed before his daies, with im-
borderies, rich fures, and goldsmiths worke, and euery
daie there was devising of new fashions, to the
great hindrance and decate of the common welth.
Moreover, such were preferred to bishoprikes, and
other ecclesiasticall livings, as neither could teach
nor preach, nor knew any thing of the scripture; so
that they were most unworthie the name of bishops,
being lewd and most vaine persons disguised in bi-
shops apparell. Furthermore, there reigned abun-
dantly the filthy sinne of lecherie and fornication,
with abhominable appetitie, spectable in the king,
but most chesellie in the prelatie, whereby the whole
realme by such their evil example, was so infected,
that the wrath of God was daily provoked to ven-
geance for the sins of the prince and his people. How
then could it continue prosperously with this king,
against whom for the whole enuinitie therewith
his life was defamed, the wrath of God was whetted
and take so sharpe an edge, that the same did thrust
him off from the scepter of his kingdom, and gaue
him a full cup of affliction to drinke, as he had done
to other kings his predecessors, by whose example he
might haue taken warning. For it is an heauie case
when God thundereth out his reall arguments ei-
ther vpon prince or people.

Thus haue ye heard what writers do report touch-
ing the state of the time and doings of this king. But
if I may boldlie saie that I thinke: he was a prince
the most vnhankfullie vsed of his subjects, of any
one of whom ye shall lightlie read. For although (tho-
rough the frailtie of youth) he demeaned himselfe
more dissolutelie than seemed conuenient for his ro-
all estate, & made choise of such counsellors as were
not fauoured of the people, whereby he was the lesse
fauoured himselfe: yet in no kings daies were the
commons in greater wealth, if they could haue per-
ceiued their happie state: neither in any other time
were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor
churchmen lesse wronged. But such was their ingra-
titude towards their bountifull & loving soueraigne,
that those whom he had chesellie aduanced, were re-
bellest to controll him; for that they might not ryle all
things at their will, and remoue from him such as
they disliked, and place in their roomes whom they
thought good, and that rather by strong hand, than by
gentle and courteous meanes, which stirred such ma-
lice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not
be asswaged without perill of destruction to them
both.

The duke of Gloucester these instrument of this
mischaunce, to what end he came ye haue heard. And al-

though his nephew the duke of Hereford took vpon
him to reuenge his death, yet wanted he moderation
and loialtie in his doings, for the which both he him-
selfe and his lineall race were scourged afterwards,
as a due punishment vnto rebellious subjects; so as
deserued vengeance seemed not to staie long for his
ambitious crueltie, that thought it not enough to
driue king Richard to resigne his crowne and regall
dignitie ouer vnto him, except he also should take
from him his guiltlesse life. What vnnaturalnesse, or
rather what tigerlike crueltie was this, not to be con-
tent with his principalltie: not to be content with his
treasure; nor to be content with his depriuation: not
to be content with his imprisonment: but being lo
herein limit in consanguinitie, which ought to haue
moued them like lambs to haue loued each other,
woulfullie to lie in wait for the distressed creatures
life, and rauenously to thirst after his blood, the spi-
riting thereof should haue touched his conscience so, as
that death ought rather to haue bene aduentured for
his safetie, than so sauagelie to haue sought his life
after the losse of his realme.

But to let this passe to the consideration of the
learned: according to our manner, I will shew what
writers of our English nation liued in his daies, as
we find them in John Bale's centuries. First Hen-
rie Bede, other wise surnamed of Wurle, after the
name of the house where he is thought to haue bene
borne, an Augustine frier, Simon Alcocke, which
Bishop of Eborac, borne in the borders of
Wales beyond Seuerne; William Jordan a blacke
frier, John Wilem a frier spinor, John Clifton a
Carmelite frier in Nottingham, Henrie Daniell a
blacke frier and a good physitian, Ralfe Parham,
John Parham a grate frier, cordelier as some
call them, Thomas Wood a Carmelite frier of
London, John Walsington borne in Yorkshire,
William Wyke an Augustine frier of Cantur-
rie, an histographer, Adam Peremouth a canon of
saint Dunstons church in London, that wrote two tre-
tises of historical matters, the one intituled *Chro-
nicon* 40 annorum, and the other *Chronicon* 60 annorum;
Simon Eyesham borne in Lincolnshire a doctor of
physicke and a skillfull astronomer, John Thomp-
son borne in Dorsetshire in a village of that name, and a
Carmelite frier in Blackhithe.

More, Thomas Winton borne in Lincolnshire,
an Augustine frier in Stamford; William Wals-
ington secretarie sometime to the Blacke prince an
excellent histographer, William Wyke a ci-
uilian, John Wotesham borne in Cambridgeshire a
blacke frier, William Wabbie a Carmelite frier, b-
shop of Worcester, and confessor to the duke of Lan-
caster; William Follenhill a frier spinor borne in
Lincolnshire, John Bourgh parson of Collingham
in Nottinghamshire a doctor of diuinitie, and chan-
celor of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge; William
Sclade a monke of Buckfast abbey in Devonshire,
John Thoresbte archbishop of Yorke and lord chan-
celor of England, was admitted by pope Urbane
the fist into the college of cardinals, but he died be-
fore R. Richard came to the crowne, about the eight
and fourth yeare of king Edward the third, in the
yeare of our Lord 1374. Thomas Ashborne an Au-
gustine frier, John Stone an earnest follower of
Wickliffes doctrine, and therefore condemned to per-
petuall prison; Casserton a monke of Poerwich and
an excellent diuine, Nicholas Radcliffe a monke of
saint Albons, John Ashwarbie a diuine and a fa-
uourer of Wicliffes doctrine, Richard Spaldstone
so called of the towne in Kent where he was borne,
a Carmelite frier of Aileford.

Adde to these John Warbie an Augustine frier,
and a great diuine; Robert Waldbie excellentlie
learned

learned as well in diuinitie as other arts, for the which he was first aduanced to a bishoppe in Calcoigne, and after he was admitted archbishop of Dublin; William Berton a doctor of diuinitie, & chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and aduersarie to Wickliffe; Philip Kepington abbat of Leicester a notable diuine and defender of Wickliffe, Thomas Lombe a Carmelite frier of Lin, Nicholas Hereford a secular priest, a doctor of diuinitie, and scholer to Wickliffe; Walter Bit also another of Wickliffes scholars wrote both of diuinitie & other arguments, Henrie Berkleie chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, an enimie to Wickliffe, and a great sophister; Robert Iuorie a Carmelite frier of London, and the twentieth prouinciall of his order here in England; Lankine a Londoner, an Augustine frier, professed in the same citie, a doctor of diuinitie, an aduersarie to Wickliffe.

More, William Gillingham a monke of saint Sauours in Canturburie; John Gylmarke a fellow of sparton colledge in Oxford, a great philosopher and mathematician; John Sharpe a philosopher, and a diuine, wrote many treatises, a great aduersarie to Wickliffe; Richard Lauingham bozne in Suffolke, and a frier of Gipswich, an excellent logician, but a sore enimie to them that fauoured Wickliffes doctrine; Peter Wateshull, of whome ye haue heard before: it is said that he was in the end constrained for doubt of persecution to flee into Boheme; William Woodford a Franciscane frier, a chosen champion against Wickliffe being now dead, procured thereto by the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell; John Bompyard a Dominicke frier, both a notable lawyer & a diuine, a sore enimie also to Wickliffes; Parcell Angeline an excellent philosopher and a diuine, one of the first teachers in the Vniuersitie of Heidelberg, which Robert duke of

Bauier and countie palantine of the Rhene had instituted about that season; Richard Pothall sonne to a maior of London (as is said) of that name, he became a Carmelite frier in the same citie; Thomas Edwardson prior of the friers Augustines at Clare in Suffolke, John Sumner a Franciscane frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliffes; Richard Withe a learned priest & an earnest follower of Wickliffe, John Swafham a Carmelite frier of Lin, a student in Cambridge, who became bishop of Bangor, a great aduersarie to the Wickliffes.

Finallie, and to conclude, William Egmond a frier heremit of the sect of the Augustins in Stamford; John Tillington a Franciscane frier, a maineiner of the popes doctrine; William Kimston of Kimington a monke of Salleie, an enimie also to the Wickliffes; Adam Eton well scene in the tongs, was made a cardinal by pope Gregorie the eleauenth, but by pope Urban the first he was committed to prison in Genoa, and at the contemplation of king Richard he was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered till the daies of Boniface the ninth, who restored him to his former dignitie; John Beaufu a Carmelite of Pothampton, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Oxford, and was made prior of his house; Roger Twisford *alias* Godlucke, an Augustine frier; John Treuise a Cornishman bozne, and a secular priest and vicar of Berkleie, he translated the bible; Bartholomew *De proprietatibus rerum*; *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, and diuerse other treatises, Rafe Spalbing a Carmelite frier of Stamford; John mone an Englishman bozne, but a student in Paris, who compiled in the French tong the *Romant of the Rose*, translated into English by Geoffrey Chaucer, William Shirborne; Richard Wychingham bozne in Suffolke, and diuerse other.

Thus farre Richard of Burdeaux, whose deprivation you haue heard; of his lamentable death hereafter, to wit, pag. 516, 517.



Henrie the fourth, cousine germane to Richard the second, latelie depriued.



When king Richard had resigned (as before is specified) the scepter and crowne; Henrie Plantagenet bozne at Wallingbroke in the countie of Lincolne, duke of Lancaster and Hereford, earle of Derby, Leicester, and Lincoln, sonne to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, with generall consent both of the lords & commons, was published, proclaimed, and declared king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, the last date of September, in the yeare of the world 5366, of our Lord 1399, of the reigne of the emperour Clemens the two and twentieth, of Charles the first king of France the twentieth, and the tenth of

Robert the third king of Scots. After that king Richard had surrendered his title, and dispossessed himselfe (which Chr. Okl. noteth in fewe wordes, saying:

*post breue tempus
Exiit insigni sese diademate, sceptum
Henrico Lancastrensi regale relinquens*)

In Angl. prelij.

King Henrie made certeine new officers. And first in right of his earldome of Leicester he gaue the office of high steward of England (belonging to the same earldome) vnto his second sonne the lord Thomas, who by his fathers commandement exercised that office, being assisted (by reason of his tender age) by Thomas Persie earle of Worcester. The earle of Northumberland was made constable of England; sir John Scirlie lord chancellor, John Pothurie elquier lord treasurer, sir Richard Clifford

Ed d. j.

lord

The parliament
new summoned.

Record
Curia.

Claiming of
offices at the
coronation.

Curtana.
The earle of
Summerset.

The earle of
Northum-
berland.
The Ile of
Man.

Lancaster
sword.

The earle of
Westmerland.

The duke of
Norfolke.
Sir Thomas
Cringham.

The earle of
Warwike.

Sir William
Argentine.

John Fitz-
warren.

The lord
Furnuall.

The lord
Graie.

lord p[ri]ncipal scale. For so much as by king Richards re-
signation and the admitting of a new king, all p[re]s-
in euery court and place were ceased, and without
daie discontinued, new writs were made for sum-
moning of the parliament vnder the name of king
Henrie the fourth, the same to be holden, as before
was appointed, on mondaie next ensuing. Upon the
fourth day of October, the lord Thomas second sonne
to the king sat as lord high steward of England by
the kings commandement in the White-hall of the
kings palace at Westm[on]ster, and as belonged to
his office, he caused inquirie to be made what offices
were to be exercised by anie maner of persons the
daie of the kings coronation, and what fees were be-
longing to the same, causing proclamation to be
made, that what noble man or other that could
claime anie office that daie of the solemnizing the
kings coronation, they shoulde come and put in their
bills cōprehending their demaunders. Whereupon diuers
offices & fees were claimed, as well by bills as other-
wise by speech of mouth, in forme as here insueth.

First, the lord Henrie the kings eldest sonne, to
whome he as in right of his duchie of Lancaster had
appointed that office, claimed to beare before the
king the principall sword called Curtana, and had
his sute granted. John erle of Summerset, to whom
the king as in right of his earledome of Lincoln,
had granted to be caruer the daie of his coronation,
and had it confirmed. Henrie Pertie earle of Nor-
thumberland, and high constable of England, by the
kings grant claimed that office, and obtained it to
enioy at pleasure. The same earle in right of the Ile
of Man, which at that present was granted to him,
and to his heires by the king, claimed to beare on the
kings left side a naked sword, with which the king
was girded, when before his coronation he entered
as duke of Lancaster into the parts of Holbornesse,
which sword was called Lancasters sword. Rafe erle
of Westmerland, and earle marshall of England, by
the kings grant claimed the same office, and obtained
it, notwithstanding that the attornies of the duke of
Norfolke, presented to the lord steward their petiti-
on on the dukes behalfe, as earle marshall, to exer-
cise the same. Sir Thomas Cringham knight
exercised the office of lord great Chamberleine, and
gaue water to the king when he washed, both before
and after dinner, hauing for his fees, the bason, civer,
and towels, with other things whatsoeuer belong-
ing to his office: notwithstanding Aubrie de Aier
earle of Wrenford put in his petitions to haue that
office as due vnto him from his ancestors. Thomas
Beauchampe earle of Warwike by right of inheri-
tance, bare the third sword before the king, and by
like right was pantler at the coronation. Sir Wil-
liam Argentine knight, by reason of the tenure of
his manour of Wilmundale in the countie of Hert-
ford, serued the king of the first cup of drinke which
he tasted of at his dinner the daie of his coronation:
the cup was of siluer vngilt, which the same knight
had for his fees: notwithstanding the petition which
John Fitzwarren presented to the lord steward, re-
quiring that office in right of his wife the ladie
Paud, daughter and heire to sir John Argentine
knight. Sir Thomas Beuill lord Furnuall, by rea-
son of his manour of Ferneham, with the hamlet of
Cere, which he held by the courtessie of England after
the decesse of his wife, the ladie Jone decesed, gaue
to the king a glove for his right hand, and susteined
the kings right arme so long as he bare the scepter.

The lord Reginald Graie of Ruthen, by reason
of his manour of Ashleie in Norfolke covered the
tables, and had for his fees all the tableclothes, as
well those in the hall, as else where, when they were
taken by; notwithstanding a petition exhibited by sir

John Draiton to haue had that office. The same lord
Graie of Ruthen, bare the kings great spurs before
him in the time of his coronation by right of inheri-
tance, as heire to John Hastings earle of Penbrooke.
John erle of Summerset, by the kings assignement
bare the second sword before him at his coronation,
albeit that the said lord Graie of Ruthen by petition
exhibited before the lord steward demanded the same
office, by reason of his castell & towne of Penbrooke,
and of his towne of Denbigh. Thomas earle of A-
rundell chiefe butler of England, obtained to exer-
cise that office the daie of the coronation, and had the
fees thereto belonging granted to him, to wit, the
goblet with which the king was serued, and other
things to that his office appertaining (the vessels of
wine excepted) that late vnder the bar, which were ad-
iudged vnto the said lord steward, the said earle of A-
rundell claime notwithstanding.

The citizens of London chosen forth by the citie,
serued in the hall, as assistants to the lord chiefe but-
ler, whilst the king sate at dinner, the daie of his co-
ronation: and when the king entered into his cham-
ber after dinner, and called for wine, the lord maior
of London brought to him a cup of gold with wine,
and had the same cup given to him, together with the
cup that contained water to allay the wine. After the
king had drunke, the said lord maior and the alder-
men of London had their table to dine at, on the left
hand of the king in the hall. Thomas Dimocke, in
right of his mother Margaret Dimocke, by reason
of the tenure of his manour of Scricuclie, claimed to
be the kings champion at his coronation, and had his
sute granted; notwithstanding a claime exhibited by
Baldwin Frenvill, demanding that office by reason
of his castell of Lamtworth in Warwike shire. The
said Dimocke had for his fees one of the best cour-
sers in the kings stable, with the kings saddle and
all the trappers & harness appertaining to the same
horse or courser: he had likewise one of the best ar-
mours that was in the kings armourie for his owne
bodie, with all that belonged wholie thereunto.

John lord Latimer, although he was vnder age,
for himselfe and the duke of Norfolke, notwithstan-
ding that his possessions were in the kings hands, by
his attornie sir Thomas Graie knight, claimed and
had the office of almoner for that daie, by reason of
certeine lands which sometime belonged to the lord
William Beauchampe of Bedford. They had a towell
of fine linnen cloth prepared, to put in the siluer
that was appointed to be given in almes; and like-
wise they had the distribution of the cloth that con-
cerned the pavement and floers from the kings chamber
doze, vnto the place in the church of Westm[on]ster
where the pulpit stood. The residue that was spread in
the church, the scuten had. William le Menour, by
reason he was tenant of the manour of Wiston, claim-
ed and obtained to exercise the office of making
wafers for the king the daie of his coronation. The
barons of the fine ports claimed, and it was granted
them, to beare a canopie of cloth of gold over the sh.
with foure staves, & foure bels at the foure corners,
euery staffe hauing foure of those barons to beare
it: also to dine and sit at the table next to the king on
his right hand in the hall the daie of his coronation,
and for their fees to haue the said canopie of gold,
with the bels and staves, notwithstanding the abbat
of Westm[on]ster claimed the same. Edmund cham-
bers claimed and obtained the office of principall lar-
derer for him and his deputies, by reason of his ma-
nour of Skulton, otherwile called Wardelebin
Skulton, in the countie of Norfolke. Thus was eu-
erie man appointed to exercise such office as to him of
right appertained, or at the least was thought requisite
for the time present. On mondaie then next ensuing,
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m. 1399.
Great spurs.

The second sword.

The earle of Arundell.

The citizens of London.

Thomas Dimocke.

Baldwin Freull.

The lord Latimer.

William de Wrenour.

The barons of the cinque ports.

An. Reg. I.

Knight of the Bath.

The lord mayor of London.

The earle of Sharch enuoyed the R. parliament.

Edmund erle of Lancaster intrulie false- hood to be sur-named Crokebacke.

when the states were assembled in parlement, order was taken, that by reason of such preparation as was to be made for the coronation, they should sit no more till the morow after saint Edwards daie. On the sundae following, being the euen of saint Edward, the new king lodged in the Tower, and there made fortie & six knights of the Bath, to wit: three of his sonnes, the earle of Arundell, the earle of War-wike his sonne, the earle of Stafford, two of the earle of Devonshires sonnes, the lord Beaumont, the lord Willoughbies brother, the earle of Staffords brother, the lord Camois his sonne, the lord of Spaulie, Thomas Beauchampe, Thomas Pelham, John Ait-trell, John Lisleie, William Haukeford iustice, William Bynchleie iustice, Bartholomew Kach-ford, Giles Daubenie, William Botler, John Ahy-ton, Richard Sanape, John Tiptoft, Richard Fran-cis, Henrie Perle, John Arundell, William Strall, John Turpington, Ailmer Saint, Edward Ha-fings, John Greisclie, Gerald Satill, John Arden, Robert Chalons, Thomas Dimocke, Hungerford, Githeshope, Pelwport, and diuerse other, to the num-ber of fortie and six.

On the morow being saint Edwards daie, and the thirtieth of October, the lord maior of London road towards the Tower to attend the king, with diuerse worshipfull citizens clothed all in red, and from the Tower the king rode through the citie to Westminister, where he was consecrated, annointed, and crowned king by the archbishop of Canturburie with all ceremonies and roiall solemnitie as was due and requisite. Though all other reioiced at his ad-ancement, yet suerlie Edmund Mortimer earle of March, which was cosine and heire to Lionel duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of king Ed-ward the third, & Richard earle of Cambzidge, sonne to Edmund duke of York, which had married Anne sister to the same Edmund, were with these doings neither pleased nor contented: insomuch that now the diuision once begun, the one lineage ceased not to persecute the other, till the heires males of both the lines were clerlie destroyed and extinguished.

At the daie of the coronation, to the end he should not seeme to take vpon him the crowne and scepter roiall by plaine extorted power, and insidious intru-sion: he was aduised to make his title as heire to Ed-mund (surnamed of intrulie seined) Crokebacke, sonne to king Henrie the third, and to saie that the said Edmund was elder brother to king Edward the first, and for his desormitie put by from the crowne, to whom by his mother Blanch, daughter and sole heire to Henrie duke of Lancaster, he was next of blood, and vndoubted heire. But because not onelie his friends, but also his priuie enemies, knew that this was but a forged title, considering they were suerlie informed, not onelie that the said Edmund was younger sonne to king Henrie the third, but also had true knowledge, that Edmund was neither cembrebacked, nor a deforimed person, but a goodlie gentelman, and a valiant capteine, and so much fauored of his louing father, that he to preferre him in marriage to the queene Dowager of Spauarre, ha-ving a great luckehod, gaue to him the countie pa-lantine of Lancaster, with manie notable honours, high seignories, and large priuileges. Therefore they aduised him to publish it; that he challenged the realme not onelie by conquest, but also because he by king Richard was adopted as heire, and decla-red by resignation as his lawfull successor, being next heire male to him of the blood roiall.

But to proceed to other doings. The solemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morow after being tuesday, the parlement began againe, and the next daie sir John Cheinie that was speaker, excusing

himselfe, by reason of his infirmite and sicknesse, not to be able to exercise that come, was dismissed, and one William Durward esquier was admitted. Herewith were the acts established in the parlement of the one & twentieth yeare of king Richards reigne repealed and made void, and the ordinances deuised in the parlement holden the eleuenth yeare of the same king, confirmed, and againe established for good and profitable. ¶ On the same daie, the kings eldest sonne lord Henrie, by assent of all the states in the parlement, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornuall, and earle of Chester, then being of the age of twelue yeares.

Upon the thursdaie, the commons came and re-hearsed all the errors of the last parlement holden in the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard, & namelie in certeine five of them.

First, that where the king that now is, was readie to arraigne an appeale against the duke of Dorfolke, he doing what pertained to his dutie in that behalfe, was yet banished afterwards without anie reason-able cause.

Secondlie, the archbishop of Canturburie, me-tropolitan of the realme, was foreiudged without answer.

Thirddie, the duke of Glocester was murdered, and after foreiudged.

Fourthlie, where the earle of Arundell alledged his charters of pardon, the same might not be al-lowed.

Fiftlie, that all the power of that euill parlement was granted and assigned ouer to certeine persons, and sith that such heinous errors could not be com-mitted (as was thought) without the assent and ad-uise of them that were of the late kings counsell, they made sute that they might be put vnder arrest, and committed to safe keeping, till order might be further taken for them.

Thus much adoe there was in this parlement, speciallie about them that were thought to be guiltie of the duke of Glocesters death, and of the condem-ning of the other lords that were adiudged traitors in the forsaide late parlement holden in the said one and twentieth yeare of king Richards reigne. Sir John Bagot knight then prisoner in the Tower, dis-closed manie secrets, vnto the which he was priuie; and being brought on a daie to the barre, a bill was read in English which he had made, containing cer-teine euill practises of king Richard; and further what great affection the same king bare to the duke of Aumarle, insomuch that he heard him say, that if he should renounce the gouernement of the king-dome, he wished to leaue it to the said duke, as to the most able man (for wisdom and manhood) of all o-ther: for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he said that he knew if he were once king, he would proue an extreamie enimie and cruell tyrant to the church.

It was further contained in that bill, that as the same Bagot rode on a daie behind the duke of Por-folke in the Swanp street toward Westminister, the duke asked him what he knew of the manner of the duke of Glocester his death, and he answered that he knew nothing at all: but the people (quoth he) do say that you haue murdered him. Wherevnto the duke swore great othes that it was intrulie, and that he had saued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certeine other lords, by the space of three weeks, and more; affirming withall, that he was neuer in all his life time more affraid of death, than he was at his comming home againe from Calis at that time, to the kings presence, by reason he had not put the duke to death. And then (said he) the king appoint-ed one of his owne seruants, and certeine other that

her of the par-lement dismis-sed, and wil-liam Dur-ward admit-ted.

It was repealed.

It was confir-med.

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Fabian.
Sir John Bagot disclo-seth secrets.

Henrie the fourth suspec-ted not to be well affected towards the church before his comming to the crowne.

Do d.ij. were

Sir John Cheinie

The duke of
Aumarle ac-
cused.

were servants to other lords to go with him to see the said duke of Gloucester put to death, swearing that as he should answer afore God, it was never his mind that he should have died in the fort, but onlie for feare of the king, and saving of his owne life. *Pe-* uertheless, there was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle: for he was the man that to fulfill his mind, had set him in hand with all that was done against the said duke, and the other lords. There was also contained in that bill, what secret malice king Richard had conceived against the duke of Hereford being in exile, whereof the same Bagot had sent intelligence unto the duke into France, by one Roger Smart, who certified it to him by Piers Buckton, and others, to the intent he should the better have regard to himselfe. There was also contained in the said bill, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle say, that he had rather than twentie thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead, not for any feare he had of him, but for the trouble and mischefe that he was like to procure within the realme.

The duke of
Aumarle his
answer un-
to Bagots
bill.

John Hall a
preman.

After that the bill had bene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle rose vp and said, that as touching the points contained in the bill concerning him, they were bitterlie false and untrue, which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner soeuer it should be thought requisite. Therewith also the duke of Gloucester rose vp, and willed Bagot that if he could say any thing against him to speake it openlie. Bagot answered, that for his part he could say nothing against him: But there is (said he) a preman in *pe*lucog at one John hall that can say somewhat. Well then (said the duke of Gloucester) this that I do and shall say is true, that the late king, the duke of *po*rfolke, and thou being at *W*oodstoke, made me to go with you into the chappell, and there the duke being shut, ye made me to sweare vpon the altar, to keepe counsell in that ye had to say to me, and then ye rehearsed that we should neuer haue our purpose, so long as the duke of Lancaster liued, & therefore ye purposed to haue counsell at *W*ichfield, & there you would arrest the duke of Lancaster, in such sort as by colour of his disobeying the arrest, he should be dispatched out of life. And in this manner ye imagined his death. To the which I answered, that it were conuenient the king should send for his counsell, and if they agreed hereunto, I would not be against it, and so I departed. To this Bagot made no answer.

Bagot and
Hall brought
to the barre.

The lord
Fitzwater
appealeth the
duke of Au-
marle of trea-
son.

After this, the king commanded that the lords, Berkleie, and Louell, and six knights of the lower house, should go after dinner to examine the said Hall. This was on a Thursdaye being the fifteenth of October. On the Saturday next ensuing, sir William Bagot and the said John Hall were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certaine points, and sent againe to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose vp, and said to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Gloucesters death, I say (quoth he) that he was the verie cause of his death; and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords also that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter against the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him that lied falselie, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

The duke of Surrie stood by also against the lord Fitzwater, auouching that where he had said that the

appellants were causers of the duke of Gloucesters death, it was false, for they were constrained to sue the same appeale, in like manner as the said lord Fitzwater was compelled to giue iudgement against the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of Arundell; so that the suing of the appeale was done by constraint, and if he said contrarie he lied: and therewith he threw downe his hood. The lord Fitzwater answered herewith, that he was not present in the parlement house, when iudgement was giuen against them, and all the lords bare witness thereof. Moreover, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his servants to Calis, to murder the duke of Gloucester, the said duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of *po*rfolke affirme it, he lied falselie, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hood which he had borrowed. The same was likewise deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the king licensed the duke of *po*rfolke to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale. After this was John Hall condemned of treason by authoritie of the parlement, for that he had confessed himselfe to be one of them that put the duke of Gloucester to death at Calis, and so on the Monday following, he was drawne from the Towler to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, headed, and quartered: his head being sent to Calis there to be set vp, where the duke was murdered.

On Wednesday following, request was made by the commons, that sith king Richard had resigned and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decreed against him, so as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realme for satisfieng of the people: which demand was granted. Whereupon the bishop of Carleill, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach, boldlie shewed forth his opinion concerning that demand, affirming that there was none amongst them worthy to meet to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their souereigne and liege lord, by the space of two & twentie yeares and more; And I assure you (said he) there is not so rank a traitor, nor so errant a thief, nor yet so cruell a murderer apprehended or detained in prison for his offence, but he shall be brought before the iustice to heare his iudgement; and will ye proceed to the iudgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse? I say, that the duke of Lancaster whom ye call king, hath more trespassed to Richard & his realme, than king Richard hath done either to him, or vs: for it is manifest & well knowne, that the duke was banished the realme by Richard and his counsell, and by the iudgement of his owne father, for the space of ten yeares, for what cause ye know, and yet without licence of king Richard, he is returned againe into the realme, and (that is worse) hath taken vpon him the name, title, & prebendience of king. And therefore I say, that you haue done manifest wrong, to proceede against him against king Richard, without calling him openlie to his answer and defense. As soon as the bishop had ended his tale, he was attached by the earle marshall, and committed to ward in the abbey of saint Albons.

Moreover, where the king had granted to the earle of Westmerland the countie of Richmond, the duke of Britaine pretending a right thereto by an old title, had sent his letters ouer vnto the estates assembled in this parlement, offering to abide such order as the law would appoint in the like case to any of the kings subjects. Whereupon the commons for the more suertie of the intercourse of merchants, besought the king that the matter might be committed to the ordering of the counsell of either of the parties,

R. Richard
appointed
to be kept in
prison
till.

Fabian

John Hall
crucified.

John Stow.
The request
of the com-
mons.

The earle
warlike.

Hall.
The bold bishop
and a simple
fall.

Sir water
Cloyton.

The lord
Fitzwater ap-
pealeth the
duke of Au-
marle.

The lord
Fitzwater
appealeth
the duke
of Britaine.

An. Reg. 1.

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parties, and of his counsell, so as an end might be had therein, which request was likewise granted. After this, the records of the last parliament were shewed, with the appeals, & the commission made to twelve persons, to determine things that were motioned in the same last parliament. Whereupon the commons prayed that they might have iustice Parkham, and maister Calcoigne a sergeant at the law joined with them for counsell, touching the perusing of the records, which was granted them, and day given over till the next morrow in the White-hall, where they sat about these matters three daies together.

On the morrow following, being the euen of Simon and Jude the apostles, the commons requested to heare the iudgement of king Richard. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie appointed to speake, declared how that the king that now is, had granted king Richard his life; but in such wise as he should remaine in perpetuall prison, so safely kept, that neither the king nor realme should be troubled with him. It was also concluded, that if anie man went about to deliuer him, that then he should be the first that should die for it. After this, the commons prayed that the lords and other that were of king Richards counsell, might be put to their answers for their sundrie misdemeanours, which was granted. On Wednesday following, being the morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, all the proceſſe of the parlement holden the 21 yere of king Richards reigne was read openlie, in which it was found, how the earle of Warwick had confessed himselfe guiltie of treason, and asked pardon and mercie for his offense: but the earle denied that euer he acknowledged anie such thing by word of mouth, and that he would proue in what manner soeuer should be to him appointed. Wherein was also the appeale found of the dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Exceſter, the marquesse Dorset, the earles of Salisburie, and Gloceſter, unto the which eche of them answered by himselfe, that they neuer assented to that appeale of their owne free wills, but were compelled thereto by the king: and this they affirmed by their othes, and offered to proue it by what manner they should be appointed.

Sir Walter Clopton said then to the commons; If ye will take aduantage of the proceſſe of the last parlement, take it, and ye shall be receiued thereunto. Then rose vp the lord Spolzie, and said to the earle of Salisburie, that he was chiefe of counsell with the duke of Gloceſter, and likewise with king Richard, & so discovered the dukes counsell to the king, as a traitor to his maister, and that he said he would with his bodie proue against him, throwing downe his hod as a pledge. The earle of Salisburie soe moued herewith, told the lord Spolzie, that he falslie belied him, for he was neuer traitor, nor false to his maister all his life time, and therewith threw downe his gloue to wage battell against the lord Spolzie. Their gages were taken by, and deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties were arrested, and day to them given till another time.

On mondaie following, being the morrow after All soules day, the commons made request, that they might not be entred in the parlement rols, as parties to the iudgement given in this parlement, but there as in verie truth they were partie to the same: for the iudgement otherwise belonged to the king, except there anie iudgment is given by statute enacted for the profit of the common-wealth, which request was granted. Divers other petitions were presented on the behalfe of the commons, part whereof were granted, and to some there was none answer made at that time. Finally, to auoid further inconvenience, and to qualifie the minds of the enuious, it

was finally enacted, that such as were appellants in the last parlement against the duke of Gloceſter and other, should in this wise following be ordered. The dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Exceſter there present, were iudged to lose their names of dukes, together with the honours, titles and dignities thereunto belonging. The marquesse Dorset being likewise there present, was adiudged to lose his title and dignitie of marquesse; and the earle of Gloceſter being also present, was in semblable manner iudged to lose his name, title and dignitie of earle.

Moreover, it was further decreed against them, that they and euerie of them should lose and forfeit all those castles, lordships, manors, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties and reuenues, whatsoever had bene given to them, at or since the last parlement, belonging aforesaid to any of those persons whom they had appealed, and all other their castles, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties, and reuenues whatsoever, which they held of the late kings gift, the daie of the arrest of the said duke of Gloceſter, or at any time after, should also remaine in the kings disposition from thenceforth, and all letters patents and charters, which they or any of them had of the same names, castles, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, and liberties, should be surrendered by into the chancery, there to be cancelled. Diuerse other things were enacted in this parlement, to the preiudice of those high estates, to satisfie mens minds that were soe displeased with their doings in the late kings daies, as now it manifestlie appeared. For after it was understood that they should be no further punished than as before is mentioned, great murmuring rose among the people against the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, the earle of Northumberland, and other of the counsell, for saving the liues of men whom the commons reputed most wicked, and not worthe in anie wise to liue. But the king thought it best, rather with courtesie to reconcile them, than by cutting them off by death, to procure the hatred of their friends and allies, which were manie, and of no small power.

After that the foresaid iudgement was declared with protestation by sir William Thirning iustice, the earle of Salisburie came and made request, that he might haue his protestation entered against the lord Spolzie, which lord Spolzie rising vp from his seat, said, that so he might not haue; because in his first answer he made no protestation, and therefore he was past it now. The earle prayed day of aduſement, but the lord Spolzie prayed that he might lose his aduantage, sith he had not entered sufficient plea against him. Then sir Matthew Gournie sitting by derneath the king said to the earle of Salisburie, that forsomuch as at the first day in your answers, ye made no protestation at all, none is entered of record, and so you are past that aduantage: and therefore asked him if he would saie any other thing. Then the earle desired that he might put in mainprise, which was granted: and so the earle of Kent, sir Rafe Ferrers, sir John Roch, & sir John Draxton knights, mainprised the said earle bodie for bodie. For the lord Spolzie all the lords and barons offered to undertake, and to be suerties for him; but yet foure of them had their names entered, that is to saie, the lords Willoughbie, Beauchampe, Seales, and Berkelie: they had day till the fridaie after to make their libell.

After this came the lord Fitzwater, and prayed to haue day and place to arreigne his appeale against the earle of Rutland. The king said he would send for the duke of Northfolke to returne home, and then upon his returne he said he would proceed in that matter. Many statutes were established in this parlement, as well concerning the whole bodie of the

Dukes and
others bepr
ned of their
titles.

Tho. Wals.

The hatred
which the co
mons had co
mitted against
the appellants.

The earle of
Salisburie
his request.

Sir Matthew
Gournie.

The earle of
Salisburie
mainprised.

The lord
Spolzie main
prised.

The lord
Fitzwater.

The archb.
of Cantur-
burie resto-
red to his see.

Thom. Walf.
Hall.

The crowne
intailed.

common-wealth (as by the booke thereof imprinted may appeare) as also concerning diuerse private persons then presentlie living, which partlie we haue touched, and partlie so: doubt to be ouer-tedious, we do omit. But this among other is not to be forgotten that the archbishop of Canturburie was not onelie restored to his former dignitie, being removed from it by king Richard, who had procured one Roger Walden to be placed therein (as before ye haue heard) but also the said Walden was established bi-
shop of London, wherewith he seemed well content.

Whereouer, the kings eldest sonne Henrie already created (as heire to his father, and to the crowne) prince of Wales, duke of Cornetwall, and earle of Chester, was also intituled duke of Aquitaine: and to auoid all titles, claimes, and ambiguities, there was an act made for the uniting of the crowne vnto king Henrie the fourth, and to the heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, his soure sonnes, Henrie, Thomas, John, and Humfrie, being named, as to whom the right should descend successiuelie by waie of inheritance, in case where heires failed to any of them. By force of this act king Henrie thought himselfe firmer set on a sure foundation, not needing to feare any storme of aduerser fortune. But yet shortly after he was put in danger to haue bene set besides the seat, by a conspiracie begun in the abbay of Westminster house, which had it not bene hindered, it is doubtful whether the new king should haue inioined his roialtie, or the old king (now a prisoner) restored to his principallitie. But God (of whome the poet saith,

*humana rotat
Instar volucris pulueris acti
Turbine celeri mobilis aura)*

had purposed a disappointment of their confuration, and therefore no maruell though the issue of their labours were infortunat by their flattering hope.

But now to make an end with this parlement. After that things were concluded and granted, so as was thought to stand with the suertie of the king, and good quiet of the realme, the king granted a free pardon to all his subiects, those excepted that were at the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and such as had committed wilfull murder, or rape, or were knowne to be notorious thieues. And those that were to take benefitt by this pardon, were appointed to sue forth the charters thereof, betwixt that present and the feast of All saints next ensuing, and so was this parlement dissolved. Immediately after, the king (according to an order taken in the same parlement, to giue to vnderstand vnto all princes and countries about him, by that title and occasion he had taken to him the kingdom) sent ambassadors vnto them to signifie the same. Into Rome were sent, John Trenchant bishop of Hereford, sir John Cheine knight, & John Cheine esquier. Into France, master Walter Shirley bishop of Durham, and Thomas Persie earle of Worcester. Into Spaine, John Trenchour bishop of saint Asaph, and sir William Parre knight. Into Almaine the bishop of Bangor, and two others.

The Scots in time of the late parlement, taking occasion of the absence of the northerne lords, and also by reason of great mortalitie that afflicted the northerne people that yeare, invaded the borders, took the castell of Warke, that was assigned to the safe keeping of sir Thomas Greie knight, who then was at the parlement, as one of the knights of the shire, by meanes of whose absence, the enemies the sooner (as is to be thought) obtained their desire, and so kept that castell a certeine time, and finally spoiled it, and overthrow it to the ground. Besides all this, they did manie other mischeues in the countrie, to the vndoing of manie of the kings subiects. This yeare Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk died in

erile at Mentce, whose death might haue bene too: shillie bewailed of all the realme, if he had not bene consenting to the death of the duke of Gloucester. The same yeare deceased the duchesse of Gloucester, thorough sorrow (as was thought) which she conceined for the losse of hir sonne and heire the lord Humfrie, who being sent for: south of Ireland (as before ye haue heard) was taken with the pestilence, and died by the waie.

But now to speake of the conspiracie, which was contriued by the abbay of Westminster as chiefe instrument thereof. We shall vnderstand, that this abbay (as it is reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie saie, when he was but earle of Derby, and young of yeares, that princes had too little, and religious men too much. He therfore doubting now, least if the king continued long in the estate, he would remove the great beame that then greued his eyes, and picked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an assemblie and counsell, where they might consult and commen together, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestlie wished and desired: that was, the destruction of king Henrie, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselves outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where they secretlie wished & sought his confusion. The abbay after he had felt the minds of sundrie of them, called to his house on a day in the terme time, all such lords & other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, so enuious to the prosperitie of king Henrie, whose names were, John Holland earle of Huntington late duke of Excester, Thomas Holland earle of Kent late duke of Surrie, Edward earle of Rutland late duke of Aumarle sonne to the duke of Porke, John Pontacute earle of Salisbury, Hugh lord Spenser late earle of Gloucester, John the bishop of Carleill, sir Thomas Blunt, and Maudelen a priest one of king Richards chappell, a man as like him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as unlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions.

The abbay highlie feasted these lords, his speciall frends, and when they had well dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat doone in counsell, and after much talke & conference had about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iuss to be enterprised betwene him and 20 on his part, & the earle of Salisbury and 20 with him at Oxford, to the which triumph king Henrie should be desired, & when he should be most busilie marking the martiall pastime, he suddenly should be slaine and destroyed, and so by that means king Richard, who as yet liued, might be restored to libertie, and haue his former estate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who should assemble the people, the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Whereupon was an indenture septipartite made, sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole endeavour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Whereouer, they swore on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death.

When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windsor, earnestlie requiring him, that he would vouchsafe to be at Oxford on the daie appointed of their iusses, both to behold the same, and to be the discourser and indifferent iudge (if anye ambiguitie should rise) of their couragious acts and doings. The king being thus

The backe
of Gloucester
deceased.

Hall.

what manner
the abbay of
Westminster
to conspire
against the
king.

The duke
yoke the
the indent
from his l

The lords
that conspi-
red against
the duke.

The earle
Huntington
creth & so
conspirac
to the kin

Tho. Walf.

Ambassadors
sent to foreign
princes.

The castell of
Warke taken
by the Scots.
Sir Thom.
Greie.

The death of
the duke of
Norfolke.

It is re-
sed to be
den at Ox-
ford.

An indenture
septipartite.

Mowbray
countersei
to be king
Richard.

The king
cometh to
tower of
B.

He is de-
sed to come
see the milles.

The lord
come to
before.

The duchess
of Gloucester
receiveth.

hall.

what moun
he abbat of
Westminster
o conspire
against the
king.

The lords
hat conspi-
red against
the duke.

the lords
dent
to be hol-
en at Dr-
yd.

an indenture
conspire.

eto desired
come and
the wills.

The duke of
York
take secretly
the indenture
from his son.

The earle of
Rutland be-
treth & whole
conspiracie
to the king.

Hagbale
counterfeited
to be king
Richard.

The king com-
meth to the
tower of Lon-
don.

The lords
come to win-
dore.

thus instantlie required of his brother in law, and
nothing lesse imagining than that which was pzetend-
ed, gentlie granted to fulfill his request. Which
thing obtained, all the lords of the conspiracie depar-
ted home to their houses, as they noised it, to set ar-
mours on worke about the trimming of their ar-
mour against the iusts, and to prepare all other furni-
ture and things readie, as to such an high & solemne
triumph appertained. The earle of Huntington came
to his house and raised men on euerie side, and prepar-
ed horse and harnesse for his compassed purpose,
and when he had all things readie, he departed to-
wards Drenford, and at his coming thither, he
found all his mates and confederates there, well ap-
pointed for their purpose, except the earle of Rut-
land, by whose follie their pzedified conspiracie was
brought to light and disclosed to king Henrie. For
this earle of Rutland departing before from West-
minster to see his father the duke of Yorke, as he sat
at dinner, had his counterpane of the indenture of
the confederacie in his bosome.

The father espieing it, would needs see what it was:
and though the sonne humbly denied to shew it, the
father being more earnest to see it, by force took it
out of his bosome, and perceiuing the contents ther-
of, in a great rage caused his hordes to be fabled out
of hand, and spitefullie repprouing his sonne of trea-
son, for whome he was become suertie and mainper-
nour for his god abearing in open parlement, he in-
continentlie mounted on horsebacke to ride to-
wards Windsoze to the king, to declare vnto him the
malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rut-
land seeing in what danger he stood, took his horse,
and rode another waie to Windsoze in post, so that
he got thither before his father, and when he was a-
lighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be
shut, saieing that he must needs deliuer the keyes to
the king. When he came before the kings presence,
he kneeled downe on his knees, beseeching him of
mercie and forgiveness, and declaring the whole
matter vnto him in order as euerie thing had pas-
sed, obtained pardon. Therewith came his father,
and being let in, deliuered the indenture which he had
taken from his sonne, vnto the king, who thereby
perceiuing his sonnes words to be true, changed his
purpose for his going to Drenford, and dispatched
messengers forth to signifie vnto the earle of Yor-
ke, humblyland his high constable, and to the earle of
Westmerland his high marshall, and to other his as-
sured friends, of all the doubtfull danger and peril-
ous iopardie.

The conspiratozs being at Drenford, at length
perceiued by the lacke of the earle of Rutland, that
their enterprize was reuealed to the king, and there-
vpon determined now openlie with speare and shield
to bring that to passe which before they couertlie at-
tempted, and so they adorneed Hagbale, a man most
resembling king Richard, in roiall and princelie be-
sure, and named him to be king Richard, affirming
that by fauour of his keepers he was escaped out of
pison, and so they came forwarde in order of warre,
to the intent to destroe king Henrie. Whilest the
confederatozs with their new published idoll, accom-
panied with a strong armie of men, took the direct
waie towarde Windsoze, king Henrie admonished
thereof, with a few horsemen in the night came to
the Tower of London about twelue of the clocke,
where in the morning he caused the maior of the citie
to apparell in armour the best and most couragious
persons of the citie, which brought to him thre thou-
sand archers, and thre thousand bill-men, besides
them that were appointed to kepe and defend the
citie.

The conspiratozs coming to Windsoze, entered

the castell, and vnderstanding that the king was gon
from thence to London, determined with all speed to
make towarde the citie: but changing that determi-
nation as they were on their waie, they turned to
Colbroke, and there staid. King Henrie issuing out
of London with twentie thousand men, came
streight to Hunslo heath, and there pitched his campe
to abide the coming of his enemies: but when they
were aduertised of the kings puissance, amazed with
fear, and forthinking their begun enterprize, as men
mistrusting their owne companie, departed from
thence to Berkhamsted, and so to Cirencester, & there
the lords took their lodging. The earle of Kent, and
the earle of Salisburie in one Inne, and the earle of
Huntington and lord Spenser in an other, and all
the host laie in the fields, whereupon in the night sea-
son, the bailiffe of the towne with fourescore archers
set on the house, where the erle of Kent and the other
laie, which house was manfullie assaulted and strong-
lie defended a great space. The earle of Huntington
being in an other Inne with the lord Spenser, set
fire on diuerse houses in the towne, thinking that the
assailants would leaue the assault and rescue their
goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The host li-
eng without, hearing noise, and seeing this fire in the
towne, thought verelie that king Henrie had bene
come thither with his puissance, and therevpon fled
without measure, euerie man making shift to saue
himselfe, and so that which the lords desired for their
helpe, wrought their destruction: for if the armie that
laie without the towne had not mistaken the matter,
when they saw the houses on fire, they might easilie
haue succoured their cheefesteins in the towne, that
were assailed but with a few of the townesmen, in
comparison of the great multitude that laie abroad
in the fields. But such was the ordinance of the
mightie Lord of hostes, who disposeth althings at his
pleasure.

The earle of Huntington and his companie seeing
the force of the townesmen to increase, fled out on
the backside, intending to repaire to the armie which
they found dispersed and gone. When the earle seeing
no hope of comfort, fled into Ciler. The other lords
which were left fighting in the towne of Cirencester,
were wounded to death and taken, and their heads
stricken off and sent to London. Thus witeth Hall
of this conspiracie, in following what authoz I know
not. But Thomas Walsingham and diuerse other
seeme somewhat to dissent from him in relation of
this matter: for they write that the conspiratozs
ment vpon the sudden to haue set vpon the king in
the castell of Windsoze, vnder colour of a maske o-
mummerie, and so to haue dispatched him: and res-
toring king Richard vnto the kingdome, to haue reco-
uered their former titles of honour, with the posses-
sions which they had lost by iudgement of the last par-
lement. But the king getting knowledge of their
pzetended treasons, got him with all speed vnto
London.

The conspiratozs, to wit, the earles of Kent and
Salisburie, sir Rafe Lumlie, and others, supposing
that the king had not vnderstood their malicious pur-
pose, the first sundaie of the new yeare, which fell in
the octaues of the Innocents, came in the twilight
of the evening vnto Windsoze with foure hundred
armed men, where vnderstanding that the king was
withdrawne vpon warning had of their purposed in-
tention, they forthwith returned backe, and came
first vnto Sunnings, a manor place not farre from
Reading, where the quene wife to king Richard then
laie. Here setting a good countenance of the matter,
the earle of Kent declared in presence of the quenes
seruants that the lord Henrie of Lancaster was fled
from his presence with his children and friends, and
had

The king go-
eth forth a-
gainst them.

They retire.

They come to
Cirencester.

The bailiffe
of Cirencester
setteth vpon
them on their
lodgings.

The lords set
fire on their
lodgings.

Hall.
Froissard.

Thom. Wall.

A maske.

1400
Harding.

The sword
of the earle
of Kent.

had shut by himselfe & them in the Tower of London, as one afraid to come abroad, for all the brags made heretofore of his manhood: and therefore (saith he) my intention is (my lords) to go to Richard that was, is, and shall be our king, who being already escaped forth of prison, lieth now at Pomfret, with an hundred thousand men. And to cause his speech the better to be believed, he took away the kings cognisances from them that wore the same, as the collars from their necks, and the badges of crellants from the sleeves of the servants of household, and throwing them away, said that such cognisances were no longer to be borne.

Thus having put the queene in a false hope of that which was nothing so, they departed from thence unto Wallingford, and after to Abington, instilling the people by all meanes possible unto rebellion, all the waie as they went, and sending their agents abroad for the same purpose: at length they came to Cirester in the darke of the night, and took by their lodgings. The inhabitants of that towne suspecting the matter, and indging (as the truth was) these rumors which the lords spread abroad to be but dreams, they took thereupon counsell together, got them to arms, and stopped all the entries and outgates of the town where these new ghesles were lodged, in so much that when they about midnight secretly attempted to have come forth, and gone their waies, the townsmen with bows and arrowes were ready to slay them, and keepe them in. The lords perceiving the danger, got them to their arms and weapons, and did their best by force to breake through and repell the townsmen. But after they had fought from midnight till thre of the clocke in the afternoon of the next daie, and perceived they could not prevail, they yielded themselves to the townsmen, beseeching them to have their lives saved, till they might come to the kings presence.

This request they had obtained, if a priest that was chapleine to one of them, had not in the meane time set fire upon certaine houses in the towne, to the end that whiles the townsmen should busie themselves to quench the fire, the lords might find meanes to escape. But it came nothing to passe as he imagined, for the townsmen leaving all care to save their houses from the rage of the fire, were kindled more in furie towards the lords, and so to revenge themselves of them they brought them forth of the abbey where they had them in their hands, and in the twilight of the evening, strooke off their heads. The earle of Salisbury, saith Thomas Walsingham) who in all his life time had bene a fauourer of the Lollards or Wickliffites, a despiser of images, a contemner of canons, and a scorner of the sacraments, ended his daies, as it was reported) without the sacrament of confession. These be the words of Thom. Wall. which are set downe, to signifie that the earle of Salisbury was a hidden ghesst to blackham feast with the rest: and as it should seme by his relation the more maligne, because he was somewhat estranged fro the corruption of the religion then received, and leaned to a sect pursued with spitefulness and revenge.

John Houl and earle of Huntington (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) was not with the lords at the castell of Windsor, but staid about London to be bold the end of his businesse: and hearing how the matter went, farre contrarie to that he wished, he sought to flee by sea; but not able to get away, by reason the wind being contrarie would not permit him, he took his battle, and having a knight with him called sir John Schellie, he rood into Essex, attempting to have fled from thence by sea: but still the wind was so against him, that he was continually driven

backe when he was about to make saile, and so coming againe to land, he was taken one evening at Whitwell in Essex, in a mill (that belonged to one of his trustie friends) as he sat there at supper, together with the said sir John Schellie. The commons of the countie that took him, brought him first to Chelmsford, and after to Plashie, where on the daie of St. Maure, that is the fifteenth of Januarie, about sun setting he was beheaded, in the verie place in which the duke of Glocester was arrested by king Richard. He confessed with lamentable repentance (as writers do record) that diuers & manie waies he had offended God and his prince, because that understanding the purpose of the other lords, he had not reuealed the same.

The lord Hugh Spenser, otherwisse called earle of Glocester, as he would have fled into Wales, was taken and carried to Wiltshir, where (according to the earnest desires of the commons) he was beheaded. Gaudeleu fleeing into Scotland, was taken by the waie, and brought to the Tower. Manie other that were partie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Wyford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie knight, and Thomas Wintercell esquier, but sir Leonard Bokas, and sir John Schellie knights, John Gaudeleu, and William Serbie chaplains, were alone, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were nineteene in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the chiefe conspirators were set on poles ouer London bridge, to the terror of others. Shortly after, the abbat of Westminster, in whose house the conspiracie was begun (as is said) going betwene his monastrie & manstion, for thought fell into a sudden palsey, and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. The bishop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the same conspiracie; but the king of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned him of that offense, although he died shortly after, more through feare than force of sickness, as some haue written. Thus all the associates of this unhappie conspiracie tasted the painefull penance of their pleasant pastime.

Thus haue ye heard what writers haue recorded of this matter, with some difference betwixt them: that write, how the king should haue bene made away at a iuss; and other that testifie, how it should haue bene at a masse or mummerie: but whether they meant to haue dispatched him at a mumming, or at a iuss, their purpose being reuealed by the earle of Rutland, they were brought to confusion (as before ye haue heard.) And immediatlie after, king Henrie, to rid himselfe of any such like danger to be attempted against him thereafter, caused king Richard to die of a violent death, that no man should afterward saue himselfe to represent his person, though some haue said, he was not partie to that wicked offense. The common fame is, that he was euer daie serued at the table with costlie meat, like a king, to the intent that no creature should suspect any thing done contrarie to the order taken in the parlement; and when the meat was set before him, he was forbidden once to touch it: yea, he was not permitted so much as to smell to it, and so he died of forced famine.

But Thomas Walsingham is so farre from imputing his death to compulsiue famine, that he referreth it altogether to voluntarie pining of himselfe. For when he heard that the complots and attempts of such his fauourers, as sought his restitution, and their owne advancement, aduised, and the chiefe agents therein executed; he took such a conceit at these misfortunes (for so Thomas Walsingham termeth them) and was so beaten out of hart, that he fullie he starued himselfe, and so died in Pomfret castell.

The lords
yeld them-
selues.

3 yers set
fire on the
houses of
Cirester.

Abr. Fl. out of
Tho. Wallin.
pag. 484.

He died by
confession.

The lords
beheaded.

Chr. Sals.

The earle of
Huntington
taken.

Com. G.

Thom.
Sir P.
Exton
Richard

He is be-
headed.

Thomas
Spenser, earle
of Glocester.

Hall.

Execution.

Tho. Wallin.
Hall.

The abbat of
Westminster
died suddenly.

The bishop of
Carleill died
through feare,
or rather the
rough grief
of mind, to the
cheekes
prospere in
toke it.
Hall.

The del-
manhood
king Ri.

Richard
murdered

The common
reports of
Richard.

The bre-
die of R.
chard by
to f. Coe

He is bur-
at Langt

om. 1399.

An. Reg. 1.

The earle of
Huntington
taken.He is be-
headed.Thomas
Spencer, with
Wal. & others.

Hall.

Execution.

Tho. Walling.
Hall.The abbat of
Westminster
died, & bodie,
Thom. Wall.The bishop of
Carlisle died
through fear,
or rather thro-
ugh griefe
of mind, to see
the which
prosper as he
toke it.
Hall.The sundrie
reports of R.
Richer. death.Abr. Fl. out of
Thom. Wall.
pag. 404 & 405.

Com. Gall.

Thom. Walling.
But Piers de
Erton a mar-
tyrer of king
Richard.The deposed
manhood of
king Richard.R. Richard
murdered.The dead bo-
dy of R. Ri-
chard brought
to Tower.He is buried
in Langley.

castell on S. Valentines daie: a happie daie to him,
for it was the beginning of his ease, and the ending
of his paine: so that death was to him daintie and
sweet, as the poet saith, and that verie well in these,

Dulce mori miseris,

Neque est melius morte in malis rebus.

One witer, which seemeth to haue great know-
ledge of king Richards doings, saith, that king
Henrie, sitting on a daie at his table, fore sighing,
said, Haue I no faithfull friend which will deliuer me
of him, whose life will be my death, and whose death
will be the preservation of my life? This saying was
much noted of them which were present, and especial-
lie of one called sir Piers of Erton. This knight in-
continentlie departed from the court, with eight
strong persons in his companie, and came to Pom-
fret, commanding the esquier that was accustomed
to sew and take the assaie before king Richard, to do
so no more, saying: Let him eat now, for he shall not
long eat. King Richard sat downe to dinner, and
was serued without courtesie or assaie, whereupon
much maruelling at the sudden change, he demanded
of the esquier whie he did not his dutie: Sir (said he) I
am otherwise commanded by sir Piers of Erton,
which is newlie come from R. Henrie. When king
Richard heard that word, he toke the heruing knife
in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saying
The diuell take Henrie of Lancaster and thee toge-
ther. And with that word, sir Piers entered the cham-
ber, well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed,
curie of them hauing a bill in his hand.

King Richard perceiving this, put the table from
him, & keping to the foremost man, toying the bill out
of his hands, so valiantlie defended himselfe, that he
slue foure of those that thus came to assaile him. Sir
Piers being halfe dismaied herewith, leapt into the
chaire where king Richard was wont to sit, while the
other foure persons fought with him, and chased him
about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Ri-
chard trauesed his ground, from one side of the
chamber to an other, & coming by the chaire, where
sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax
which sir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and there-
with rid him out of life, without giuing him respite
ones to call to God for mercie of his passed offenses.
It is said, that sir Piers of Erton, after he had thus
slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one stricken with
the prick of a gillie conscience, for murdering him,
whome he had so long time obeyed as king. After
he was thus dead, his bodie was embalmed, and
sared, and couered with lead, all saue the face, to the
intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that
he was departed this life: for as the corps was con-
ueied from Pomfret to London, in all the townes
and places where those that had the conueiance of it
did staie with it all night, they caused dirige to be
song in the evening, and masse of Requiem in the
morning; and as well after the one seruice as the o-
ther, his face discovered, was shewed to all that coue-
ted to behold it.

Thus was the corps first brought to the Tower,
and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of
saint Paule bare faced, where it laie three daies to-
gether, that all men might behold it. There was a
solemne obsequie done for him, both at Paules, and
after at Westminster, at which time, both at dirige o-
uer night, and in the morning at the masse of Requiem,
the king and the citizens of London were present.
When the same was ended, the corps was comman-
ded to be had vnto Langley, there to be buried in
the church of the friers preachers. The bishop of Che-
ster, the abbats of saint Albons and Waltham, cele-
brated the exequies for the buriall, none of the nobles
nor anye of the commons (to accompt of) being pre-

sent: neither was there anye to bid them to dinner
after they had laid him in the ground, and finished the
funerall seruice. He was after by king Henrie the
sixt removed to Westminster, and there honozable
intombed with quene Anne his wife, although the
Scots vntruclie wrote, that he escaped out of prison,
and led a vertuous and a solitarie life in Scotland,
and there died, & is buried (as they hold) in the blacke
friars at Sterling. But Fabian and others do as it
were point out the place of his interment, saying
that he lieth intombed on the south side of saint Co-
wards shaine, with an epitaph expressing partlie his
proportion of bodie and partlie his properties of
mind, as after followeth in a rime herafter shon:

Prudens & mundus, Richardus iure secundus,

Per fatum victus, iacet hic sub marmore pictus,

Verax sermone, fuit & plenus ratione,

Corpore procernus, animo prudens vt Homerus,

Ecclesie sauit, elatos suppeditauit,

Quemuis prostrauit, regalia qui violauit.

When the newes of king Richards deposing was
reported in France, king Charles and all his court
wondering, detested and abhorred such an iniurie
done to an annointed king, to a crowned prince, and
to the head of a realme: but in especiall, Walter
earle of saint Paule, which had married king Ri-
chards halfe sister, moued with great disdain to-
wards king Henrie, ceased not to stirre king Char-
les & his counsell to make warres against the Eng-
lishmen, and he himselfe sent letters of defiance into
England. The earles sate was easilie agreed vnto,
and an armie rofall appointed with all speed, to in-
uade England. The armie was come downe into
Picardie, redie to be transported into England: but
when it was certeinlie knowne, that king Richard
was dead, and that the enterprise of his deliuerance
(which was chieflie meant) was frustrate and void,
the armie was dissolued. But when the certentie of
R. Richards death was intimate to the Gascoignes,
the most part of the wisest men of the countrie were
right pensiue: for they iudged verelie, that hereby the
English nation should be brought to dishonour, and
losse of their ancient fame and glorie, for committing
so heinous an offense against their king and soue-
reigne lord, the mermozie whereof (as they thought)
would neuer die: and chieflie, the citizens of Bur-
deaur toke the matter verie sore at the stomack: for
they bare exceeding fauour to king Richard, because
he was borne and brought vp in their citie, and there-
fore more than all the residue they shewed themsel-
ues to abhorre so heinous a deed.

The Frenchmen hauing vnderstanding hereof,
thought with themselves that now was the time for
them to practise with the Gascoignes to reduce them
from the English obedience, vnder their subiection.
Whereupon came Lewis duke of Burbon vnto A-
gen, and wrote to diuerse citie and townes, on the
confines of Guien, exhorting them with large promi-
ses, and faire sugred words, to revolt from the Eng-
lishmen, and to become subiects to the crowne of
France; but his trauell preuailed not: for the people
vnderstanding that the English yoke was but easie
in comparison to the French bondage, determined
to abide rather in their old subiection, than for a dis-
pleasure irreuerable to aduenture themselves on
a new doubtful perill; yet it was doubted, least the
cities of Burdeaur, Mar, and Baion, would haue re-
uolted, if the lords of the marches about those places
had leaned to them in that purpose, for they sent their
commissioners to Agen, to treat with the duke of
Burbon. But forsomuch as the lords, Pomiers, Gu-
cident, Duras, Landuras, Copane, Rofern, & Lan-
gurant, were minded to continue still English, those
cities durst not without them turne to the French o-
beissance,

Abr. Fl. out of
Fabian pag.
378.Fozren prin-
ces not with-
out cause ab-
horre to heere
of the shame-
full murdres
of king Ri-
chard.How the Gas-
coignes toke
the death of
R. Richard.The duke of
Burbon.

Froissard.

breifance, for they could not haue stirred out of their gates, but those lords would haue bene readie at their elbowes, to haue caught them by the sleeves.

King Henrie being aduertised of the Frenchmens covert meanings, and also of the wauering minds of the Gascoignes, sent Thomas Persie earle of Worcester with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers into Guien, to aid and assist sir Robert Binols, his lieutenant there. The chiefeſt capteines that accompanied the earle in this iournie were theſe: firſt, his nepheue fir Hugh Haliſings, fir Thomas Colleuill, fir William Liſle, John de Craillie baſe ſonne to the capitall de Boerue, fir William Draiton, fir John Danbreticourt: alſo there went with him the biſhop of London, and maſter Richard Doall or Dolicie. The earle at his arriual ſo wiſelicly intreated the noble men, ſo grauelicly perſuaded the magiſtrats of the cities and towncs, and ſo gentlelic and familiarlic vſed and treated the commons, that he not onelic appeaſed their furie and malice, but brought them to louing and vniſorme obedience, receiuing of them othes of obedience, & totall fealtie, which done, he returned againe into Eng- land with great thanks,

The french king perceiuing he could not bring his purpose about, neither by inuading England, nor by practising with the Gascoignes, sent a solemne ambassage into England, requiring to haue his daughter the ladie Isabel, sometime espoused to king Richard, restored to him againe. King Henrie gently receiued those that were sent to him about this message, and for answer, promised to send his commissioners vnto Calis, which should further commune and conclude with them. ¶ This seemeth dissonant from the report of Fabian deuised out of Gaguine. For he saith that Charles hearing of the suppression of st. Richard, sent 2 of his household knights into England, requiring king Henrie the fourth, then newlie made king, to send home his daughter Isabel, latelie married vnto king Richard, with such dowrie as with him was promised. In doing of which message king Henrie toke such displeasure, that he thereto the said two knights in prison; where through one of them (named Blanchet) died in England, and the other called Henrie, after great sickness returned into France: wherefore if Fabian plaie not the fabler, those that were sent on the said message were not gently receiued of king Henrie; vntlesse to be cast in prison and discontented dealt withall stand countable for beneuolence & gentle intertainment. But to remit this and the like variances among writers to such as can reconcile them, let vs returne to the storie.

It was not inough that H. Henrie was thus troubled now in the first yere of his reigne, with ciuill sedition, and the couert practises of Frenchmen; but that the Scots also toke vpon them to make open warre against him: it chanced (as in the Scottissh Chronicles more at large appeareth) that George of Dunbar, earle of the marches of Scotland, being in displeasure with Robert king of Scots, fled into England, to Henrie earle of Northumberland, wher vpon the Scottissh king depriued him of all his dignities and possessions, and caused his goods to be confiscate, and after wropte to the king of England, requiring him if he would haue the truce anie longer to continue, either to deliuer into his possession the earle of March and other traitors: to his person, or else to banish them out of his realmes and dominions. King Henrie discreetly answered the herald of Scotland, that the words of a prince ought to be kept: and his writings and seale to be inviolate: and considering that he had granted a safe conduct to the earle and his companie, he should neither without cause

reasonable breake his promise, no: yet de face his hope. Which answer declared to the king of Scots, he incontinentlie proclaimed open warre against the king of England, with fire and sword. Whereupon, one sir Robert Logon, a Scottish knight, with certeine ships well appointed for the warre, meane to haue destroyed the English fleet that was come on the coasts of Scotland, about Aberdeen, to figh there: but (as it chanced) he met with certeine ships of Lin, that fought with him, and toke him prisoner, with the residue of his companie, so that he quite failed of his purpose, and came to the losse himselfe.

At the same time, the Englishmen spoiled all cer-
teine of the Isles of Orkeneye. This summer, great
death chanced in this land, manie dying of the pesti-
lence, wherewith sundrie places were infected. King
Henrie perceiving that policie oftentimes preuen-
teth peril, and vnderstanding the naughtie pur-
poses of the Scots, gathered a great armie, and entred
into Scotland, burning towncs, villages, and ca-
stels, with a great part of the towncs of Edem-
burgh and Leith, and besseged the castell of Edem-
burgh in the end of September, whereof was cap-
teine Dauid duke of Rothesay, and a prince of the
realme, with Archembald earle of Douglas, having
with them manie hardie men of warre. Robert duke
of Albanie, that was appointed gouernour of the
realme, because the king was sicke and not meet to
rule, sent an herald vnto king Henrie, promising him
battel within six daies at the furthest, if he wold so
long tarry, which king Henrie promised to doe right
gladlie, and gaue to the herald for bringing him so
acceptable newes, a gowne of silke, and a chaine of
gold. But king Henrie failed six daies, and sixtene
mo, without hearing any word of the gouernors com-
ming. When the winter beginning to wax cold, and
foule weather still increasing, caused the king to
breake by his siege, and so returned without battell
or skirmish offered.

In the meane time that the king was thus in Scotland, the Scots made a robe into Forthumberland, and burned diuerse towne in Wamburroughshire. At the kings comming backe to Dorke, there were two strangers, the one a Frenchman, and the other an Italian, requiring to accomplish certeine feats of armes, against sir John Cornewall, and Zenico de Artois. Their request was granted, and the strangers were put to the worst, whereby sir John Cornewall obtained the kings fauour so farre forth, that he married the kings siller, the widow of John Holland, earle of Huntington. Yet some said, that the knight and the countesse were agreed aforehand, without the kings consent. In the kings absence, whilest he was forth of the realme in Scotland against his enemies, the Welchmen took occasion to rebell vnder the conduct of their capteine Owen Glendouer, doing what mischefe they could cruise, vnto their English neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was some to an esquier of Wales, named Griffith Nighan: he dwelled in the parish of Conswate, within the countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place called Glindourtwie, which is as much to saie in English, as The ballie by the side of the water of Dee, by occasion whereof he was surnamed Glindour Deu.

He was first set to studie the lawes of the realme, and became an utter barrestre, or an apprentise of the law, (as they terme him) and serued king Richard at Flint castell, when he was taken by Henrie duke of Lancaster, though other haue written that he serued this king Henrie the fourth, before he came to attaine the crowne, in roome of an esquier, and after, by reason of variance that rose betwixt him and the lord Reginald Erie of Rutlin, about the lands which he

Polydor.
Froissard.

The earle of
woꝛceſter ſent
into Gas-
cogne.

Embassadors
from the
French
king.

Abr.Fl.out of
Fabian, pag.
364.

George earle
of March
fleth into
England.

The answer
of King Hen-
ry to the
Scottish am-
bassadors.

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Froissard.
Commissio
met to tre
peace.

The first thing from
with a first

Truce for
peasants.

Hall.

The French
men demand
a dowry of
quarantine
bell.

Thos. Wals

n. 1400.

Open warre
proclaimed by
the king of
Scots a-
gainst Eng-
and.
Thom. Wall.

Robert A. o-
n taken pri-
oner.

The plea of
Dahme
poiled by
Englishmen,
Hostalitie of
people.

King Henrie
married
Dorland.

The duke of
Northaic.

The duke of
Albanie.

Anno Reg. 4.

King Henrie
turneth
dne.
The Great
rene in Shp-
umberland,
ulls at
ozke.

Sir John
opneball
arrieth the
ngs sister.

The welsh
en rebell
e setting on
Dwen
Glendouer.

In Snow.
Dwen Glen-
ner what
was.

10. Wall.

An. Reg. 23.

The occasion
that moved
him to rebell.
The king en-
tereth into
wales, mean-
ing to cha-
se the rebels.

The emperor
of Constanti-
nople cometh
into England.

1401
Parliament.

One burnt in
Smithfield.

Additions of
the chronicles
of Flanders.

There was
also the erle of
Dorland,
as Froulard
saith.
The death
Froulard.
Commissioners
went to treat of
peace.

The French
king troubled
with a frensie.

Since for 26
yeares.

Hill.

The French-
men demand
a dowre for
queene Fla-
bell.

claimed to be his by right of inheritance: when he
saw that he might not preuaile, finding no such fauor
in his sute as he looked for, he first made warre a-
gainst the said lord Greie, wasting his lands and
possessions with fire and sword, cruelly killing his
servants and tenants. The king aduertised of such re-
bellious exploits, enterprised by the said Dwen, and
his brutish complices, determined to chastise them,
as disturbers of his peace, and so with an armie en-
tered into Wales; but the Welshmen with their
capitaine withdrew into the mounteines of Snow-
don, so to escape the reuenge, which the king meant
towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in
the countries with fire and sword, sleing diuerse that
with weapon in hand came forth to resist him, and so
with a great botle of beasts and cattell he returned.

The emperor of Constantinople comming into
England to sue for aid against the Turkes, was met
by the king on Blackheath, upon the feast day of
saint Thomas the apostle, and brought unto London
with great honor. The king bare all his charges, pre-
sented him with gifts at his departure, met for
such an estate. After the feast of the Epiphanie, a par-
lement was holden, in which an act was made, a-
gainst those that held opinions in religion, contrarie
to the received doctrine of the church of Rome; ordi-
ning, that wheresoever any of them were found and
proued to set forth such doctrine, they should be ap-
prehended, and deliuered to the bishop their dioce-
sane; and if they stood stiffelie in their opinions, and
would not be reformed, they should be deliuered to
the secular power, to be burnt to ashes. The first that
tasted the smart of this statute, was one William
Hawtre: or Sawtre a priest, that being apprehen-
ded was burnt in Smithfield, in time of this parle-
ment.

About the same time, king Henrie (according to
promise made (as ye haue heard) unto the French
ambassadors, sent ouer into the countrie of Guines,
Edward earle of Rutland, otherwise in king Ri-
chards daies intituled duke of Aumarie, son to Ed-
mund duke of Yorke, Henrie earle of Northumber-
land, and his sonne the lord Henrie Percie, the lord
Puan Fitzwarren, the bishops of Winchester and
Lincolne: where the duke of Burbon, the lords
Charles d'Albert, Charles de Hangeul, John de Cha-
selmoyant, the Patriarke of Jerusalem, and the bi-
shops of Paris and Beauuois, were readie there to
commune with them, and so they assembling togie-
ther at sundrie times and places, the Frenchmen re-
quired to haue queene Flabell to them restored, but
the Englishmen seemed loth to depart with hir, re-
quiring to haue hir married to Henrie prince of
Wales, one in blood and age in all things to hir e-
quall; but the Frenchmen would in no wise conde-
scend thereto, without their kings consent, who at
that present was not in case to offer his mind, being
troubled with his wonted disease. The commissio-
ners then began to treat of peace, and at length re-
newed the truce to endure for six and twentie yeares
yet to come; whereunto the foure yeares passed being
added, made by the number of thirtie yeares, accor-
ding to the conclusion agreed vpon, in the life time of
king Richard.

Some authors affirme, that there was a new
league concluded, to continue, during the liues of
both the princes. The Frenchmen diuerse times re-
quired to haue some dowre assigned forth for queene
Flabell, but that was at all times vtterlie denied, for
that the marriage betwixt hir and king Richard was
neuer consummate, by reason whereof she was not
dowable. Perierthelesse, she was hostlie after sent
home, vnder the conduct of the earle of Worcester,
associat with diuerse other noble and honorable per-

sonages, both men and women, hauing with hir all
the iewels, ornaments, and plate which she brought
into England, with a great surpluse besides giuen
to hir by the king. She was deliuered betwixt Bul-
longne and Calis, to Valeran earle of saint Paule,
the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, who being
accompanied with the bishop of Chartres, the lord de
Huguculle, the ladie of Monpensier sister to the erle
of March, the ladie of Lucenburgh sister to the said
earle of saint Paule, & diuerse other ladies and gen-
tlewomen, which receiued hir with great ioy and
gladnesse, and taking leaue of the English lords and
ladies, they conueied hir to the dukes of Burgognie
and Burbon, that attended for hir, not far off, vpon a
hill, with a great number of people. They first con-
ueied hir to Bullogne, & after to Abail, from whence
the duke of Orleans conueied hir to Paris, vnto
the presence of the king hir father, and the queene hir
mother: she was after giuen in marriage vnto
Charles, sonne to Letours duke of Orleans.

About the same time, Dwen Glendouer and his
Welshmen did much hurt to the kings subiects. One
night as the king was going to bed, he was in dan-
ger to haue bene destroyed; for some naughtie traito-
rous persons had conueied into his bed a certeine
iron made with smiths craft, like a caltrop, with three
long pickes, sharpe and small, standing vp right, in
such sort, that when he had laid him downe, & that the
weight of his bodie should come vpon the bed, he
should haue bene thrust in with those pickes, and per-
adventure slaine: but as God would, the king not
thinking of any such thing, chanced yet to slee and
perceiue the instrument before he laid him downe,
and so escaped the danger. Howbeit it was not so
sone deliuered from feare; for he might well haue his
life in suspicion, & prouide for the preservation of the
same; sith perils of death crept into his secret cham-
ber, and late lurking in the bed of downe where his
bodie was to be reposed and to take rest. Oh what a
suspected state therefore is that of a king holding his
regiment with the hatred of his people, the hartgrud-
gings of his courtiers, and the peremptorie practises
of both together? Could he confidentlie compose or
settle himselfe to sleepe for feare of strangling? Durst
he boldly eat and drinke without dread of poisoning?
Might he aduenture to shew himselfe in great mee-
tings or solemn assemblies without mistrust of mis-
chance against his person intended? What pleasure
or what felicitie could he take in his princelie pompe,
which he knew by manifest and fearefull experience,
to be enuied and maligne to the verie death? The
state of such a king is noted by the poet in Diony-
sius, as in a mirrore, concerning whome it is said,

*Districus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Sicula dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non animum cytharæq; cantus,*

Hor. lib. ca. 3.
Ode. 1.

This yeare, the eight day of Aprill deceased the lord
Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwick. In the
moneth of March appeared a blasing starre, first be-
twene the east part of the firmament and the north,
flashing forth fire and flames round about it, and
lastlie, shooting forth fierie beams towards the north,
foreshewing (as was thought) the great effusion
of blood that followed, about the parts of Wales and
Northumberland. For much about the same time,
Dwen Glendouer (with his Welshmen) fought
with the lord Greie of Rutland, comming forth to de-
fend his possessions, which the same Dwen wasted
and destroyed: and as the fortune of that daies worke
fell out, the lord Greie was taken prisoner, and ma-
rie of his men were slaine. This hap lifted the
Welshmen into high pride, and increased merue-
louslie their wicked and presumptuous attempts.

The lord
Greie of Ru-
then taken in
fight by Dwen
Glendouer.

About

Additions of
the chron. of
Flanders.
She is deli-
uered home,

She is con-
ueied to Pa-
ris.

Hir second
marriage.

Anno Reg. 3.
Dwen Glen-
douer.
The danger
of the king to
haue bene de-
stroyed.

I 402
The earle of
warwicke des-
partheth this
life.
A blasing
starre.

The hunte was
sped abroad
that king Ri-
chard was li-
ving.
The priest take.

He is execu-
ted.

The prioz of
Laund appe-
hended.

Grete friers
apprehended.

A grete frier
hanged in his
habit.

Sir Roger
Claringdon.

The diuell
appeareth in
likenesse of a
grete frier.

Eight friers
executed.

The earle of
March taken
prisoner in bat-
till by Owen
Glendouer.

About Whitsuntide a conspiracie was deuised by certeine persons, that wished the kings death, main- teining and byting abroad, that king Richard was alieue, and therefore exhorted men to stand with him, for shortly he would come to light, and reward such as toke his part with iust recompense. Herewith, there was a priest taken at Ware, or (as some books haue) at Martwike, who had a kalendar or roll, in which a great number of names were written, more than were in any wise guiltie of the fact, as after- wards appeared by the same priests confession. For being examined, whether he knew such persons as he had so inrolled, & were there present before him, he said he neuer knew them at all; and being deman- ded wherefore he had then so recorded their names, he answered, because he thought they would gladlie do what mischiefe they could against king Henrie, vpon any occasion offered in reuenge of the injuries done to king Richard, by whom they had bene ad- vanced, and princelie preferred. When therefore there appeared no more credit in the man, he was condem- ned, drawn, hanged, and quartered, and diuerse that had bene apprehended about that matter, were re- leased, and set at libertie. Shortly after, the prioz of Laund (who for his euill gouernment had bene de- priued of his state and dignitie) was likewise execu- ted, not for attempting any thing of himselfe, but on- ly for that he confessed, that he knew euill counsell and concealed it. His name was Walter Baldocke, a canon sometime in Dunstable, and by king Ri- chard promoted to the priozship of Laund.

Also the same time, certeine grete friers were ap- prehended for treason which they had deuised to bying to passe, and one of them, whose name was Richard Frisefie, being asked what he would do if king Ri- chard had bene alieue, and present with them, an- swered stoutly, that he would fight against any man in his quarrell, euen to death. Whereupon, he was con- demned, drawn, and hanged in his friers weed, to the great confusion of his brethren; but they made earnest instance to haue his bodie taken downe, and buried with diriges and exequies, and had their sute granted. Sir Roger of Claringdon knight was also put to death about this conspiracie, with two of his seruants, the one an esquier, the other a peoman. He was base sonne (as was reported) vnto Edward, el- dest sonne to king Edward the third, surnamed the blacke prince. On Corpus Christi daie at euenfong time, the diuell (as was thought) appeared in a towne of Essex called Danburie, entring into the church in likenesse of a grete frier, behauing himselfe verie outragiously, plateng his parts like a diuell indeed, so that the parishioners were put in a marvellous great fright.

At the same instant, there chanced such a tempest of wind, thunder, and lightning, that the highest part of the rofe of that church was blowne doونه, and the chancell was all to shaken, rent, and tozned in pec- ces. Within a small while after, eight of those grete friers that had practised treason against the king, were brought to open iudgement, and conuicted were drawn and headed at London; and two other suffe- red at Leicester, all which persons had published king Richard to be alieue. Owen Glendouer, according to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble together against them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer earle of March. But coming to trie the matter by battell, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortuneed, that the English power was discomfited, the earle taken prisoner, and aboue a thousand of his people slaine in the place. The shamefull villanie vsed by the Welsh women towards the dead carcases, was such, as ho-

nest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent tongs to speake thereof. The dead bodie might not be buried, without great summes of monie gi- uen for libertie to conuie them awaite.

The king was not hastie to purchase the deliue- rance of the earle March, because his title to the crowne was well enough known, and therefore suf- fered him to remaine in miserable prison, wishing both the said earle, and all other of his linage out of this life, with God and his saints in heauen, so they had bene out of the waie, for then all had bene well enough as he thought. But to let these things passe, the king this yeare sent his eldest daughter Blanche, accompanied with the earle of Summerfet, the bishop of Worcester, the lord Clifford, and others, into Al- manie, which brought hir to Colin, and there with great triumph she was married to William duke of Bawier, sonne and heire to Lewis the emperor. About mid of August, the king to chastise the presum- ptuous attempts of the Welshmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to pursue the cap- teine of the Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer, but in effect he lost his laboz; for Owen conuied himselfe out of the waie, into his known lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magike, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and haile to be raised, for the annoiuaunce of the kings ar- mie, that the like had not bene heard of; in such sort, that the king was constrained to returne home, ha- uing caused his people yet to spoile and burne first a great part of the countrie. The same time, the lord Edmund of Langlie duke of York departed this life, and was buried at Langlie with his brethren. The Scots vnder the leding of Patrike Hepborne, of the Isles the yonger, entring into England, were ouerthrowen at Presbit, in the marches, as in the Scottish chronicle ye may find more at large. This battell was fought the two and twentieth of June, in this yeare of our Lord 1402.

Archembald earle Dotoglas soze displeased in his mind for this ouerthrow, procured a commission to inuade England, and that to his cost, as ye may like- wise read in the Scottish histories. For at a place cal- led Homildon, they were so sterclie assailed by the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the lord Percie, surnamed Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, that with violence of the English shot they were quite vanquished and put to flight, on the third daie in haruest, with a great slaughter made by the Englishmen. We know that the Scottish writers note this battell to haue chanced in the yeare 1403. But we following Tho. Walsingham in this place, and other English writers, for the accompt of times, haue thought good to place it in this yeare 1402, as in the same writers we find it. There were slaine of men of estimation, sir John Swinton, sir Adam Gordon, sir John Leuiston, sir Alexander Ramsie of Dalehousie, and thre and twentie knights, besides ten thousand of the commons: and of prisoners among other were these, Moridacke earle of Fife, son to the gouernour Archembald earle Dotoglas, which in the fight lost one of his eyes, Thomas erle of Mar- rep, Robert earle of Angus, and (as some writers haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith, with five hun- dred other of incaner degrees. After this, the lord Percie, hauing bestowed the prisoners in suer kee- ping, entered Wiltshire, wasting and destroing the whole countrie, and then besieged the castell of Co- klawes, whereof was capteine one sir John Gren- low, who compounded with the Englishmen, that if the castell were not succoured within thre moneths, then he would deliuer it into their hands.

The first two moneths passed, and no likelihood of rescue appeared; but yet the third moneth was ex- pired,

The last part
of the
ground
a guide
science.

The kings
daughter
married
into
Gemanie.

Intemperat
weather.

The decess
of the duk
of York.

Scots ouer-
throwen.

Scots bene
quilted at
Homildon.

The number
slaine.

Prisoners
taken.

The castell
of Coklawes
besieged by
lord Percie.

The pri-
or of
this do

Sir R.
Claring-
don
follows

The ear-
le of
March
the
ter of
Glend

Anno 1
3 part

Scots
of the
come
to the
parlem
14

3 mba

The
same
in the
wight

The
Clere
Calce

An. Reg. 3. 4.

red, the Englishmen being sent for to go with the king into Wales, raised their siege and departed, leaving the noble men prisoners with the earle of Northumberland, and with his sonne the lord Percie, to keepe them to the kings use. In this meane while, such as misliked with the doctrine and ceremonies then used in the church, ceased not to utter their consciences, though in secret, to those in whom they had affiance. But as in the like cases it commonlie happeneth, they were beliaied by some that were thought chieftie to fauour their cause, as by sir Lewes Clifford knight, who hauing leained to the doctrine a long time, did now (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) disclose all that he knew vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, to shew him selfe as it were to haue erred rather of simplenesse and ignozance, than of frowardnesse or stubborne malice. The names of such as taught the articles and conclusions maintained by those which then they called Lollards or heretikes, the said sir Lewes Clifford gaue in writing to the said archbishop. Edmund Mortimer earle of March, prisoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irksomenesse of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cause, it is vncertaine, agreed to take part with Owen, against the king of England, and toke to wife the daughter of the said Owen.

Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man, for the same night he was borne, all his fathers hostes in the stable were found to stand in blood vp to the bellies. The morow after the feast of saint Michaell, a parlement began at Westminster, which continued the space of seauen weekes, in the same was a tenth and a halfe granted by the cleargie, and a fiftenth by the communalite. Moreover, the commons in this parlement besought the king to haue the person of George earle of March a Scottishman, recommended to his maiestie, for that the same earle shewed him selfe faithfull to the king his realme. Where was also a statute made, that the friers beggers should not receiue any into their order, vnder the age of fourtene yeares. In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, ambassadoys were sent ouer into Britaine, to bring from thence the dukes of Britaine, the ladie Jane de Beauarre, the widow of John de Montford, late duke of Britaine, surnamed the conqueror, with whom by procurators the king had contracted matrimonie. In the beginning of Februarie, those that were sent returned with hir in safetie, but not without tasting the bitter stormes of the wind and weather, that tolled them soe to and fro, before they could get to land. The king met hir at Winchester, where the seventh of Februarie, the marriage was solemnized betwixt them.

Whilest these things were thus in doing in England, Walter earle of Saint Paule, bearing still a deable and malicious hatred toward king Henrie, hauing assembled fiftene or seuentene hundred men of warre, imbarked them at Harleu, and taking the sea, landed in the Ile of Wight, in the which he burned two villages, and foure simple cotages, and for a triumph of so noble an act, made foure knights. But when he heard that the people of the Ile were assembled and approached to fight with him, he hasted to his ships, and returned home: where with the noble men of his companie were displeased, considering his prouision to be great and his gaine small. In the same verie season, John earle of Cleremont sonne to the duke of Bourbon, was in Castoigne out of the Englishmens possession, the castles of saint Peter, saint Marie, and the Ile to castell, and the lord de la Bret was the castell of Carliassin, which was no small losse to the English nation.

Henrie earle of Northumberland, with his brother

Thomas earle of Worcester, and his sonne the lord Henrie Percie, surnamed Hotspur, which were to king Henrie in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull friends, and earnest aiders, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie, and especiallie they were grieved, because the king demanded of the earle and his sonne such Scottish prisoners as were taken at Homelbon and Peblit: for of all the captiues which were taken in the conflicts foughten in those two places, there was deliuered to the kings possession onelie Morlake earle of Fife, the duke of Albanies sonne, though the king did diuers and sundrie times require deliuerance of the residue, and that with great threatnings: where with the Percies being soe offended, for that they claimed them as their owne proper prisoners, and their peculiar priues, by the counsell of the lord Thomas Percie earle of Worcester, whose studie was ever (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a boile, came to the king vnto Windsor (vpon a purpose to proue him) and there required of him, that either by ranisme or otherwise, he would cause to be deliuered out of prison Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their cousine germane, whom (as they reported) Owen Glendouer kept in filthy prison, shakled with irons, onelie for that he toke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

The king began not a little to muse at this request, and not without cause: for in deed it touched him somewhat here, sith this Edmund was sonne to Roger earle of March, sonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third sonne of king Edward the third, which Edmund at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne and realme, whose aunt called Glanor, the lord Henrie Percie had married; and therefore king Henrie could not well heare, that any man should be earnest about the aduancement of that linage. The king when he had studied on the matter, made answer, that the earle of March was not taken prisoner for his cause; nor in his seruice, but willingly suffered himselfe to be taken, because he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendouer, and his complices; therefore he would neither ranisme him, nor release him.

The Percies with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a little fumed, and indignantly that Henrie Hotspur said openlie: Behold, the heire of the realme is robbed of his right; and yet the robber with his owne will not redeeme him. So in this sort the Percies departed, minding nothing more than to depose king Henrie from the high type of his solatie, and to place in his seat their cousine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onlie deliuer out of captiuitie, but also (to the high displeasure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendouer: where with, they by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, diuided the realme amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seales, by the conenants whereof, all England from Seuerie and Trent, southward and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March; all Wales, and the lands beyond Seuerie, westward, were appointed to Owen Glendouer; and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Percie.

This was done (as some haue said) through a foolish credit giuen to a vaine prophete, as though king Henrie was the moldwarpe, cursed of Gods diuine mouth; and they three were the dragon, the lion, and the wolfe, which should diuide this realme betwixt them. Such is the deuotion (saith Hall) and not diuination of those blind and fantasticall dreames of the welch propheters. King Henrie not knowing of

The request of the Percies

The taking of the L. Percie,

The conspiracies of the Percies with Owen Glendouer. An indenture tripartite.

A diuision of that which they had not,

A vaine prophete.

Ceej. this

Om. 14. 02.

The suspicion of L. Henrie grounded vpon a guiltie conscience.

The kings daughter married into Germanie.

Intemperat weather.

The decaies of the duked of York.

Scots overthrown.

Scots banquished at the battle of Homildon.

The number of slain.

Prisoners taken.

The castell of Wark was beleagued by the lord Percie.

The protest of some of these doctrine.

Sir Lewes Clifford becometh his follower.

The earle of March married the daughter of Owen Glendouer.

Anno Reg. 4. Parliament.

George earle of March recommended to the king by parliament.

1403

ambassadors

The earle of Saint Paule in the Ile of Wight.

The earle of Cleremont in Gascoigne.

The Perles
raile their
powers.

They craue
aid of Scots.

The archbish.
of York with
the Perles in
conspiracie.

Thom. Wall.

The earle of
Worcester gou-
ernour to the
prince slipeth
from him.
Hall.

The pretence
of Perles,
as they publi-
shed it abroad.

The kings
answer to the
Perles libell.

this new confederacie, and nothing lesse minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the earle of Northumberland and his sonne were advertised by the earle of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners at Homeldon, for aid of men, promising to the earle of Douglas the towne of Berwik, and a part of Northumberland, and to other Scottish lords, great lordships and seigniories, if they obtained the upper hand. The Scots in hope of gaine, and desirous to be reuenged of their old græues, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed.

The Perles to make their part seeme good, deuised certaine articles, by the aduise of Richard Scrope, archbishop of Yorke; brother to the lord Scrope, whome king Henrie had caused to be beheaded at Bristow. These articles being shewed to diuerse noblemen, and other states of the realme, moued them to fauour their purpose, in so much that manie of them did not onlie promise to the Perles aid and succour by words, but also by their writings and seales confirmed the same. Whobeyt when the matter came to triall; the most part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the conflict left them alone. Thus after that the conspirators had discouered themselves, the lord Henrie Perle desirous to proceed in the enterprise, vpon trust to be assisted by Owen Glendouer, the earle of March, and other, assembled an armie of men of armes and archers south of Cheshire and Wales. Incontinentlie his uncle Thomas Perle earle of Worcester, that had the gouernement of the prince of Wales, who as then laie at London in secret manner, conueied himselfe out of the princes house, and coming to Stafford (where he met his nephew) they increased their power by all waies and means they could deuise. The earle of Northumberland himselfe was not with them, but being sicke, had promised vpon his amenderment to repaire vnto them (as some write) with all convenient speed.

These noble men, to make their conspiracie to seeme excusable, besides the articles aboue mentio- ned, sent letters abroad, wherein was contained, that their gathering of an armie tended to none other end, but onlie for the safegard of their owne persons, and to put some better gouernment in the common- weale. For whereas taxes and tallages were daily leuied, vnder pretence to be imployed in defense of the realme, the same were vainlie wasted, and bur- sutable continued: and where through the slanderous reports of their enemies, the king had taken a grie- uous displeasure with them, they durst not appeare personallie in the kings presence; but till the prelates and barons of the realme had obtained of the king licence for them to come and purge themselves be- fore him, by lawfull triall of their peeres, whose iudge- ment (as they pretended) they would in no wise re- fuse. Panie that saw, and heard these letters, did com- mend their diligence, and highlie praised their as- sured fidelitie and trustinesse towards the common- weale.

But the king vnderstanding their cloaked dyss, deuised (by what means he might) to quiet and ap- pease the commons, and deface their contrived for- geries; and therefore he wrote an answer to their li- bels, that he marvelled much, sith the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Henrie Perle his sonne, had receiued the most part of the summes of monie granted to him by the cleargie and commonaltie, for defense of the marches, as he could euidentlie proue that should moue them to complaine and raise such manifest slanders. And whereas he vnderstood, that

the earles of Northumberland and Worcester, and the lord Perle had by their letters signified to their friends abroad, that by reason of the slanderous re- ports of their enemies, they durst not appeare in his presence, without the mediation of the prelates and nobles of the realme, so as they required pledges, whereby they might safelie come afore him, to de- clare and alledge what they had to saie in proue of their innocencie, he protested by letters sent forth vnder his seale, that they might safelie come and go, without all danger, in any manner of indamage- ment to be offered to their persons.

But this could not satisfie those men, but that re- solved to go forwards with their enterprise, they marched towards Shrewesburie, vpon hope to be as- sisted (as men thought) by Owen Glendouer, and his Welshmen, publishing abroad throughout the coun- tries on each side, that king Richard was alive, whome if they wished to see, they willed them to re- paire in armour vnto the castell of Chester, where (without all doubt) he was at that present, and redie to come forward. This tale being raised, though it were most untrue, yet it had variable motions in mens minds, causing them to wauer, so as they knew not to which part they should sicke; and here- lie, diuers were well affected towards king Richard, speciallie such as had tasted of his princelie bounti- fulnes, of which there was no small number. And to speake a truth, no maruell it was, if manie enuied the prosperous state of king Henrie, sith it was eu- ident inough to the world, that he had with wrong v- surped the crowne, and not onlie violently deposed king Richard, but also cruelly procured his death, for the which vndoubtedlie, both he and his posteritie ta- sted such troubles, as put them still in danger of their states, till their direct succeeding line was quite rooted out by the contrarie faction, as in Henrie the first and Edward the fourth it may appeare.

But now to retorne where we left. King Henrie advertised of the proceedings of the Perles, forth- with gathered about him such power as he might make, and being earnestlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make hast and giue battell to his enemies, before their power by delateng of time should still too much increase, he passed forward with such speed, that he was in sight of his enemies, lying in campe nere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of any such thing, for the Perles thought that he would haue staied at Burton vpon Trent, till his counsell had come thither to him to giue their aduise what he were best to do. But herein the enimie was deceiued of his expectation, sith the king had great regard of expedition and making speed for the safetie of his owne person, wherevnto the earle of March incited him; considering that in delate is danger, a losse in lingering, as the poet in the like case saith:

Tolle moras, necis scilicet differre paratis.

Dura trepidant nullo firmata robore partes.

By reason of the kings sudden coming in his host, they staied from assaunting the towne of Shrewesburie, which enterprise they were readie at that instant to haue taken in hand, and forthwith the lord Perle (as a tapteine of high courage) began to exhort the captiues and souldiers to prepare themselves to battell, sith the matter was growen to that point, that by no means it could be auoided, so that (said he) this daie shall either bring vs all to advancement or honor, or else if it shall chance vs to be ouercome, shall deliuer vs from the kings spitefull malice and cruell disdain: for plaieing the men (as we ought to do) better it is to die in battell for the common- wealthis cause, than through cowardlike feare to pro- long life, which after shall be taken from vs, by sen- tence of the enimie.

Here vpon

The numb-
of the Per-
armie.

The Per-
lent their
sides to the
king.

King Hen-
charged &
perit.

Shewesburie
proceed
the comm-
wealthis.

The him
answer to
message
that from
the article

The his
speech
don his
delateng

The kings
speedie dis-
gence.

The em-
wore
double
ling in
report
kings

Hall.
The

The v-
men
and the
leg.

m. 14. o.

An. Reg. 4.

The number
of the Perles
armie.The Perles
lost their ar-
mies to the
king.King Henrie
charged with
penurie.Doge & R.
chard is that
stare with the
that with R.
Henrie over-
threw.Procuroys &
procurers of
the common-
wealth.The king
answer to the
messenger
that brought
the articles.The king of
france to par-
don his al-
liances.The king
speedie bul-
gence.The earle of
Worcester
double bea-
ving in wayn
rejoicing the
kings wayn.The Perles
troubled with
the kings
sudden com-
ming.
The lord
Perle exhor-
ted his com-
plices to stick
to their tackle.Hall.
The Scots.The well-
born come to
aid the Per-
les.

Hereupon, the whole armie being in number a-
bout fourtene thousand cholen men, promised to
stand with him so long as life lasted. There were with
the Perles as chieftaines of this armie, the earle of
Dowglas a Scottish man, the baron of Kinderton,
sir Hugh Bostone, and sir Richard Vernon knights,
with diuerse other stout and right valiant capitaines.
Now when the two armies were incamped, the one
against the other, the earle of Worcester and the lord
Perle with their complices sent the articles (where-
of I spake before) by Thomas Calton, and Thomas
Salman esquires to king Henrie, vnder their hands
and seales, which articles in effect charged him with
manifest perurie, in that (contrarie to his oth recei-
ued vpon the euangelists at Doncaster, when he first
entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon
him the crowne and roiall dignitie, imprisoned king
Richard, caused him to resigne his title, and finally
to be murdered. Diuerse other matters they laid to
his charge, as leuening of taxes and tallages, contra-
rie to his promise, infringing of lawes & customes of
the realme, and suffering the earle of March to re-
maine in prison, without travelling to haue him de-
liuered. All which things they as procuroys & protec-
tors of the common-wealth, took vpon them to
proove against him, as they protested vnto the whole
world.

King Henrie after he had read their articles, with
the assurance which they annexed to the same, answer-
ed the esquires, that he was ready with dint of
sword and force battell to proue their quarrell false,
and nothing else than a forged matter, not doubting,
but that God would aid and assist him in his righ-
teous cause, against the dissolial and false forsworne
traitors. The next daie in the morning earlie, being
the euen of Marie Magdalene, they set their battels
in order on both sides, and now whilst the warriors
looked vpon the token of battell should be giuen, the
abbat of Shrewsburie, and one of the clerkes of the
prince seale, were sent from the king vnto the Per-
les, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any
reasonable agreement. By their persuasions, the lord
Perle began to giue eare vnto the kings of-
fers, & so sent vnto them his vncle the earle of Wor-
cester, to declare vnto the king the causes of those
troubles; and to request some effectuall reformation
in the same.

It was reported for a truth, that now when the
king had condescended vnto all that was reasonable
at his hands to be required, and seemed to humble
himselfe more than was meet for his estate, the earle
of Worcester (vpon his returne to his nepheue) made
relation cleane contrarie to that the king had said, in
such sort that he set his nepheues hart more in displea-
sure towards the king, than euer it was before, dy-
uing him by that meanes to fight whether he would
or not: then suddenly blew the trumpets, the kings
part crying S. George vpon them, the aduersaries
cried *Efferance Perle*, and so the two armies furiously
ioined. The archers on both sides shot for the best
game, laing on such load with arrowes, that manie
died, and were dynen downe that neuer rose againe.

The Scots (as some write) which had the fore ward
of the Perles side, intending to be reneged of
their old displeasures done to them by the English
nation, set so fiercelie on the kings fore ward, led by
the earle of Stafford, that they made the same draw
backe, and had almost broken their aduersaries ar-
raie. The Welshmen also which before had laine lur-
king in the woods, mounteines, and marishes, hea-
ring of this battell toward, came to the aid of the
Perles, and refreshed the wearied people with new
forces. The king perceiving that his men were
thus put to discomfiture, what with the violent impession

of the Scots, and the tempestuous stormes of ar-
rowes, that his aduersaries discharged firely against
him and his people, it was no need to will him to
flee: for suddenly with his fresh battell, he appo-
ched and relieued his men; so that the battell began
more fierce than before. Here the lord Henrie Per-
le, and the earle Dowglas, a right stout and hardie
capitaine, not regarding the shot of the kings battell,
nor the close order of the ranks, pressing forward to-
gether bent their whole forces towards the kings per-
son, conning vpon him with speares and swordes so
fiercelie, that the earle of March the Scot, percei-
uing their purpose, withdrew the king from that side
of the field (as some write) for his great benefit and
safegard (as it appeared) for they gaue such a violent
onset vpon them that stood about the kings standard,
that slaieng his standard-bearer sir Walter Blunt,
and overthrowing the standard, they made slaughter
of all those that stood about it, as the earle of Staff-
ord, that daie made by the king constable of the
realme, and diuerse other.

The prince that daie holpe his father like a lustie
young gentleman: for although he was hurt in the
face with an arrow, so that diuerse noble men that
were about him, would haue conueied him forth of
the field, yet he would not suffer them so to do, least
his departure from amongst his men might happlie
haue striken some feare into their harts: and so with-
out regard of his hurt, he continued with his men,
& neuer ceased, either to fight where the battell was
most hot, or to encourage his men where it seemed
most need. This battell lasted thre long houres, with
indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the
king crying saint George victorie, brake the arraie
of his enemies, and aduentured so farre, that (as some
write) the earle Dowglas strake him downe, & at
that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and thre other,
apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saing: I
maruell to see so many kings thus suddenly arise
one in the necke of an other. The king in deed was
raised, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes,
for as it is written, he slue that daie with his owne
hands sir and thirtie persons of his enemies. The o-
ther on his part encouraged by his doings, fought
valiantlie, and slue the lord Perle, called sir Henrie
Hotspurre. To conclude, the kings enemies were
baniished, and put to flight, in which flight, the earle
of Dowglas, for hast, falling from the crag of an
hie mounteine, brake one of his collions, and was
taken, and for his valiantnesse, of the king franklie
and frelie deliuered.

There was also taken the earle of Worcester, the
procuroys and setter forth of all this mischief, sir Ri-
chard Vernon, and the baron of Kinderton, with di-
uerse other. There were slaine vpon the kings part,
beside the earle of Stafford, to the number of ten
knights, sir Hugh Shollie, sir John Clifton, sir John
Cokaine, sir Nicholas Gausell, sir Walter Blunt,
sir John Caluerleie, sir John Hallie of Haddington,
sir Hugh Postmer, and sir Robert Gausell, all the
which receiued the same morning the order of knight-
hod: sir Thomas Wilsdesleie was wounded to
death, and so passed out of this life shortly after. There
died in all vpon the kings side sixtene hundred, and
four thousand were grauenlie wounded. On the
contrarie side were slaine, besides the lord Perle, the
most part of the knights and esquires of the countie
of Chester, to the number of two hundred, besides
prouers and footmen, in all there died of those that
fought on the Perles side, about five thousand. This
battell was fought on Marie Magdalene euen, be-
ing saturday. Vpon the mondaie following, the earle
of Worcester, the baron of Kinderton, and sir Ri-
chard Vernon knights, were condemned and behea-
ded.

The earle of
March.
Tho. Walsi.Hall.
The ballance
of the young
prince.A force battell
& well main-
tained.The valiant
doings of the
earle Dow-
glas.The high
manhood of the
king.
The lord
Perle slaine.The earle
Dowglas ta-
ken prisoner.The earle of
Worcester
taken.Knights
slaine on the
kings part.The slaugh-
ter of Cheshire
men at this
battell.The earle of
Worcester and
others behea-
ded.

C. c. ij.

ded. The earles head was sent to London, there to be set on the badge.

The earle of Northumberland was now marching forward with great power, which he had got thither, either to aid his sonne and brother (as was thought): or at the least towards the king, to procure a peace: but the earle of Westmerland, and Sir Robert Waterton knight, had got an armie on foot, and meant to meet him. The earle of Northumberland, taking neither of them to be his friend, turned suddenly backe, and withdrew himselfe into Warkeworth castell. The king having set a fraie in things about Shrewesburie, went straight to York, from thence he wrote to the earle of Northumberland, willing him to dismisse his companies that he had with him, and to come unto him in peaceable wise. The earle upon receipt of the kings letters came unto him the morow after saint Laurence daie, having with him a few of his servants to attend him, and so excused himselfe, that the king (because the earle had beene in his possession, and further, had his castles of Alnewike, Warkeworth, and other, fortified with Scots) dissembled the matter, gave him faire words, and suffered him (as saith Hall) to depart home, although by other it should seeme, that he was committed for a time to safe custodie.

The king returning forth of Northshire, determined to go into Northwales, to chastise the presumptuous doings of the unruly Welshmen, who (after his coming from Shrewesburie, and the marches there) had done much harme to the English subjects. But now where the king wanted monie to furnish that enterprise, and to wage his souldiers, there were some that counselled him to be bold with the bishops, and supplie his want with their surpluse. But as it forned, the archbishop of Canturburie was there present, who in the name of all the rest boldie made answer, that none of his province should be spoiled by any of those naughtie disposed persons; but that first with hard stripes they should understand the price of their rash enterprise. But the king neuertheless so fled the matter with the bishops for their good wills, that the archbishop at length to pleasure him, calling the cleargie together, got a grant of a tenth, towards the kings necessarie charges.

The Britaines under the conduct of the lord of Castils, spoiled and burnt the towne of Wilmouth, and returned without receiving any damage, but immediatlie thereupon, the westerne men manning forth a fleet, under the gouvernement of one William Wilford esquier, made saile over to the coasts of Britaine, where they took above fortie ships laden with oile, spe, and Rochell wine, to the quantitie of a thousand tunne, or much thereabouts. In returning homewards, they burnt fortie other vessels, and landing at Pennarch, they burnt townes and villages six leagues within the countrie, together with the towne of saint Pattheo, and all the buildings there, three leagues round about the same towne. About the feast of All saints, a parlement began at Couentrie, and continued there till saint Andrews tide: but at length, because vittels wared deere, and lodging was strait, it was adioined from thence unto London, there to begin againe in the octaves of the Epiphanie. The same time, a pardon was granted and proclaimed, for all such as had taken part with the Perles against the king, and likewise for other offenders, those excepted that had consented to betraye Calis, whom the king sent thither to suffer for their offenses. A little before Christmas the Frenchmen meant to have robbed and spoiled the Isle of Wight, but when a thousand of them were set on land, and had got together a great bottie of cattell, suddenly there came upon them such number of

people that they were constrained to withdraw to their ships, leaving their preie behind them, and no small number of their men to paie for their shot, so that they wan little by that iourne, returning home with shame and dishonour.

This peace in the parlement holden at London (beginning the morow after the feast of saint Hilarie, and continuing twelve weeks) the earle of Northumberland was restored unto his former dignities, lands and goods, the Isle of Man onlie excepted, which by reason of the forfeiture made by the earle of Salisburie, the king had first given unto him, and now deprived him thereof, where all his other lands, possessions, and livings were wholie to him and his heires restored. By authoritie of the same parlement a subsidie was also granted to the king, of everie knights fee twentie shillings, whether the same were holden of him by menalltie, or otherwise. Moreover, everie man and woman that might dispend in lands the value of twentie shillings & so upward, above the reprises, whether the same lands belonged to the laie fee, or to the church, paid for everie pound twelve pence: and those that were valued to be worth in goods twentie pounds and upward, paid also after the rate of lands, that is, twelve pence for everie pound. ¶ This seemeth to be that subsidie which Thomas Wallingham calleth a soze furcharging subsidie, or an unaccustomed tax: the forme and maner whereof (saith he) I had here interlaced, but that the vertie granters and authors thereof had rather that the posteritie should be utterlie ignorant thereof, and neuer heare of it; sthens it was granted upon this condition, that hereafter it should not be broken in to example; neither might the evidences thereof be kept in the kings treasure, nor in the exchequer; but the records thereof presentlie (after the last accounts given up) burned; neither should tois or commissions be sent abroad against the collectors or inquirers hereof for their better inquest.

The Frenchmen about the same time came before the Isle of Wight with a great armie, and sent certeine of their men to the shore, to demand in name of king Richard, and of his wife queene Isabel, a tribute or speciall subsidie in monie, of the inhabitants of that Ile; who answered, that king Richard was dead, and queene Isabel sometime his wife had bene sent home to his parents and countrie, without condition of any dowrie or tribute: wherefore, they answered reasonablie, that none they would give: but if the Frenchmen had desire to fight, they willed them to come on land, and there should be none to resist them; and after they were on land, they promised to give them respite for six houres space to refresh themselves, and that time being once expired, they should not faile to have battell. When the Frenchmen heard of this stout answer made by the Islanders, they had no lust to approach nere to the land, but returned without further attempt.

About this season, the duke of Exceance, brother to the French king, a man of no lesse pride than hartinesse of courage, wrote letters to king Henric, advertising him, that for the love he bare to the noble seats of chivalrie, he could imagine nothing either more honorable or commendable to them both, than to meet in the field each part with an hundred knights and equiers, all being gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed at all points, and furnished with speares, ares, swords, and daggers, and there to fight and combat to the pecking; and everie person, to whom God should send victorie, to have his prisoner, & him to ransom at his pleasure, offering himselfe with his companie to come to his citie of Angouleme, so that the king should come to the lands of Burdeaux, and there defend this challenge.

The

The earle of Westmerland raiseth a power against the earle of Northumberland.

The king goeth to York.

The earle of Northumberland cometh to the king.

The Welshmen molest the English subjects.

It was spoken like a priest.

A tenth levied of the cleargie.

William Wilford.

Anno Reg. 5. Parliament at Couentrie.

Adjoined to London. A pardon.

Frenchmen invade the Isle of Wight.

They were pelish.

1404

The parliament began with the earle of Northumberland.

A subsidie.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Wallin. Hypod. pag. 164.

The Frenchmen demand of the Isle of Wight.

The answer of the Islanders.

The duke of Exceance challenges.

An. Reg. 5. 6.

The king of England grauelie answered hereto, to, that he marvelled why the duke under colour of doing deeds of armes for a vaine-glozie, would now sake to breake the peace betwixt the realmes of England and France, he being sworne to mainteine the same peace, sith he might further vnderstand, that no king ante challenge, but to his pære of equal state and dignitie: and further declared, that when opportunitie serued, he would passe the sea, and come into his countrie of Gascoigne, with such companie as he thought convenient, and then might the duke set forward with his band, for the accomplishing of his couragious desire, promising him in the word of a prince, not thence to depart, till the duke either by fulfilling his owne desire in manner aforesaid, or by singular combat betwene them two one lie, for avoiding of more effusion of Christian blood, should thinke himselfe fullie satisfied. To this and much more contained in the kings answer, the duke replied, and the king againe reioined; not without talents and checks unfitting for their estates. The duke of Exeance offended highlie (as he might seeme) furnished against the king of England with an armie of six thousand men, entered into Guien, and besieged the towne of Mergi, whereof was capitaine sir Robert Antifield, a right hardie and valiant knight, having with him onelie three hundred Englishmen, which defended the fortresse so manfullie, that the duke (after he had laine three moneths) and lost manie of his men, without honour or spoile returned into France.

After this, the admerall of Britaine highlie incouraged, for that the last yere he had taken certeine English ships laden with wines, accompanied with the lord du Chastell, a valiant baron of Britaine, and twelve hundred men of armes, sailed forth with thirtie ships from S. Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and would have landed; but by the puissance of the townsmen and aid of the countrie, they were repelled, in the which conflict, the lord du Chastell, and two of his brethren, with foure hundred other were slaine, and above two hundred taken prisoners and put to their ransoms, amongst whom the lord of Baqueville the marshall of Britaine was one. All this summer, Owen Glendouer and his adherents, robbed, burned, and destroyed the countries adioining nere to the places where he hunted, and one while by sleight & guilefull policie, an other while by open force, he took and slue manie Englishmen, brake downe certeine castles which he won, and some he fortified and kept for his owne defense. John Tenois, bishop of Alass, considering both himselfe how things prospered under the hands of this Owen, fled to him, and took his part against the king. About the same time, the Britaines and the Flemings took certeine ships of ours laden with merchandise, and slue all the mariners or else hanged them.

Also, the old countesse of Arford, mother to Robert Clere late duke of Ireland, that died at Rouenne, caused certein of hir seruants, and other such as she durst trust, to publish and brabe abroad, throughout all the parts of Citer, that king Richard was alieue, and that he would shortly come to light, and claime his former estate, honors, and dignitie. She procured a great number of harts to be made of silver and gold, such as king Richard was wont to give unto his knights, esquires, & friends, to weare as cognizances, to the end that in bestowing them in king Richards name, the might the sooner allure men to further hir lewd practises: and where the same went abroad, that king Richard was in Scotland with a gre at power of Frenchmen and Scots, ready

to come to recouer his realme, manie gaue the more light credit vnto this brabe thus set forth by the said countesse.

The persuaasions also of one Serlo, that in times past was one of king Richards chamber, greatlie increased this errour; for the same Serlo, bearing in France (whether he was fled) that his master king Richard was in Scotland alieue, conueied himselfe thither, to vnderstand the truth of that matter, and finding there one indeed that greatlie resembled him in all lineaments of bodie, but yet was not the man himselfe (as he well perceiued) vpon malice that he bare to king Henrie, aduertised by letters sent vnto diuerse of king Richards friends, that he was alieue indeed, and shortly would come to shew himselfe openlie to the world, when he had once made his waie ready to recouer his kingdome, to the confusion of his enemies, and comfort of his friends. These forged inuentions caused manie to beleue the brabe raised by the countesse of Arford, for the which they came in trouble, were apprehended and committed to prison. The countesse hir selfe was shut vp in close prison, and all hir goods were confiscat, and hir secretarie dauen and hanged, that had spied abroad this fained report, in going vp and downe the countrie, blowing into mens eares that king Richard was alieue, & affirming that he had spoken with him in such a place and in such a place, apparelled in this raiment and that raiment, with such like circumstances.

About the feast of saint John Baptiste, at the kings commandement, the earle of Northumberland came to Bomfret, and brought with him his nephews, and his nephews sonnes, whereby he cleared himselfe of a great deale of suspicion, manie doubting before his coming that he had given euill counsell to the young men, whereby to moue them to rebellion, and to withstand the king. Sir William Clifford also came with the earle, and brought the foresaid Serlo with him, whom he had apprehended vpon his coming to him at Berwik, in hope to haue found succour at his hands: in consideration whereof the king pardoned the said sir William Clifford of his disobedience shewed, in keeping the castell of Berwik against him, in which doing he had committed manifold treason.

This Serlo being knowne to be the man that had bene the chiefe murderer of the duke of Gloucester, when he was made a waite at Calis, was diligentlie examined; who were helpers with him in the execution thereof, and after what sort they made him a waite: Serlo knowing there was no waite with him but death, would not utter any other, but confessed for his owne part, he was worthy for that wicked deed to die ten thousand deaths, and shewed such outward appearance of repentance, that manie sore lamented his case, and promised to hire priests to sing masses, (as the maner was) for his soule, of their owne costs and charges. He was condemned to die at Bomfret, and was drawen from thence through euerie goddowne, through which those that had the conuenance of him passed with him till they came to London, where he was executed, confessing euerie thing to be true concerning his wicked ptenle, as before is related: and further, that when he perceiued how their counterfeit practise would come to light and he openlie revealed, he meant to haue returned into France, but wanting monie, he thought to haue bene relieved with some portion at the hand of the said sir William Clifford, and this caused him to come vnto Berwik, to shew him his necessitie, who to make his owne peace, did apprehend him, and present him to the king, as before ye haue heard.

King Henrie wanting monie in the feast of saint Faith the virgine, assembled at Cowntreie his high court

Serlo one of R. Richards chamber.

The countesse of Arford committed to prison.

Hir secretarie executed.

The earle of Northumberland cometh to the king.

Sir William Clifford bringeth Serlo to the king.

Serlo examined for the duke of Gloucesters death.

He is drawen through euery goddowne. He is executed at London.

they are recalled.

1404
he parties begin againe.
he earle of Northumberland no restored, he file of Jan.

subtile.

Fl. out of
Walton,
pod. pag.
4.

The French
this denieth
the file of
1404.

he answer
the fland
1404.

he duke of
leance had
1404.

The p'meas
parlement.

Strife be-
twixt the lat-
tie and spiri-
tualtie.

The archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie an-
swereth for
his brethren.

Str John
Cheinie spea-
ker of the
parlement.

The archb.
cheafly.

The spake like
a ioye.

The kings
answer to the
archbishop.

court of parlement, in the which the lord Stephen Scrope of Walsham, and the lord Henric Fitz Hugh obtained first to haue places of barons. Moreover, it is to be noted, that this was called the laie mans parlement, because the shiriffes were appointed to haue a speciall regard, that none should be chosen knights for the countie, nor burgesles for the cities and townes, that had any skill in the lawes of the land. This was done, and when they came together to talke of the weightie affaires of the realme, spe- 10 ciallie how the king might be relieved with monie, to beare such charges as he was knowen to be at, as well in defending the realme from the Scots and Welshmen at home, as from the Britains, Flemings, and Frenchmen abroad, it was thought most expedient, that the spiritualtie should be depriued of their temporall possessions, to the reliefe of the kings necessitie. Hereupon rose great alteration betwixt the cleargie and the laitie; the knights affirming, that they had oftentimes serued the king, not onelie 20 with their goods, but also with their persons in great dangers and leopordies, whilst the spiritualtie sat at home, and holp the king nothing at all. Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie forthlie answered herevnto, that the cleargie had alwaie giuen to the king as much as the laitie had done, conside- ring they had oftener giuen their tenths to him than the laitie their assens: also, that more of their ten- 30 nants went forth into the kings warres, than the remnants of them of the laie se: beside this, they praied day and night for the kings good successe against his enemies.

When the speaker named Sir John Cheinie, in re- plying by plaine speech, seemed little to eskeeme such praiers of the church, the archbishop was set in a great chafe, and with sharpe words declaring what he thought must needs followe, both of the king and kingdom, when praiers and suffrages of churchmen came to be so little set by, he grew to such impatientie, that he flatlie told the speaker, that although he 40 seemed little to eskeeme of the religion of the cleargie, he would not haue him to thinke, that he should take awaie the possessions of the church, without finding such as would seeke to withstand him, for if (said he) the archbishop of Canturburie made liue, thou shalt haue hot taking awaie any manner of thing that is his. After this, when the archbishop perceived that the king winked at these matters, he rose from his place and comming before the king, kneled downe, and besought him to consider, how through the fauour and grace of the almightie God, he had attained to the kingdom, and therefore he ought to remember his first purpose and intent, which was, to faue vnto 50 euerie man his right, so far as in him laie.

He willed him likewise to haue in consideration the oth which he willingly had receiued, that is, that he should aduance the honoz of the church, and the mi- nisters thereof of cherish and mainteine. Also, to haue in mind the danger and dishonour that redounded to such as brake their othes: so that he besought him to permit and suffer the church to inioy the priuileges and liberties, which in time of his predecessors it had inioied, requesting him to stand in aide of that king, by whom all kings did reigne; and to feare the cen- sures and condemnation that those incurred, which 60 toke and bereft from the church any good or right be- longing to it, who most certeinlie (said he) are ac- cursed. When the archbishop had vsed this, or the like speech, the king commanded him to go to his seat a- gaine, assuring him, that his intent and purpose was to leaue the church in as good state, or better, than he found it.

The archbishop here with turning to the knights and burgesles of the parlement, said vnto them;

10 You, and such other as you be, haue giuen counsell vnto the king and his predecessors, to confiscate and take into their hands the goods and possessions of the celles, which the Frenchmen and Romans possessed here in England, and affirmed that by the same he and they should heape up great riches, and in deed those goods and possessions (as is to be proued) were 20 worth manie thousands of gold: and yet it is most true, that the king at this day is not halfe one marke of siluer the richer thereby, for you haue begged and gotten them out of his hands, and haue appropriated the same vnto your selues, so that we may coniecture verie well, that you request to haue our temporal- ties, not to aduance the kings profit, but to satisfie 30 your owne greedie conetousnesse; for vndoubtedly if the king (as God forbid he should) did accomplish your wicked purposes and minds, he should not be one farthing the richer the yeare next after: and tra- lie, sooner will I suffer this head of mine to be cut off from my shoulders, than that the church should lose the least right that appertaineth to it.

The knights said little, but yet they proceeded in their sute to haue their purpose forward, which the archbishop perceiuing (as an other Argus, hauing his eie on each side, to marke what was done) labou- red so to disappoint their doings, that he wane the fa- 40 uour of certeine of the temporall lords to assist him, who constantlie avouched by their consents, that the church should neuer be spoiled of the temporalities, and herein they acquitted the archbishop and prelates, one pleasure for an other, which they had done for them before, when the commons in this parlement required, that all such lands and reuenues as some- time belonged to the crowne, and had bene giuen a- waie, either by the king, or by his predecessors king Edward, and king Richard, should be againe resto- red to the kings vse; vnto which request, the archbi- 50 shop and other the prelates would in no wise consent: thus by the stout diligence of the archbishop Arundell that petition of the commons, touching the spiritual temporalities, came to none effect. For the knights themselves, who verie instantlie had stood in this er- ror, acknowledging their maliciousnes and guiltinesse herein, besought the archbishop of Canturburie to pardon them; and gaue thanks that by his corra- gionnesse the church in this so troubleosome a time re- 60 uined, calling to mind the saluing of an ethnike, by way of application, to the said archbishops his praise:

sub principe dicitur
[Temporibus malis animus esse bonus.]

Two sutes were granted by the commons, with condition, that the same should be paid vnto the hands of the lord Furnuall, who should see that mo- nie imploied for maintenance of the kings warres. Moreover, at the importunate sute of the commons, the letters patents that had bene made to diuerse persons of annuities to them granted by king Ed- 60 ward and king Richard, were called in, and made void, not without some note of dishonoz to the king. The cleargie granted to the king a tenth and a halfe, notwithstanding that the halfe of one tenth latelie granted was yet behind; and appointed to be paid vpon saint Martins daie next comming. About this season, great losse happened in Kent, by breaking in of waters, that ouerflowed the sea banks, as well in the archbishop of Canturburies grounds, as other mens, whereby much castell was drowned. Whether did England alone beuaile his losses by such break- ings in of the sea, but also Zealand, Flanders, & Hol- land tallied of the like damage.

William Wickham bishop of Winchester, be- ing a man of great age, deceased this yeare, leauing behind him a perpetuall memorie of his name, for the notable monuments which he created, in building 70

Abt. Pl. out of
Thom. Wals.
Hypod. pag.
167.

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Two sutes
granted.

Letters pa-
tents reuoced

A tenth and
halfe granted
by cleargie.

Overflowing
of the sea.

The death of
William Wick-
ham.

two colleges, one at Winchester for grammar
ans, and the other at Orenford called the new col-
ledge, purchasing lands and revenues for the main-
tenance of students there to the great commoditie
of the commonwealth: for from thence, as out of a
good nurserie, haue come forth diuerse men in all a-
ges excellentlie learned in all sciences. ¶ And here
I haue not thought it impertinent to speake some-
what of this worthy prelat (considering that by him
so great a benefit hath returned to the common-
wealth) according to such notes as I haue scene col-
lected by that painfull traoueller in search of antiqui-
ties John Leland, who saith, that as some haue suppo-
sed, the said Wickham, otherwise called Perot, was
bore sonne to one Perot, the towne-clerke of Wick-
ham in Hampshire, of which place he toke his sur-
name, and that one maister Modall a gentleman,
dwelling in the said towne, brought him by at
school, where he learned his grammar, and to write
verie faire, in so much that the constable of Win-
chester castell, a great ruler in those daies in Hamp-
shire, got him of maister Modall, and retained him
to be his secretarie, with whome he continued, till
king Edward the third, comming to Winchester,
conceiued some good liking of the yong man, and
toke him to his seruice, and withall vnderstanding
that he was minded to be a churchman, he first made
him parson and deane of saint Martins in London,
then archdeacon of Buckingham.

¶ But for so much as his seruice was right accepta-
ble to the king, as he that with great dexteritie could
handle such affaires of the state, or other matters of
charge as were committed to his hands, the king
still kept him about his person, as one of his chiefe
chaplaine of household, and imployed him in sundrie
offices, as occasions serued: and first he made him
surueior of his works and buildings, namely at
Winchore, in repairing of that castell, and also at
Winbrough, where, by the kings appointment, a
strong fortresse was raised, for defense of the realme
on that side. After this, he was aduanced to the kee-
ping of the priuie seale, made ouersceer of the wards
and forests, also tresuroer of the kings revenues in
France, and at length was made bishop of Winches-
ter. ¶ Yet the Blacke prince did not greatlie fauour
him, whereupon Wickham procured to keepe him
occupied in warres beyond the seas. ¶ But at length
John duke of Lancaster, and Alice Perets king Ed-
wards concubine, conceiuing some great displea-
sure against him, found meane to procure the king to
banish him the realme, and then he remained in
Normandie and Picardie for the space of seauen
yeares, or thereabout, and might not be restored so
long as king Edward liued. But after his decesse,
about the second yeare of king Richard the seconds
reigne, he was restored home, and purchased a gene-
rall pardon for all matters past that might be sur-
mised against him, or laid to his charge.

¶ Afterwards he bare himselfe so straightlie in that
dangerous time, when such misliking and priuie en-
mie reigned betwixt the king and his nobles, that
both parts seemed to like of him, inasmuch that when
the king made him lord chancellor, there was not a
nie that greatlie repined thereat; and verelie in that
the king made choise of him before others to occupie
that place, it argueth there was not so euill a disposi-
tion in the king, nor lacke of discretion in order of
government, as writers seeme to charge him with.
But where other could not so well beare injuries at
others hands as haplie Wickham could, the fire of
dissention chafie kindled thereof. For if the duke of
Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke, with those of that
faction could haue refrained to their displea-
sures, when the duke of Gloucester and other his com-

plices pinched at them (for that they sawe the king
haue them in more estimation than they wished)
matters might haue bene qualified peradventure
with lesse adoe, and without danger to haue insued to
either part. But howsoeuer it went with them, it
may doubtlesse be easilie coniectured, that Wick-
ham was a man of singular wisdomne, and politike
foresight, that could from meane degre in such wise
clime aloft, and afterwards passe through the chan-
ces and changes of variable fortune, keeping him-
selfe euer so in state, that he grew at length to be a-
ble to furnish the chargeable expences of two such no-
table foundations which he left behind him, to make
his name immortall. But leauing the consideration
hereof to others, I will returne to the purpose from
whence I haue thus far stepped.

In this first yeare, the fridaie after saint Valen-
tines daie, the earle of March his sonnes earlie in the
mornng were taken south of Winchore castell, and
conueied awaie, it was not knowne whither at the
first, but such search and inquirie was made for them
that shortly after they were heard of, and brought
backe againe. The smith that counterfitted the
keyes, by the which they that conueied them thence
got into the chamber where they were lodged, had
first his hands cut off, and after his head striken
from his shoulders. The ladie Spenser, sister to the
duke of Yorke and widow of the lord Thomas
Spenser, executed at Bristow (as before ye haue
heard) being apprehended and committed to close
pison, accused hir brother the duke of Yorke, as
chefe author in stealing awaie the said earle of
March his sonnes. And further, that the said duke
ment to haue broken into the manor of Eltham the
last Christmasse, by scaling the wals in the night sea-
son, the king being there the same time, to the intent
to haue murdered him. For to proue hir accusation
true, she offered that if there were anie knight, or el-
quier, that would take vpon him to fight in hir quar-
rell, if he were ouercome, she would be content to be
burnt for it.

¶ One of hir esquieres named William Spadstone,
hearing what answer his ladie and mistresse pro-
pounded, cast downe his hood, and proffered in hir
cause the combat. The duke likewise cast downe his
hood, ready by battell to cleare his innocencie. ¶ But
yet the kings sonne lord Thomas of Lancaster ar-
rested him, and put him vnder safe keeping in the
Tower, till it were further knowne what order
should be taken with him, and in the meane time
were all his goods confiscate. The same time was
Thomas Spolobzaie earle marshall accused, as pri-
uie to the purpose of the duke of Yorke, touching the
withdrawing of the earle of March his children, who
confessed indeed that he knew of the dukes purpose:
but yet in no wise gaue his consent thereunto, and
therefore besought the king to be good and gracious
lord vnto him for concealing the matter, and so he ob-
teined pardon of that offense.

The king had assembled at the same time the most
part of the nobilitie at London, to consult with them
for diuerse weightie matters, concerning the state
of the common-wealth, and about some aid of mo-
nie which he requited: but the lords shewd them-
selves not willing to satisfie his request. He therfore
caused the spirituall lords as well as the temporall,
to meet at S. Albons in the Lent season, about the
same matter; but yet obtined not his purpose, by
reason the barons were soe against him, and so at
length on Walne fundate they went their waie, each
man to his home, hauing gratified the king in no-
thing concerning his demand. In the meane time, to
wit the fifteenth of March at a place in Wales called
Hulke, in a conflict fought betwixt the Welshmen
and

1405
The earle of
Marches
sonnes.
Thom. Walsin.

The ladie
Spenser co-
mitted to
ward.

She accuseth
hir brother the
duke of Yorke,

William Spad-
stone esquier
offred to fight
in his ladies
quarrell.

The earle
marshall
accused.

The R. Swan-
terch monie a-
can get none
of the lords.

Abr. Fl. out of
Thom. Wals.
Hypod. pag.
167.

He was also
at one time
treasuroer of
England (as
Leland ga-
thereth.)

Two letters
granted.

Letters pe-
tens renewed

A tenth and a
halfe granted
by p. cleargie.

Overflowing
of the sea.

The death of
William Wick-
ham.

and certeine of the princes companie, the sonne of Owen Glendouer was taken, and fiftene hundred Welshmen taken and slaine. Also in Spaie about the feast daie of S. Dunstons, was the chancelloz of the said Owen taken prisoner, and a great number of other taken and slaine. The prisoners were brought vp to London, where the chancelloz was committed to safe keeping in the Tower.

Abr Fl. out of Thom. Walf. Hypod. pag. 159.

Infl. lib. 1. Herod. lib. 1. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7.

This was a thyetwo discomfiture to the Welsh by the English, on whome siniffer lot lowzsd, at such time as more than a thousand of them were slaine in a hot skirmish; and such shamefull villanie executed vpon the carcasses of the dead men by the Welsh women; as the like (I do beleue) hath neuer or shal dome beane practised. For though it was a cruell deed of Comyzis quene of the Passagets in Scythia, against whome when Cyzus the great king of Persia came, and had slaine hir sonne, she by hir policie trained him into such streets, that she slue him and all his host; and causing a great vessell to be filled with the blood of Cyzus and other Persians, did cast his head therein, saying; Bloud thou hast thirsted and now drinke thereof thy fill: againe, though it was a cruell deed of Fulvia the wife of Marcus Antonius (at whose commandement Popilius cut off the head and hands of that golden mouthed orator Cullie, which afterwards were nailed vp ouer the place of common pleas at Rome) to hold in hir hands the tongue of that father of eloquence cut out of his head after the same was parted from his shoulders, and to picke it all ouer with pins and needles: yet neither the crueltie of Comyzis nor yet of Fulvia is comparable to this of the Welshwomen; which is worthy to be recorded to the shame of a ser pretending the title of weake vessels, and yet raging with such force of fiercencesse and barbarisme. For the dead bodies of the Englishmen, being about a thousand lying vpon the ground imbrued in their owne blood, was a sight (a man would thinke) greuous to looke vpon, and so farre from exciting and stirring vp affections of crueltie; that it should rather haue moued the beholders to commiseration and merrie: yet did the women of Wales cut off their pluries, and put one part thereof into the mouthes of euerie dead man, in such sort that the cullions hong downe to their chins; and not so contented, they did cut off their noses and thrust them into their tailes as they laie on the ground mangled and defaced. This was a verie ignominious deed, and a worse not committed among the barbarous; which though it make the reader to read it, and the hearer to heare it, ashamed: yet because it was a thing done in open sight, and lest testified in historie; I fee little reason why it should not be imparted in our mother tongue to the knowledge of our owne countrymen, as well as vnto strangers in a language vnknewne. And thus much by waie of notifying the inhumanitie and detestable demeanour of those Welshwomen, after the conflict betwene the English and the Welsh, whereof defaultie mention is made before pag. 520, where Edmund Mortimer earle of March was taken prisoner.

The castell of Marke besieged about the middell of Maye as Iac. Meir. saith. Sir Philip Hall.

Ralran earle of S. Paule, by the assent of the French king, assembled five hundred men of armes, five hundred Genotvates with crossbowes, and a thousand Flemings on foot, with the which he laid siege to the castell of Marke, three leagues from Calis, vpon the fiftenth daie of Iulie. Capteine of the castell as then for the king of England was one sir Philip Hall, hauing with him foure score archers, and foure and twentie other soldiers, which defended the place so manfully, that the earle retired into the towne, and there lodged, fortifying it for feare of rescue that might come from Calis. The next daie he

gaue another assault to the castell, and toke the bitter court, wherein was found a great number of horses, kine, and other cattell. The next daie there issued forth of Calis two hundred men of armes, two hundred archers, and three hundred footmen, with ten or twelue wagons laden with vittells and artillerie, conducted by sir Richard Aston knight, lieutenant of the English pale for the earle of Summerset, capteine generall of those marches.

The Frenchmen advertised that the Englishmen were coming to remove the siege, issued not forth of their lodgings, but kept them within their closure. Neuerthelesse, the Englishmen shot so sharpe and close together, that the Flemings and footmen began to flie: the men of armes, fearing the slaughter of their horses, ran awaie with a light gallop. The Genotvates which had spent the most part of their shot at the assaults made to the castell, shewed small resistance, and so all the number of the French part were slaine and put to flight. The earle of S. Paule and diuerse other escaped awaie, and by S. Omers got to Cherouenne, or (as others saie) to saint Omers. But there were taken to the number of three or foure score, and amongst other the lord de Dampier scerhall of Ponthien, monsieur de Wexlers, monsieur de Wines, monsieur de Poitelles, monsieur John de Hangelis capteine of Bullongne, the lord de Rambures, monsieur Lionell Darreis capteine of Graueling, monsieur Peter Kasser capteine of Arde, also Combernard capteine of Cironan, Bold Chanon capteine of Pontoire, John Chanon capteine of Lille, Stenebreche capteine of Ralingham, the bastard of Burneuill capteine of Burburgh. There were slaine about 60, and among them as chiefe sir Robert Berenguetill, the lord of Quercus, Gouert de Sanctes, the lord Courbet de Kemppeupzet, and others.

The Englishmen had the spoile of the earls campe, and being returned to Calis, within five daies after there issued forth about five hundred men, meaning to haue towne the towne of Arde, with a sudden assault, which they gaue to it in the night time. But sir Spanfrid de Bois, and the lord Bigine, did so valiantly defend it, that the Englishmen with losse of foure of their men were constrained to retire vnto Calis, after they had burnt the dead bodies in an old house, for that the enemies should not perceiue that losse the Englishmen had susteyned. After this, the French king, to auoid perils, laid in garison at Bullongne, and in other places, the marques of Pount, sonne to the duke of Bar, the earle of Dampier, and sir John Harpagan a knight of great renowne and estimation. The duke of Burgognie likewise sent a number of soldiers vnto Graueling, vnder the leading of one John Mandenball, and to other fortresses along the coast he sent new supplies, for doubt of the Englishmens inuasions.

The king of England in deed hearing of the preparation made by the Frenchmen, issued forth four thousand men, which he sent vnto Calis, and to the sea, of the which 3000 were vnder the conduct of the kings sonne. The lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Mont, the two and twentieth daie of Maie (as some write) came vpon the coast of Flanders, and entrenging the haven of Aldis, burnt foure great ships which they found here lying at anchor. On the fift daie after their coming into that haven they went on land, thinking to haue fought with the duke of Burgognie. But as other write, after they had besieged the castell that stood in the mouth of the haven, and losing three score of their men, amongst which they name one to beare the title of earle of Denbroke (whom they buried for the time in the church of Wade) five daies after their coming

The earle of S. Paule put to flight, la. Meir.

A great t. by la. These co. ricks are taken. A. omers. A. omers. A. omers. A. omers.

The duke Burgognie prepared to besiege Calis.

The chief part of the force betwix the dukes Burgognie & Orleans

Arde assaulted by Cap. lishman.

The earle of S. Paule.

An armist. to Calis and to the sea.

Chr. Flaud. la. Meir.

The English men besieged the castell of Aldis.

A new ed. vice againt King Henrie by the earle of Northham and o. oth.

An. Reg. 6.

Dom. 1455.

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Chr. Fland.
la. Meir.

The English
men besieged
the castle of
Salais.

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The earle of
S. Paule put
to flight,
la. Meir.

A great fight
by sea.
The earle
of S. Paule
was taken,
John of
Lancaster
in
prison.

The duke of
Burgogne
prepared to
besiege Calis.

The duke of
Burgogne
was taken
by the English.

The marquis
du Pont.

A great fight
by sea.
The earle
of S. Paule
was taken,
John of
Lancaster
in
prison.

ming thither they determined to depart from thence, perceiving the castell would not easilie be twone, but first they spoiled the countie about them, and burnt theis fleet, otherwise called Condekirke, and divers other places thereabout.

This done, they took by the bodie of him whom the Flemish writers call the earle of Penbrooke, and got them againe to the sea, for that they were advertised how the duke of Burgonie meant to besiege Calis. Whereupon raising their siege thus from Calis, they returned unto the defense of the towne of Calis, so much desired of the French nation. As they returned homewards, they met with three caricks of Genoa, of the which one having the wind with him, meant to have overthrowne the ship wherein the lord Thomas of Lancaster was aboard: but by the good foresight of the master of the ship that ruled the sterne, suddenlie turning the same, the violent swaie of that huge vessell comming so upon them, was avoided; but yet the caricke strooke off the nose of the English ship, and bzused him on the side. Then began the fight verie cruell, till the earle of Kent came to the rescue: and so finally after a great wound and bloudie battell betwixt the caricks and English ships, the victorie remained with the Englishmen, who taking the caricks, turned their sailes toward: Poymandie, where they arrived and burnt the towne of Hoggue, Mountburge, Bersie, saint Petronils and other, to the number of thirtie six, passing forth into the countie without resistance, the space of thirtie miles, spoiling all that came in their waie. This done, they returned, and brought the caricks into the chamber at Kie, where one of them by misfortune of fire perished, to the losse & no gaine of either of the parties.

John duke of Burgonie having obtained licence to besiege Calis, prepared an armie of six thousand men of armes, fiftene hundred cosbowes, & twelve thousand footmen, the which being assembled, and all necessarie provision readie at saint Amers, he was by the French king countermanded, and not suffered to proceed any further in that weightie enterprise. And this was thought to be partlie the cause of the malice that he conceived against the duke of Orleans, supposing that through him (envieng his gayte) he was thus disappointed of his purpose. Which such wrongs were in hand betwixt the English and French, as the besieging of Marke castell by the earle of saint Paule, and the sending forth of the English fleet, under the governance of the lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Kent, the king was minded to have gone into Wales against the Welsh rebels, that under their chiefeine Owen Glendouer, ceased not to do much mischief still against the English subiects.

But at the same time, to his further disquieting, there was a conspiracie put in practise against him at home by the earle of Northumberland, who had conspired with Richard Scrope archbishop of Yorke Thomas Spowbray earle marshall sonne to Thomas duke of Norfolk, who for the quarrell betwixt him and king Henrie had bene banished (as ye have heard) the lords Hastings, Franconbroge, Berdolf, and divers others. It was appointed that they should meet altogether with their whole power, upon Yorke shire, at a daie assigned, and that the earle of Northumberland should be chiefeine, promising to bring with him a great number of Scots. The archbishop accompanied with the earle marshall, devised certaine articles of such matters, as it was supposed that not onelie the commonaltie of the Realme, but also the nobilitie found themselves grieved with: which articles they shewed first unto such of their adherents as were neere about them, & after sent them

abroad to their friends further off, assuring them that for redress of such oppressions, they would shed the last drop of blood in their bodies, if need were.

The archbishop not meaning to staie after he saw himselfe accompanied with a great number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his part in this quarrell, forthwith discovered his enterprise, causing the articles also said to be set up in the publike streets of the citie of Yorke, and upon the gates of the monasteries, that ech man might vnderstand the cause that moued him to rise in armes against the king, the reforming whereof did not yet appertene unto him. Hereupon knights, esquires, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as well of the citie, townes and countries about, being allured either for desire of change, or else for desire to see a reformation in such things as were mentioned in the articles, assembled together in great numbers; and the archbishop comming forth amongst them clad in armour, incouraged, exhorted, and (by all means he could) picked them forth to take the enterprise in hand, and manfullie to continue in their begun purpose, promising forgiveness of sinnes to all them, whose hap it was to die in the quarrell: and thus not onelie all the citizens of Yorke, but all other in the countries about, that were able to beate weapon, came to the archbishop, and the earle marshall. In deed the respect that men had to the archbishop, caused them to like the better of the cause, since the grauitie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aspect of his amiable personage, moued all men to haue him in no small estimation.

The king advertised of these matters, meaning to prevent them, lest his iourne into Wales, and marched with all speed towards the north parts. Also Rafe Penill earle of Westmerland, that was not farre off, together with the lord John of Lancaster the kings sonne, being informed of this rebellious attempt, assembled together such power as they might make, and together with those which were appointed to attend on the said lord John to defend the borders against the Scots, as the lord Henrie Fitzhugh, the lord Rafe Geuers, the lord Robert Umfravill, & others, made forward against the rebels, and comming into a plaine within the forest of Caltre, caused their standards to be pitched doونه in like sort as the archbishop had pitched his, ouer against them, being farre stronger in number of people than the other, for (as some write) there were of the rebels at the least twentie thousand men.

When the earle of Westmerland perceived the force of the aduersaries, and that they late skill and attempted not to come forward upon him, he subtilie deuised how to quail their purpose, and forthwith dispatched messengers unto the archbishop to understand the cause as it were of that great assemble, and for what cause (contrarie to the kings peace) they came so in amour. The archbishop answered, that he toke nothing in hand against the kings peace, but that whatsoeuer he did, tended rather to aduance the peace and quiet of the common-wealth, than otherwise; and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom he could haue no free access, by reason of such a multitude of flatterers as were about him; and therefore he maintained that his purpose to be good & profitable, as well for the king himselfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderstand a truth: & herewith he shewed forth a scroll, in which the articles were written wherof before ye have heard.

The messengers returning to the earle of Westmerland, shewed him what they had heard & brought from the archbishop. When he had read the articles, he

The archbishop of Yorke one of the chiefe conspirators.

The archbishop in armour.

The estimation which men had of the archbishop of Yorke.

The earle of Westmerland and the lord John of Lancaster the kings sonne prepare themselves to resist the kings enemies.

The forest of Caltre.

The subtil policy of the earle of Westmerland.

The archbishop's protestation why he had on him arms.

he shewed in word and countenance outwardly that he liked of the archbishops holie and vertuous intent and purpose, promising that he and his would prosecute the same in assisting the archbishop, who resolving hereat, gaue credit to the earle, and perswaded the earle marshall (against his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed for them to commune together. Where then they were met with like number on either part, the articles were read ouer, and without anie more ado, the earle of Westmerland and those that were with him agreed to do their best, to see that a reformation might be had, according to the same.

The earle of Westmerland's politike dealing.

The earle of Westmerland being more politic than the rest: Well (said he) then our trauell is come to the wished end: and where our people haue bene long in armour, let them depart home to their wonted trades and occupations: in the meane time let vs drinke together in signe of agreement, that the people on both sides maie see it, and know that it is true, that we be light at a point. They had no sooner shaken hands together, but that a knight was sent straight waies from the archbishop, to bring word to the people that there was peace concluded, commanding ech man to laie aside his armes, and to resort home to their houses. The people beholding such tokens of peace, as shaking of hands, and drinking together of the lords in louing manner, they being already wearied with the vnaccustomed trauell of warre, brake by their field and returned homewards: but in the meane time, whilst the people of the archbishops side withdrew awaie, the number of the contrarie part increased, according to order giuen by the earle of Westmerland; and yet the archbishop perceived not that he was deceived, untill the earle of Westmerland arrested both him and the earle marshall, with diuerse other. Thus saith Wallingham.

The archbishop of York and the earle marshall arrested.

But others write somewhat otherwise of this matter, affirming that the earle of Westmerland in deed, and the lord Kase Cuers, procured the archbishop & the earle marshall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground iust in the midwaie betwixt both the armies, where the earle of Westmerland in talke declared to them how perillous an enterprise they had taken in hand, so to raise the people, and to moue warre against the king, aduising them therefore to submit themselves without further delay vnto the kings mercie, and his sonne the lord John, who was present there in the field with banners spread, redie to trie the matter by dint of sword, if they refused this counsell: and therefore he willed them to remember themselves well; & if they would not yeld and craue the kings pardon, he bad them do their best to defend themselves.

Whereupon as well the archbishop as the earle marshall submitted themselves vnto the king, and to his sonne the lord John that was there present, and returned not to their armie. Whereupon their tromps scaled and fled their waies; but being pursued, manie were taken, manie slaine, and manie spoiled of that that they had about them, & so permitted to go their waies. Howsoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the archbishop, and the earle marshall were brought to Donistret to the king, who in this meane while was aduanced thither with his powder, and from thence he went to York, whither the prisoners were also brought, and there beheaded the morrow after Whitsondaie in a place without the citie, that is to say, betwixt the archbishop himselfe, the earle marshall, sir John Lamplere, and sir Robert Plumpton. & vnto all which persons though in demerit were promised, yet was the same to none of them at anie hand performed. By the issue hereof, I meane the death of the foresaid, but speciallie of the

The archbishop of York, the earle marshall, & others put to death. Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wallin. Hypod. pag. 163.

archbishop, the prophesie of a sicklie canon of Badington in Northshire fell out to be true, who darklie though foretold this matter, & the unfortunate event thereof in these words hereafter following, saieing:

*Pacem tractabant, sed fraudem subter arabant,
Pro nulla marca, saluabitur ille * hierarcha.*

The archbishop suffered death verie constantlie, inasmuch as the common people took it, he died a martyr, affirming that certeine miracles were wrought as well in the field where he was executed, as also in the place where he was buried: and immediately vpon such bynts, both men and women began to worship his dead carcasse; whom they loued so much when he was alieue, till they were forbidden by the kings friends, and for feare gaue ouer to visit the place of his sepulture. The earle marshalls bodie by the kings leaue was buried in the cathedrall church, manie lamenting his destinie; but his head was set on a pole aloft on the walls for a certeine space, till by the kings permission [after the same had suffered manie a hot sunnie date, and manie a wet shower of raine] it was taken downe and buried together with the bodie.

After the king, accordinglie as seemed to him good, had ransomed and punished by greuous fines the citizens of York (which had borne armour on their archbishops side against him) he departed for York with an armie of thirtie and seuen thousand fighting men, furnished with all prouision necessary, marching northwards against the earle of Northumberland. At his coming to Durham, the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir John Colclough of the Dale, and sir John Griffith, being convicted of the conspiracie, were there beheaded. The earle of Northumberland, hearing that his counsell was betrayed, and his confederats brought to confusion, though too much hat of the archbishop of York, with three hundred horse got him to Berwik. The king coming Edward quicklie, toan the castell of Tharkeborow. Whereupon the earle of Northumberland, not thinking himselfe in surtie at Berwik, fled with the lord Berwolfe into Scotland, where they were received of David lord Fleming.

The king coming to Berwik, commanded that that kept the castell against him to render it to his hands, and when they flatlie denied so to do, he caused a peece of artillerie to be planted against one of the towers, and at the first shot ouerthrowing part thereof, they within were put in such feare, that they flatlie yelded themselves without any manner of condition, whollie to remaine at the kings pleasure. Whereupon the chieftest of them, to wit, sir William Greystoke, sonne to Kasebaron of Greystoke, sir Henrie Beinton, and John Blenkinlop, with foure or five other were put to death, and diuerse other were kept in prison. Some write that the earle of Northumberland at his entring into Scotland, deliuered the towne of Berwik vnto the Scots, who hearing of king Henries approach, and despairing to defend the towne against him, set fire on it and departed. There was not one hold that was left vnburnt, except the friers and the church.

After that the king had disposed things in such convenient order as stood with his pleasure at Berwik, he came backe, and had the castell of Alnetholke deliuered vnto him, with all other the castells that belonged to the earle of Northumberland in the north parts, as Boddow, Langlie, Cockermonth, Altham, and Bewlsted. Thus hauing quieted the north parts, he took his iourne directlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing favourable vnto him, for all his attempts had euill successe, in somuch that lacking stiffe of his cariages through abundance of raine and waters, he returned; and coming to Worcester

The archbishop repaires a martyr.

Hall. The marshall sent to sit with the king.

Carmarthen some by French.

Hereford manfully fenced, Engueran Montreil. Smith they burnt the townes b could not the castell

The sub of wyorce burnt.

Berwik is still yielded to the king.

The same of the lord Greystoke and others put to death. Exon.

French name.

The castell of Alnetholke yielded to the king.

The king's army.

The king's army.

om. 1405.

An. Reg. 6, 7.

for, he sent for the archbishop of Cantuarburie, and other bishops, declaring to them the misfortune that had chanced to him, in consideration whereof he requested them to helpe him with some portion of money, towards the maintenance of his warres, for the taming of the presumptuous and unquiet Welshmen.

In the meane time, the French king had appointed one of the marshalls of France called Pontmerancie, and the master of his crossbowes, with twelue thousand men to saile into Wales to aid Owen Glendouer. They took shipping at Brest, and hauing the wind prosperous, landed at Milford haueu, with an hundred and fourtie ships, as Thomas Walsingham saith; though Enguerant de Montfrellet maketh mention but of an hundred and twentie. The most part of their horses were lost by the waie for lacke of fresh water. The lord Berkeley, and Henrie Paie, espieng their advantage, burnt fiftene of those French ships, as they laie at road there in the haueu of Milford; and shortly after the same lord Berkeley, and sir Thomas Swinborne, with the said Henrie Paie, took other fourtene ships, as they came that waie with prouision of vittels and munition for the France to the aid of the other.

In the meane while the marshall Pontmerancie, with his armie, besieged the towne of Carmarden, and won it by composition, granting to the men of waire that kept it against him, licence to depart whither they would, & to take with them all their mouable goods: the castell of Denbroke they assaulted not, esteeming it to be so well manned, that they shuld but lose their labour in attempting it. Shortly after, when they besieged the towne of Hereford well, which neuertheless was so well defended by the earle of Arundell and his power, that they lost more than they won, and so they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they found Owen Glendouer abiding for their coming, with ten thousand of his Welshmen. Here were the Frenchmen toisollie retrained of the Welsh rebels, and so when all things were prepared, they passed by Glamorganshire towards Worcester, and there burnt the suburbs: but hearing of the kings approach, they suddenly returned towards Wales.

The king with a great puissance followed, and found them unbattelled on a high mountaine, where there was a great battell betwixt both the armies, so that either armie might plainelie perceiue the other, and either host looked to be assailed of his aduersarie, & therefore sought to take the advantage of ground. Thus they continued for the space of eight daies from morning till night, readie to abide, but not to giue battell. Here were many skirmishes, and diuerse proper feats of armes wrought in that meane while, in the which the French lost many of their nobles and gentlemen; as the lord Patrouillars de Tries, brother to the marshall of France, the lord Patellonne of Parlelonne, the lord de la Masse, and the bassard of Bourbon, with other, to the number (as some haue written) of fure hundred. But Enguerant de Montfrellet affirmeth, that vpon their retorne into France, there wanted not above threescore persons of all their companies.

After they had laine thus one against another the space of eight daies (as before is said) vittels began to faile, so that they were inforced to dislodge. The French and Welshmen withdrew into Wales, and though the Englishmen followed, yet impeached with the desert grounds and barren countrie, thorough which they must passe, as our felles and cragie mounteins, from hill to daie, from marsh to wood, from naught to worse (as Hall saith) without vittels or succour, the king was of force constrained

to retire with his armie, and retorne againe to Worcester, in which retorne the enimies took certeine cariages of his laden with vittels. The Frenchmen after the armies were thus withdorne, returned into Britaine, making small bags of their painefull iourne.

This yeare at London, the earle of Arundell married the bassard daughter of the king of Portingale, the king of England and the queene with their presence honozing the solemnitie of that feast, which was kept with all sumptuous roialtie, the morrow after saint Katharins daie. And on the daie of the Conception of our ladie, the ladie Philip king Henries daughter was proclaimed queene of Denmarke, Polande, and Sweden, in presence of such ambassadoys, as the last summer came hither from the king of those countries, to demand hir in marriage for him, and had so travelled in the matter, that finally they obtained it. And on the daie of the translation of saint Martine, the towne of Roiston was on fire. This yeare the first of March a parliament began, which continued almost all this yeare: for after that in the lower house they had denied a long time to grant to any subsidie: yet at length, a little before Christmasse, in the eight yeare of his reigne they granted a fiftenth to the losse and great damage of the communalitie, for thorough lingering of time, the expences of knights and burgeses grew almost in value to the summe that was demanded.

Moreover, by the clergie a new kind of subsidie was granted, to the king, to be leuied of stipendarie priests and friers mendicants, and other such religious men as long for the dead, celebrating (as they termed it) anniuersaries: euerie of them gaue halfe a marke, in reliefe of other of the clergie that had still borne the burthen for them before. Whereupon now they murmured and grudged sore, for that they were thus charged at that present. The same time the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bar-dolfe, warned by the lord David Fleming, that there was a conspiraite practised to deliuer them into the king of Englands hands, fled into Wales to Owen Glendouer. This cost the lord Fleming his life: for after it was knowne that he had disclosed to the earle of Northumberland what was meant against him, and that the earle thereupon was shifted awaie, certeine of the Scots sue the said lord Fleming.

Whereupon no small grudge rose betwixt those that so sue him, and the said lord Flemings friends. For this and other matters, such dissention sprang up amongst the Scottish nobilitie, that one durst not trust another, so that they were glad to sue for a truce betwixt England and them, which was granted to indure for one yeare, as in some booke we find recorded. This truce being obtained, Robert king of Scotland (upon considerations, as in the Scottish histories ye may read more at large) sent his eldest son James intituled prince of Scotland (a child not past nine yeares of age) to be conueied into France, vnder the conduct of the earle of Dykenie, and a bishop, in hope that he might there both remaine in safetie, and also learne the French tong.

But it fortunied, that as they sailed neare to the English coast about Flambrough head in Holderness, their ship was taken and staied by certeine mariners of Claie (a towne in Norfolk) that were abroad the same time; and so he and all his companie being apprehended the thirtieth of March, was conueied to Windsoze, where though he had letters from his father, which he presented to the king, containing a request in his sommes behalfe for fauour to be shewed towards him, if by chance he landed within any of his dominions: yet was he detained, and as well he himselfe as the earle of Dykenie was committed to safe

The Frenchmen retorne home.
Anno Reg. 7.

Abt. Fl. out of Thom Walsin.
Roiston burnt.

1406
A parliament.

A fiftenth granted by the reimpolitic.

A new kind of subsidie granted by the clergie.

The lord Fleming lost his life for giuing knowledge to the earle of Northumberland of that which was meant against him.

Dissention among the Scottish nobilitie.

Eleuen yeares saith Harding.
The prince of Scotland staid here in England.

Archbishop.
The archbishop reputed a martyr.

The earle of Northumberland.

The lord Berkeley.

The earle of Northumberland.

The earle of Northumberland.

The earle of Northumberland.

The earle of Northumberland.

The earle of Northumberland.

safe keeping in the Tower of London, but the bishop got away and escaped (as some write) by what means I know not. By the Scottish writers we find that this chanced in the yeare 1404, that is, two yeares before the time noted in diuerse English writers, as Thomas Walsingham and other. But Harding saith it was in the ninth yeare of king Henries reigne, to wit, in the yeare 1408.

But whensoever it chanced, it is to be thought, that there was no truce at that present betwene the two realmes, but that the warre was rather open, sith diuerse English rebels still remained in Scotland, and were there succored to the high displeasure of king Henrie. ¶ By authoritie of the parlement that all this time continued, the Britons that serued the queene, with two of hir daughters were banished the realme. Robert Halome chancellor of Oxford, as then being in the popes court at Rome, was created archbishop of York. ¶ Whereouer the same time, the pope gaue vnto Thomas Langlie the bishopricke of Durham, which by the death of Walter Skirlow was then void. In the summer of this yeare, the ladie Philib the kings yonger daughter was sent ouer to hir affianced husband, Erie king of Denmarke, Polande, and Sweden, being conueied thither with great pompe, and there married to the said king, where she tasted (according to the common speech vsed in praiseng for the successe of such a match together in marriage) both joy and some sorrow among. There attended hir thither Henrie Bowet bishop of Bath, and the lord Richard brother to the duke of York.

There was a iusts held at London, betwixt the earle of Kent, and the erle of Marre a Scottishman; also sir John Cornetwall, and the lord Beaumont, against other two Scottish knights, whereof the honoz remained with the Englishmen. In the parlement which yet continued, the duke of York was restored to his former libertie, estate and dignitie, where manie supposed that he had bene dead long before that time in prison. Edmund Holland earle of Kent was in such fauour with king Henrie, that he not onelie aduanced him to high offices and great honozs, but also to his great costs and charges obtained for him the ladie Lucie, eldest daughter, and one of the heires of the lord Barnabo of Aquilane, which Barnabo paid to him 100000 ducates, in the church of S. Marie Queres in Southwarke, by the hands of Don Alfonso de Catinuola, vpon the day of the solemnization of the marriage, which was the four and twentieth of Januarie.

¶ In this yeare Roger of Walden departed this life; who hauing bene tossed vp and downe with sundrie changes of fortune, tried in a short time how incessant, vncertaine, variable, wandering, vnsable, and flitting the is; which when he is thought firmelie to stand, the slippinglie falleth; and with a dissembling loke counterfaitefeth false ioies. For by the means of hir changeablenesse, the said Roger of a poore fellow, grew vp to be high lord treasurer of the realme, and shortly after archbishop of Canturburie; but by what right, the world knoweth, considering that the lord Thomas Arundell was then liuing. Anon after he was deposed from his dignitie, and lead the life of an ordinarie priuat man a long time; within a while after againe he was promoted and made bishop of London, which se he had not possessed a full yeare, but was depriued, and Nicholas Bobinwith succeeded in his roome. So that hereby men are taught not to be proud of their preferment, nor to reckon of them as of perpetuities, sithens they may be as sone dispossessed as possessed of them; and for that all estates & degrees depend vpon Gods power and prouidence, whereof the poet diuinelie saith,

*Ludit in humanis diuina potentia rebus,
Et certam praesens vix habet hora fidem.*

In this yeare the seventh of Maie was Thomas Langlie consecrated bishop of Durham after the decease of Walter Skirlow. In which place he continued one and thirtie yeares. He among other his beneficall deeds beautified the church of Durham for euer with a chanterie of two chapelnes. Besides which for the increase of learning (wherewith himselfe was greatlie furnished) he built two scholes, the one for grammar to instruct youth, whereby in following time they might be made moze able to benefit themselves and serue their countrie; and the other of musick, wherein children might be made apt to serue God and the church, both which scholes he erected in a parcell of ground commonlie called The plate greene. To which buildings (for he was one that delighted much therein, and like vnto the philosopher Anaxagoras supposed that there was not any moze earthlie felicitie, than to erect sumptuous palaces, whereby after their death the memorie of the founders might haue continuance) he added manie sumptuous parts of the palace of Durham. In the towne whereof he did also from the ground (of most stately stone) erect a new gaole with the gate-house to the same, in that place where of old it remained, and then by iniurie of time fallen downe and consumed. This man inioined the see of Durham almost the whole time of three kings, that is, about six yeares and six moneths in the time of Henrie the fourth, nine yeares and five moneths in the time of Henrie the fifth, and fiftene yeares in the time of Henrie the sixth; during the gouernment of all which princes, he was all his life time highly esteemed and reuerenced for his singular wisdome, and for the great authoritie he bare in publike, betwene whome and the maior of Newcastell arose great contention, about a bridge called Tinebridge in the towne of Gateshead or Coteshead, in Latine called *Caput caprae*. But in the yeare of our redemption 1416, and of Henrie the fifth, the fourth, and of his bishopricke the eleuenth, this bishop had the recouerie thereof, as appeareth by the letter of atturme of the said bishop, made to diuerse to take possession of the same.

The letter of atturme wherby the bishop authorised diuerse to take possession of Tinebridge.

Thomas Dei gratia episcopus Dunelmensis omnibus ad quos praesentes litterae peruenierint salutem. Sciatis quod assignauimus & deputauimus dilectos & fideles nostros Radulphum de Ewrie cheualier senescallum nostrum Dunelmie, Williamum Chanceler cancellarium, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmie, ac Williamum Claxton vicecomitem nostrum Dunelmie communitatem & diuisionem ad plenam & pacificam seisinam, de duabus partibus medietatis cuiusdam pontis vocati Tinebridge, in villa nostra de Gateshead, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmie existentis. Qua quidem duas partes medietatis praedictae continent & faciunt tertiam partem eiusdem pontis usque austrum, in praedicta villa de Gateshead. Super quas duas partes nuper maior & communis villa Novi castri super Tinam, quandam turrim de nouo adificare ceperunt, & quas quidem duas partes cum franchiseis, iurisdictionibus, & iuribus regalibus super easdem duas partes medietatis praedictae, nuper in curia domini regis versus maiorem & communitatem dictae villae Novi castri recepimus nobis

Hall.

Robert Halome archb. of York.

The king and the queene brought hir to Lin where she took shiping. Tho. Wals.

Anno Reg. 8. The duke of York restored to libertie.

The earle of Kent in fauor with y king.

The marriage of daughter of Barnabo lord of Aquilane.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. Hypod. pag. 161.

Roger of Walden's variable fortune.

Conte

Ogle.

141 The Duke of York's death in Wales

Henrie 5. a. 1416 man.

In which the Duke of York's death

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*et successoribus nostris episcopis Dunelmia, & in
iure ecclesie nostre sancti Cuthberti Dunelmia
possidendas de vicecomite Westmerlandia, pra-
textu eiusdem brevis dicti domini regis sibi directi
nomine nostro recipiendas; & turrim predictam ad
opus nostrum salu & secure custodiendam. Ratum
& gratum habiturus quicquid id Radulphus, Wil-
liamus & Willielmus nomine nostro fecerint in
premissis. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras
nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum Dunelmia
per manus Williami Cancellarij nostri 26 Octo-
bris, anno pontificatus nostri undecimo.*

According whereunto in the said yeare, possession
was delivered in the presence of these persons, whose
names I thinke not vnnmeet for their posterities
cause to be remembred, being persons of god credit
and of antiquitie, that is to saie, John Lomelle, Rafe
Cwate, Robert Hilton, William Fulthrop, Wil-
liam Tempest, Thomas Suerties, Robert Cog-
niers, William Clarton shiriffe of Durham, Ro-
bert de Egle, John Bertram, John Wiberington,
and John Middleton knights of Northumberland,
Christopher Porlie, Will. Dinunderlaw knights
of Westmerland; and also in the presence of these es-
quiers, Robert Hilton, Robert Cwate, William
Bolwes, John Coniers, William Lampton the el-
der, John de Porzen, William Lampton the youn-
ger, Hugh Worunghell, John Battlie, William Bel-
lingham, Robert Belthis, Henrie Talboies; Tho-
mas Carbois, John de Hutton, William Hutton,
Thomas Coker of Ffisburyne, and sune others. This
bithop also procured certeine liberties from the pope
in the church of Durham, by vertue of which grant
they which were excommunicate (and might not in-
ioy the pynilege of any sacraments, in other places
throughout the bishopprie) should yet baptise their
children in a font of that church, in an especiall place
appointed therefore, and also receive the other sacra-
ments there to be administered unto them. He died
the eight and twentieth of Nouember in the yeare of
our redemption 1437, and was buried in the church
of Durham in the chanterie which he had before erec-
ted. Before whose death at his manour of Holston
he builded all the west gates there of goodlie stone
and lime, with the chambers thereto belonging on
which he placed his armes.]

1407
The duke of
Blenche be-
sieged the towne
in Calcuigne.

The duke of Blenche hauing leuied a mightie ar-
mie, had besieged the towne of Burge and Blaie in
Calcuigne, meaning with force to win the same; but
so it fortunied, that for the space of eight weekes to-
gether, there passed not one date without tempest of
raime, snow, and haille, mixed with winds and light-
nings, which killed aswell men as cattell, by reason
whereof he lost (as was reported) six thousand men, so
that he was constrained to breake up his camps
from before both those towne, and to get him awaie
with dishonor, for all his brags and boasts made at
his first coming thither. The sametime, Henrie
Daie and certeine other persons of the fine ports,
with fiftene ships, toke an hundred and twentie
pises, which laie at anchor in and about the coast of
Britaine, laden with iron, salt, oyle, & Roshell wines.

Henrie Daie
a valiant sea
man.

In this season also billes were set up in diuerse
places of London; and on the doore of Bailes church,
which was conteneid, that king Richard being a-
line and in health, should come thither with great
magnificence & powder to recouer againe his king-
dome: but the contriner of this deuise was quicklie
found out, apprehended, and punished according to
his demerits. The cite of London this yeare in
the summer was so infected with pestilent mortali-
tie, that the king durst not repaire thither, nor come

neare to it. Whereupon he being at the castell of Leeds
in Kent, and departing from thence, toke ship at
Quinburgh in the Ile of Shepie, to saile ouer vnto
Lae in Essex, and so to go to Blaschie, there to passe
the time till the mortalitie was ceased.

As he was vpon the sea, certeine French pirates
which laie lurking at the Thames mouth to watch for
some prete, got knowledge by some meanes (as was
supposed) of the kings passage, and thereupon as he
was in the midst of his course, they entred among
his fleet, and toke foure vessels next to the kings
ship, and in one of the same vessels sir Thomas
Kampston the kings vicechamberlaine, with all his
chamber stufte and apparell. They followed the king
so neere, that if his ship had not bene swift, he had
landed sooner in France than in Essex: but such was
his god hap, that he escaped and arrived at his ap-
pointed port. The lord Camois, that was comman-
ded with certeine ships of warre to waite the king o-
uer (whether the wind turned so that he could not
keepe his direct course, or that his ship was but a
slug) ran so far in the kings displeasure, that he was
attached & indited, for that (as was surmized against
him) he had practised with the Frenchmen, that the
king might by them haue bene taken in his passage.

We haue heard that the pope by vertue of his pro-
uision had given the archbishopricke of Yorke vnto
maister Robert Halom; but the king was so offen-
ded therewith, that the said Robert might in no wise
inioy that benefice, and so at length, to satisfie the
kings pleasure, maister Henrie Bolwet was trans-
lated from Bath vnto Yorke, and maister Robert
Halom was made bishop of Salisburie then void by
remouing of Henrie Chichelle to S. Dauides. The
lord Henrie prince of Wales this yeare in the sum-
mer season besieged the castell of Abrukswith, and
constrained them within to compound with him vnder
certeine conditions for truce; but the prince was
no sooner from thence departed, but that Owen
Glendouer by subtil craft entered the castell, put out
the keepers, and charging them with treason for con-
cluding an agreement without his consent, placed
other in that forte to defend it to his life.

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie,
that ancient warriour and worthy knight sir Robert
Knols departed this life: he was (as before ye haue
heard) borne of meane parentage; but growen into
such estimation for his ballant prowesse, as he was
thought meet to haue the leading of whole armies, and
the rule and government of large prouinces. For
not long before his decesse, he being gouernour of
Aquitaine, incumbered with age, resigned his office
vnto sir Thomas Belfort, a right ballant capteine,
and therewith returned into England, where he died
at a manour place of his in Northfolke, & from thence
brought to London in a litter, with great pompe and
much torch light, was buried in the church of White-
friars in Fleetstreet by the ladie Constance his wife,
where was done for him a solemne obsequie, with
a great feast, and liberall dole to the poore.

Besides the diuerse noble exploits, and famous
warlike enterprises atchued by this ballant sonne
of Mars, he (to continue the perpetuall memorie of
his name) builded the brydge of Rochester, ouer the
riuer of Medwaite with a chappell at the end thereof;
he repared also the bodie of the church of the White-
friars where he was buried, which church was first
founded by the ancestor of the lord Greie of Cod-
ner. He also founded a college of secular priests at
Dorset, and did manie other things in his life right
commendable. Sir Thomas Kampston constable of
the tower was drowned, in coming from the court
as he would haue shut the brydge, the streame being
so big, that it ouerturned his barge. This yeare the

ff f f.

twentieth

The king in
danger to be
taken by
French pi-
rats.

Sir Thomas
Kampston tak-
en.

The king es-
caped through
swiftnesse of
his ship.
The lord Ca-
mois put in
blame.

Henrie Bolwet
et archbishop
of Yorke.

Abrukswith.

Owen Glenda-
ouer.

Sir Robert
Knols depar-
teth this life.
Bermondley.

S. Albons.

He was buried
in White-
friars.

He built Ro-
chester brydge
commonlie
called Knols
brydge.

Thom. Walk.

Anno Reg. 9.

Thom. Walf.
I subscibe.

The lord Camois
arrested & acquitted

1408

The earle of
Northumb.
the lord Bar-
dolfie returne
into Englañ.

The shiriffe of
Yorke shire.

His hardie co-
rage to fight.

The earle of
Northumber-
land slaine.

Abr. Fl. out of
Tho. Walfin.
Hypod. pag.
172.

twentieth of October began a parlement holden at Glocester, but remoued to London as shoulde appere in November; for (as we find) in that moneth this yere 1407, and ninth of this kings reigne, a subside was granted by authoritie of a parlement then assembled at London, to be leuied through the whole realme.

The lord Camois was arreigned the last of October, before Edmund earle of Kent that daie high steward of England, and by his peeres acquit of the offense, whereof he had bene indicted (as before we haue heard) and so dismissed at the barre, was restored againe both to his goods, lands, and offices. This yere the winter was exceeding sharpe through frost and snow that continued & couered the ground by all the moneths of December, Januarie, Februarie, and March, inasmuch that thrushes, blackbirds, and manie thousand birds of the like smaller size, perished with verie cold and hunger.

The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfie, after they had bene in Wales, in France and Flanders, to purchase aid against king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the space of a whole yere: and as their euill fortune would, whilst the king held a counsell of the nobilitie at London, the said earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfie, in a dismall houre, with a great power of Scots returned into England, recouering diuerse of the earls castles and seignories, for the people in great numbers resorted vnto them. Wherevpon incouraged with hope of good successe, they entred into Yorkeshire, & there began to destroe the countrie. At their coming to Threlke, they published a proclamation, signifieng that they were come in comfort of the English nation, as to releue the common-wealth, willing all such as loved the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armor on their backs, and in defensible wise to assist them.

The king advertised hereof, caused a great armie to be assembled, and came forward with the same towards his enemies: but per the king came to Nottingham, sir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokefrie shiriffe of Yorkeshire, assembled the forces of the countrie to resist the earle and his power, committing to Grimbaut biggs, beside Banerborough, there to stop them the passage; but they returning aside, got to Weatherbie, and so to Tadcaster, and finally came forward vnto Barmham more, nere to Haiselwood, where they chose their ground meet to fight vpon. The shiriffe was as readie to giue battell as the earle to receiue it, and so with a standard of S. George speyd, set fiercelie vpon the earle, who vnder a standard of his owne armes encountred his aduersaries with great manhood. There was a sore incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties: but in the end the victorie fell to the shiriffe. The lord Bardolfie was taken, but sore wounded, so that he shortly after died of the hurts. As for the earle of Northumberland, he was slaine outright: so that now the prophesie was fulfilled, which gaue an inkling of this his heauie hap long before; namely,

Stirps Persicina periet confusa ruina.

For this earle was the stocke and maine root of all that were left aliue called by the name of Persie; and of manie more by diuerse slaughters dispatched: for whose misfortune the people were not a little sorrie, making report of the gentlemen valiantnesse, renowne, and honour, and applieng vnto him certeine lamentable verses out of Lucane, his taleng:

*Sei nos nec sanguis, nec tantum vulnera nostri
Affecere senis; quantum gestata per urbem
Ora ducis, quæ transfixa deformis pile
Vidimus.*

For his head, full of slaer hoxie heares, being put vpon a stake, was openlie carried through London, and set vpon the bridge of the same cite: in like manner was the lord Bardolfie. The bishop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when he was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battell was fought the nineteenth day of Februarie. The king to purge the North parts of all rebellion, and to take order for the punishment of those that were accused to haue succoured and assisted the earle of Northumberland, went to York, where when manie were condemned, and diuerse put to great fines, and the countrie brought to quietnesse, he caused the abbat of Hailes to be hanged, who had bene in armour against him with the fore-said earle.

In the beginning of March, the king sent Edmund Holland earle of Kent with an armie of men imbarked in certeine ships of warre vnto the sea, because he had knowledge that diuerse rowers were waxing about the coasts of this land, and did much hurt. When the earle had ferched the coasts, and could meet with no enimie abroad, he was aduertised by spies, that the pirats hearing of his coming to sea, were withdrawne into Britaine: therefore the said earle intending to be reuenged on them, whome he sought, directed his course thither, and finding that they had laid by their ships in the haucens, so as he could not fight with them by sea, he lanchd out his boats, and with his fierce soldiers toke land, and manfullie assaulted the towne of Bysake standing by the sea side. They within stoutlie defended themselves, doing their best to repell the Englishmen, with throwing darts, casting stones, and shooting quarels; in which conflict the earle receiued a wound in his head, so that he died thereof within five daies after.

The Englishmen not dismayed with his death, but the more desirous to obtaine their purpose, continued their assaults, till by fine force they entered the towne, set it on fire, and slue all that made resistance; and after for want of a generall to command what should be done, they being pestered with priees and prisoners, returned into England. The countesse of Kent that was daughter (as we haue heard) to Bernabo viscount lord of Millaine, having no issue by hir husband, was now moued by the king after hir husbands death, to marrie with his ballard brother the earle of Dorset, a man verie aged and euill vsaged; wherevpon the misliking him, meant rather to satiffie hir owne fantasie, and therefore chose for hir husband Henrie Portmer, a yowle young bacheller, by whom she had issue a daughter named Anne, married to sir John Astobemond.

This yere, the next daie after the feast daie of Marie Magdalen, in a counsell holden at London by the cleergie, the doctors of the vniuersities of Cambridge and Orenford being there, with the rest assembled, debated the matter, whether they ought to withdraw from the pope, payments of monte, and their accustomed obedience, considering that contrarie to his word and promise so solemnlie made, and with an oth confirmed, he withdraw himselfe from the place where he (according to covenants) shoulde haue bene present, to aduance an agreement and concord in the church. Upon the read of the statute of our ladie, there chanced such floods through abundance of raue, as the like had not bene sent afore by any man then liuing. Also about the feast of All saints, the cardinal of Burges came into England, to informe the king and the cleergie of the constant dealing of pope Gregorie, in like manner as he had informed the French king and the French men, to the end that he might persuaide both these kings,

The resolu-
of the French
king concern-
ing the two
papes.

The abbat of
Hailes hanged.

The earle of
Kent sent to
the sea.

1409
A couocat
at St. Paul
in London.

Embassado
appointed
to go to the
court of Pisa

The content
of the king
letters to the
pope.

The earle of
Kent hanged
to death.

Bysake taken
by force.

Abr. Fl. out
Thom. Walf.
Hypod. pag.
172.

The countesse
of Kent mar-
riedly her
choice of the
second hus-
band.

A disputation
between di-
uines of Ox-
ford & Cam-
bridge for
their obedi-
ence to the pope.

Anno Re-
The cardinall
of Burges
came into Eng-
land, to informe
the king and
the cleergie
of the in-
constant dealing
of pope Gregorie
in like manner
as he had in-
formed the French
king and the French
men, to the end
that he might
persuaide both
these kings,

An. Reg. II.

kings which were accounted the chiefe in christen-
dome, to put vnto their helping hands, that the same
pope Gregorie might be induced to obserue and per-
forme that oth, which he had receiued, so as by the ro-
all authoritie of those two kings, concord might be
had in the church. The French king (as this cardinall
alleged) following the aduise of the learned men of
the vniuersities of Paris, Bologna, Orleans, Tho-
louse, and Montpellier, to auoid the danger of fauour-
ing schisme, determined to obeie neither the one nor
the other that contended for the papacie, vntill peace
and concord might be restored in Christes church. The
king vnderstanding the purpose of the cardinall,
shewed him what courtesie might be deuised, offering
to beare his charges, so long as it pleased him to re-
maine in England, and promising him to consider
aduisedly of the matter.

The refusal
of the French
king concern-
ing the two
popes.

1409
Education
of St. Paul
in London.

ambassadors
appointed to
go to the coun-
cill at Pisa.

The contents
of the kings
letters to the
pope.

Air. Fl. out of
Thom. Wall,
Hypod. pag.
113.

An extract of the kings letter to pope Gregorie.

Oft holie father, if the seat apo-
stolicall would boushale by
prouidence to consider, how
great dangers haue inuaded
the whole world vnder the pre-
text of schisme, and speciallie the slaughter
of christian people, which is of aboute two
hundred thousand (as it is auouched) by the
outrage of warres and battell sproung by
in sundrie parts of the world; & now late-
lie to the number of thirtie thousand (by
meanes of the dissention about the bishop-
ricke of Leodes betwene two, one conten-
ding vnder the authoritie of true pope, and
the other vnder the title of antipope) slaine
in a foughten field, whereof we make re-
port with græte; truite the said seat would
be penitue in spirit, & with due sorrow trou-
bled in mind, yea at the motion of a good
conscience, it would rather giue ouer the
honour of that apostolicall seat, than suffer
such detestable deeds further to be com-
mitted, vnder the cloke of dissimulation,
taking example of the true and naturall
mother, which pleading before king Salo-
mon, chose rather to part with hir owne

child, than to see him cut in sunder. And al-
though by that new creation of nine cardinals,
against your oth (that we maie ble
the words of others) made by you, wher-
of a belement cause of wondering is risen,
it maie in some sort be supposed (as it is
likelie) that your intent respecterly not a-
nie end of schisme; yet farre be it alwaies
from the world, that your circumspect seat
should be charged by anie person with so
great inconstancie of mind, whereby the
last errour might be counted worse than
the first, &c.

An extract of the said kings letter to the cardinals.

Being desirous to shew how
great zeale we had, & haue, that
peace might be granted & giuen
to the church by the consent of
the states of our realme, haue sent ouer
our letters to our lord the pope, according
to the tenure of a copie inclosed within
these presents effectualle to be executed.
Wherefore we doe earnestlie beseech the
reuerend college of you; that if happi-
lie the said Gregorie be present at the ge-
nerall counsell holden at Pisa, about
the yielding by of the papacie, according
to the promise and oth by him manie a time
made, to fulfill your and our desires, as we
with and beare our selues in hand he will
do; that you will so order things concer-
ning his estate, that thereby God maie
cheerlie be pleased, and as well Gregorie
himselfe, as we, who deseruedlie doe tender
his honour and commoditie with all our
harts, maie be beholden to giue you and
euerie of you manifold thanks.

This yeare certeine learned men in Oxford and
other places, publielie in their sermons maintained
and set forth the opinions and conclusions of Wic-
cliffe. This troubled the bishops and other of the cler-
gie sore, inasmuch that in their conuocation house,
the six and twentieth of June, by a speciall mandat
of the lord chancellor in presence of the procurators, re-
gents, and others, as Richard Courtenie, Richard
Talbot, Nicholas Zouch, Walter Spibford, & such
like in great multitude: sentence was pronounced
by John Wels, doctor of the canon law against the
books of John Wiccliffe doctor of diuinitie, intituled
*De sermone in monte, Triologorum de simonia, De perfectione
statuum, De ordine christiano, De gradibus cleri ecclesie*:
and to these was added the third treatise, which he
compiled of logike or sophistrie. These books and the
conclusions in the same contained, the chancellor of
the vniuersitie of Oxford by common consent and
assent of the regents and non regents of the same
vniuersitie, reprinted, disanulled and condemned, in-
hibiting on paine of the great curse and deprivation
of all degrees scholasticall, that none from thence-
forth should affirme, teach, or preach by anie man-
ner of nicenes or waies, the same hereticall books (as
they tearmed them) containing ante the like opi-
nions as he taught and set forth in the same books.

wiccliffe do-
ctrine main-
tained by the
learned.

Sentence pro-
nounced a-
gainst wic-
cliffe books.

This yeare about whisummer, were roiall iusts
holden at London in Smithfield betwixt the sene-
schall of Heinaut, and certeine Benewers challen-
gers, and the earle of Summerset, and certeine Eng-
lishmen

Fabian,
Iusts in
Smithfield.

Dwen Glen-
dower enteth
his life in
great miserie.

Anno Reg. 11.
Officers
made.
1410
A parliament.

Tho. Walf.
Fabian.

Thom. Walf.

King Henrie
a brother of
the clergie.

John Babbie
burnt.
Tho. Walf.

The prince
being present
at the execu-
tion offereth
him pardon.

Notable con-
stance of
Babbie.

lismen defendants. The Welsh rebell Owen Glen-
dower made an end of his wretched life in this
tenth yeare of king Henrie his reigne, being dylent
now in his latter time (as we find recozded) to such
miserie, that in manner despairing of all comfort, he
fled into desert places and solitarie caues, where be-
ing destitute of all reliefe and succour, dreadding to
shew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking
meat to susteine nature, for more hunger and lacke
of food, miserable pined awhile and died. This yeare
Thomas Beaufort earle of Surrie was made chan-
celloz, and Henrie Scrope lord treasurer. A parle-
ment began this yeare in the quindene of saint Vi-
larie, in which the commons of the lower house erbi-
tated a bill to the king and lordz of the upper house,
containing effect as followeth.

A supplication to the king.

The most excellent lord our K.
and to all the nobles in this pre-
sent parlement assembled, your
faithfull commons doo humble
signifie, that our souereigne lord the king
might haue of the temporall possessions,
lands & reuenues which are leuodlie spent,
consumed and wasted by the bishops, ab-
bats, and priors, within this realme, so
much in value as would suffice to find and
susteine one hundred and fiftie earles, one
thousand & five hundred knights, six thou-
sand and two hundred esquierz, and one
hundred hospitals more than now be.

The king (as some write) upon advised considera-
tion hereof had, misliked of the motion, & thereupon
commanded that from thenceforth they should not
presume to studie about anie such matters. An other
thing the commons sued to haue granted vnto them,
but could not obtaine: which was, that cleriks con-
uicted should not from thence forth be deliuered to
the bishops prison. Whereupon they demanded to haue
the statute either reuoked, or qualified, which had
bene established by authoritie of parlement, in the
second yeare of this kings reigne, against such as
were reputed to be heretiks, or Lollards. By force
whereof it was provided, that wheresoeuer such man-
ner of persons should be found and knowne to preach
or teach their erroneous doctrine, they should be at-
tached with the kings writ, and brought to the next
goale: but the king seemed so highlie to fauour the
clergie, that the commons were answered plaine-
lie, they should not come by their purpose, but rather
that the said statute should be made more rigorous
and sharpe for the punishment of such persons.

During this parlement one John Babbie a tailor,
or (as some write) a smith, being convicted of heresie,
was brought into Smithfield, and there in a tun or
pipe burnt to death, in pittifull manner. The kings
eldest sonne the lord Henrie prince of Wales being
present, offered him his pardon, first before the fire
was kindled, if he would haue recanted his opi-
nions; and after when the fire was kindled, hearing
him make a roying noise verie pittifullie, the prince
caused the fire to be plucked backe, and exhorting him
being with pittifull paine almost dead, to remember
himselfe, and renounce his opinions, promising him
not onelie life, but also three pence a daie so long as
he liued to be paid out of the kings coffers: but he
hauing recouered his spirits againe, refused the
princes offer, chosing eithers to tast the fire, and so
to die, than to forsake his opinions. Whereupon the

Henrie the fourth.

prince commanded, that he should be put into the
tun againe, from thenceforth not to haue axie fa-
uour or pardon at all, and so it was done, and the fire
put to him againe, and he consumed to ashes.

The king demanded in this parlement, that it
might be granted to him, to haue euerie yeare in
which he held no parlement a tenth of the cleargie,
and a fiftenth of the laitie; but the estates would not
agre thereto, by reason whereof, the parlement
continued till almost the middle of Maie. At length
they granted to giue him a fiftenth, not without
great murmuring and grudging of the commonal-
tie. About this season died the lord Thomas Beau-
ford earle of Surrie. The eleuenth of Aprill or there-
abouts, the towne of saint Omers was burnt by ca-
suall fire together with the abbey, in which towne
was such strange and marvellous prouision of en-
gines, and all manner of furniture and preparation
for the winning of Calis, as the like had neuer
bene seene nor heard of. Some write, that they of
Calis standing in doubt of such pueruenance, & great
preparation deuised to annoie them, procured a
young man to kindle a fire, whereby all that bread-
full prouision was consumed to ashes, and so they
with in Calis deliuered of a great deale of care and
feare which they had thereof.

¶ But Tho. Walsingham maketh a full & complet
declaration both concerning the dukes deuise, & also
of the Calestians deliuerance from the danger of the
same; which because it perfecteth the report of this pre-
sent matter, I haue thought good to set downe word
for word as I find it in his Hypodigme. About the
ninth of Aprill (saith he) the towne of saint Audou-
mare was burned with the abbey, wherein was hid-
den and laid up the execrable prouision of the duke of
Burgognie, who had vowed either to destroe the
towne of Calis, or else to subdue it to the will and
pleasure of the French. There a great manie engines
to this daie no where seene, there an exceeding sort of
vessels containing poison in them were kept in store,
which he had aforehand provided to cast out to the de-
struction of the said towne. For he had gathered to-
gether serpents, scorpions, todes, and other kinds of
venemous things, which he had closed and shut up in
little barrells, that when the flesh or substance of those
noisome creatures was rotten, and dissolved into fil-
thie matter, he might laie siege to Calis, and cast the
said barrells let out of engines into the towne, which
with the violence of the thow being dashed in peeces,
might choke them that were within, poison the bar-
nelled men touched therewith, & with their scattered
venem infect all the streets, lanes, & passages of the
towne. In the meane time, a certeine pong man al-
lured with couetousnesse of gold, or lead with affec-
tion and loue towards the kings towne, asked of the
gouernours what reward he should deserue, that
would discharge and set free the towne from so great
a feare, and would burne all the prouision which they
suspected. Hereupon they leuied a summe of that yel-
low metall (namelie gold) where with the pongman
contented, went his waie, and with fire ready
made for the purpose, did not onelie burne the said
venemous matter and infected stuffe, but also toge-
ther with the monasterie almost the whole towne.

Whereupon this yeare Sir Robert Umfravill vice
admirall of England, ambused the countreies on the
sea coasts of Scotland: for comming into the Forth
with ten shippes of warre; and being there fourtene
daies together, he landed euerie daie on the shoore
of the river of the other, taking yvelles, shoules & pri-
soners; where standing the duke of Albanie, and
the earle Douglas were readie there, with a great
powder to resist him: he burnt the galliot of Scotland
(being a ship of great account) with manie oyl & bes-
sels

An. Dom. 1411

An. Reg

The king
demands in
the parle-
ment.

A long par-
lement.
A fiftenth
granted.

Earle of
Surrie de-
ceased.

Preparation
made to win
Calis.
Thom. Walf.

1411
Anno Reg. 11.
A great death
of the fire.

John Dym-
burgh and
William
Long.

Abt. Fl. and
Thom. Walf.
Hypod. pag.
175.

The engines
of the duke of
Burgognie
against Calis
that shot out
barrells of po-
ison.

Long com-
mitted to the
Tower.

The archbis-
hop of Can-
terburie not
admitted to bu-
rie the vniuersitie
of Drentford.

1412
The prince de-
manded forty
two shillings.

The duke of
Dolence
murdered.

Sir Robert
Umfravill
viceadmirall
Harding.

This exploits
of Scotland.

An. Reg. 11, 12, 13.

sele lieng the same time at the Blackenesh ouer a gainst Leth. At his returne from thence, he brought with him fourtene good ships, and manie other great piles of cloathes, both wollen, and linnen, pitch, tarre, wood, flower, meale, wheat and rie, which be sold abroad, the markets were well holpen thereby, so that his surname of Robert Spendmarket seemed verie well to agree with his qualities, which name he got by this occasion.

About foure years before this, he burnt the towne of Poppel on the market daie, causing his men to meat the cloathes which they got there with their bowes, & so to sell them atwaie, whereupon the Scots named him Robert Spendmarket. Shortly after his returne from the sea now in this eleuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, he made a roade into Scotland by land, hauing with him his nephue young Gilbert Amfrevill earle of Angus (commonlie called earle of Baine) being then but fourtene yeares of age, and this was the first time that the said earle spread his banner. They burnt at that time Jedworth, and the most part of Wintdale. This yeare there died of the bloudie sir in the citie of Burdeaur fourtene thousand persons, and so fore raged that disease in Gascoigne and Guien, that there wanted people to dresse their vines, and presse their grapes.

John Brendergest knight, & William Long scowred the seas, so as no pirat durst appeare, but that merchants & passengers might passe to & fro in safetie. But yet through disdain of some that envied their good successe, the same Brendergest and Long were accused of robberies which they should practise, in spoling such ships as they met with, of diuerse things against the owners wils. Brendergest was drinen to take sanctuary at Westminster, and could not be suffered to lodge in anie mans house for feare of the kings displeasure, commanding that none should receive him, and so was constrained to set by a tent within the porch of saint Peters church there, and to haue his seruants to watch nightlie about him for doubt to be murdered of his aduersaries: but his associat William Long late still at the sea, till the lord admirall hauing prepared certeine vessels went to the sea himselfe in person to fetch him: but yet he could not catch him untill he had promised him pardon, and undertaken vpon his fidelitie that he should haue no harme: but notwithstanding all promises, vpon his comming in he was shut vp fall in the Tower, and so for a time remained in duerance. The archbishop of Canturburie minding in this season to visit the vniuersitie of Oxenford, could not be suffered, in consideration of priuileges which they pretended to haue.

The realme of France in this meane while was disquieted, with the two factions of Burgognie and Dyleance, in most miserable wise, as in the French histories it maie further appeare. Neither could the king, being a lunaticke person, and feeble of bzaime, take any full order for reforming of such mischeifs, so that the whole state of the kingdome was maruellouslie brought in decaie: neither toke those troubles end by the death of the duke of Dyleance (murdered at length through the practise of the duke of Burgognie) but rather more perillouslie increased. For the young duke of Dyleance Charles, sonne to duke Lewis thus murdered, alied himselfe with the dukes of Berrie and Bourbon, and with the earles of Alansson & Arminache, whereby he was so stronglie banded against the duke of Burgognie, whom he defied as his mostail so and enemie, that the duke of Burgognie fearing the sequels of the matter, thought good (because there was a motion of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales & his daughter) to require aid of king Henrie, who foreseeing that this ciuill discorde in

France (as it after hapned) might turne his realme to honoz and profit, sent to the duke of Burgognie, Thomas earle of Arundell, Gilbert Amfrevill earle of Angus (commonlie called the earle of Baine) sir Robert Amfrevill, vncle to the same Gilbert, sir John Oldcastell lord Cobham, sir John Greie, and William Doxter, with twelue hundred archers.

They toke shipping at Douer, & landed at Blois, from whence with speedie iourneys in the latter end of this twelfth yeare of king Henries reigne they came to Arras, where they found the duke of Burgognie, of whom they were isisfullie receiued, & from thence he appointed them to go vnto Peron, where he assembled a power also of his owne subiects, and remouing from thence, he marched through the countrie, by Roie, Bretueil, Beaunois, and Gisors, till he came with his armie vnto Dontois, where he remained about the space of thre weeks. From Dontois the two and twentieth of October, the duke of Burgognie marched towards Paris, and passing the river of Saine at Pont Meulene, he staid not till he came to Paris, into the which he entered the 23 of October, late in the evening. The duke of Dyleance laic at the same time at saint Denis, with the more part of his armie, & the residue kept the towne of S. Clou, where a bridge late ouer the river of Saine. On the 9 of November, with hard & sharpe fight the Englishmen gat the towne of saint Clou, with the bridge, slue & downed nine hundred souldiours that were set there to defend that passage, besides 400 that were taken prisoners. They toke also about 12 hundred horses, which they found in the towne, with great riches, whereof the men of warre made their profit.

Among other prisoners, sir Panferd de Bos a valiant capteine was taken, and shortly after put to death, as diuerse other were, which the Burgognians bought of the Englishmen that had taken them prisoners. The tower that stood at the end of the bridge could not be wone. At an other bickering also, it chanced that the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the earle of Angus or Baine, had the vpper hand, and toke manie prisoners, whom the duke of Burgognie would that they should haue bene likewise put to death as traitors to their countrie, but the said earle of Angus answered for himselfe, and the residue of the Englishmen, that they would rather die all in the place, than suffer their prisoners to be viled otherwise than as men of war ought to be, that is, to haue their liues saued, and to be ransomed according as the law of armes required, and by that meanes they were preserved. The duke of Burgognie hauing the world at will (for the duke of Dyleance immediatlie after the losse of saint Clou, departing from saint Denis, got him into the high countries) sent home the Englishmen with hartie thanks, and great rewards.

This yeare, the king created his brother Thomas Beauford earle of Dorset, and his sonne the lord Thomas of Lancaster, that was lord steward of England, and earle of Aubemarke, he created duke of Clarence. John duke of Burgognie, hauing now the gouernance both of the French king and his realme, so persecuted the duke of Dyleance and his complacers, that finally they for their last refuge required aid of king Henrie, sending ouer vnto him certeine persons as their lawfull procurators (of the which one was called Albert Aubemont, a man of great wit, learning, & audacitie) to offer in name of the confederates vnto the said king Henrie and to his sonnes, certeine conditions, which were made and concluded the yeare of our Lord 1412, the eight of Aprile. The names of the chiefe confederats were these, John duke of Berrie and earle of Boitou, Charles duke of Dyleance, and Walois erle of Blois, and Beaumont

The earles of Arundell and Angus with others sent to aid the duke of Burgognie.

Anno Reg. 13.

Saint Clou taken by the helpe of the Englishmen.

Sir Panferd de Bos put to death.

Harding.

Recor. Turris. Creations of noblemen.

Hall.

The Dyleantail facis sueth to the K. of England for aid.

The confederates of the Dyleantail faction.

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1411.

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r. Fl. out of om. Wall. pod. pag.

he engines the duke of urgognie and Calis at that our recels of por.

Long commuted to the Tower. The archbishop of Canturburie not suffered to visit the vniuersitie of Oxenford.

The duke of Dyleance murdered.

ir Robert Amfrevill admiral sailing.

explosion corland.

lord of Coucie and Ach, John duke of Bourbon, and Antiergne earle of Clearmont forest, and Lisle lord of Beaulieu, and Casseau Chinon, John duke of Aranson, Barnard earle of Arminacke, and others. The effect of the articles which these confederats were agreed vpon touching their offer to the king of England, were as followeth.

The articles of couenants which they offered to the king of England.



First, they offered their bodies, finances, mylands, to serue the king of England, his heires, and successors, in all iust causes and actions, sauing alwaies their allegiance, knowing that he would not further inquire of them.

2 Secondlie, they offered their sonnes and daughters, naeres and nephews, and all other their kinfolks to be bestowed in marriages according to the pleasure of the king of England.

3 Thirdlie, they offered their castels, towne, treasures, & all their other goods, to serue the said king.

4 Fourthlie, they offered their friends, allies, and well-willers to serue him, being the most part of all the nobles of France, churchmen, clearkes, and honest citizens, as it should well appeare.

5 Fiftlie, they offered to put him in possession of the duchie of Guien, which they were ready to protest to belong vnto the king of England, in like and semblable wise, in libertie and franchises, as any other king of England his predecessor had held and inioied the same.

6 Sixtlie, that they would be ready to recognise the lands which they possessed within that duchie, to hold the same of the king of England, as of the verie true duke of Guien, promising all seruices and homages after the best maner that might be.

7 Seuenthlie, they promised to deliuer vnto the king, as much as laie in them, all towne and castels appertaining to the roialtie and seigniozie of the king of England, which are in number twentie towne and castels: and as to the regard of other towne & fortresses which were not in their hands, they would to the uttermost of their powers, helpe the king of England and his heires to win them out of his aduersaries hands.

8 Eightlie, that the duke of Berrie, as vassall to the king of England, and likewise the duke of Orleans his subiect and vassall, should hold of him by homage and fealtie, the lands and seigniozies hereafter following, that is to saie: the duke of Berrie to hold onelle the countie of Ponthieu during his life, and the duke of Orleans to hold the countie of Angoulesme during his life, and the countie of Perigour to: euer, and the earle of Arminacke to hold foure castels vpon certaine suerties and conditions, as by indenture should be appointed. For the which offers, couenants and agreements, they requested of the king of England to condescend vnto these conditions insuing.

The conditions which they requested of the king of England.



First, that the king of England, as duke of Guien should defend and succor them as he ought to do, against all men, as their verie lord and soueraigne, and speciallie vntill they had executed iustice fullie vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the crime which he committed vpon the person of the duke of Orleans.

2 Secondlie, that he should assist them against the said duke of Burgognie and his fautors, to recouer

against their goods, which by occasion of the said duke and his friends they had lost and bene depriued of.

3 Thirdlie, that he should likewise aid them in all iust quarels, for recouering of damages done to their friends, vassalls and subiects.

4 Fourthlie, to helpe and assist them for the concluding and establishing of a firme peace betwixt both the realmes, so far as was possible. And further they besought the king of England to send vnto them eight thousand men, to aid them against the duke of Burgognie and his complices, which daylie procured the French king to make war vpon them, seeking by all waies & meanes how to destitoe them.

The king of England louinglie interteined the messengers, and vpon consideration had of their offers, as well for that he detested the shameful murder of the duke of Orleans (which remained unpunished by support of such as maintained the duke of Burgognie, who as it appeared) would keepe promise no longer than serued his owne turne) as also for that the same offers seemed to make greatlie both for his honor and profit, thought that by the office of a king he was bound in dutie to succour them that cried for iustice, and could not haue it; and namelie sith in right they were his subiects and vassalls, he ought to defend them in maintenance of his superiourtie and seigniozie. Herevpon as duke of Guien, he toke vpon him to succor and defend them against all men, as their verie lord and soueraigne, and so sending aboute the messengers, promised to send them aid verie shortly.

This feat was not so secretlie wrought, but that it was knowne straightwaies in France. Wherefore the French kings counsell sent the earle of Saint Paul downe into Picardie, with sixtene hundred horsemen, and a great number of footmen, who approaching to Guines, attempted to assault the castell, but was repelled and beaten backe, so that he retired to the towne of Saint Quintines, as one that neuer wan gain at the Englishmens hands, but euer departed from them with losse and dishonor. In this meane season the French king being led by the duke of Burgognie, pursued them that toke part with the duke of Orleans, commonlie called Arminacks, and after the winning of diuerse towne he besieged the citie of Burges in Berrie, comming before it vpon saturdaye the eleuenth of June, with a right huge armie. Within this citie were the dukes of Berrie and Bourbon, the earle of Auvergne, the lord Dalbyet, the archbishops of Sens and Burges, the bishops of Paris and Chartres, hailing with them sixtene hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers and arcuballisters.

There were with the king at this siege, his sonne the duke of Aquitaine, otherwise called the Dolphin, the dukes of Burgognie and Bar, and a great number of other earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen; so that the citie was besieged euen till within the faur burges of that side towards Dun le Roie. The siege continued, till at length through mediation of Philibert de Lignac, lord great maister of the Rhodes, and the marshall of Sauoie, that were both in the kings campe, traouelling betwixt the parties, there were appointed commissioners on both sides to treat for peace, to wit the maister of the crossbowes, and the seneschall of Beinalt, and certaine other for the king; and the archbishop of Burges, with the lord of Cau court & others for the Orleantins side. These coming together on a Fridaye, the fifteenth of Iulie in the Dolphin's tent, vied the matter with such discretion, that they concluded a peace, & so on the wednesdaye next following, the campe brake vp, & the king returned.

Whilist these things were a doing in France, the lord

Om. 14. 12.

An. Reg. 13.

The prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Henric, got knowledge that certeine of his fathers seruants were busie to giue informations against him, whereby discord might arise betwixt him and his father: so they put into the kings head, not onely what euill rule (according to the courte of youth) the prince kept to the offense of manie: but also what great resort of people came to his house, so that the court was nothing furnished with such a traine as daily followed the prince. These tales brought no small suspition into the kings head, least his sonne would presume to blurpe the crowne, he being yet allue, through which suspitions gelousie, it was perceived that he favoured not his sonne, as in times past he had done.

The Prince sore offended with such persons, as by slanderous reports, sought not onely to spot his good name abroad in the realme, but to sove discord also betwixt him and his father, wrote his letters into euerie part of the realme, to reprove all such slanderous deuises of those that sought his discredit. And to cleare himselfe the better, that the world might understand what wrong he had to be slandered in such wise: about the feast of Weter and Paule, to wit, the nine and twentieth daie of June, he came to the court with such a number of noble men and other his friends that wished him well, as the like traine had bene seldome seene repairing to the court at any one time in those daies. He was apparelled in a gowne of blew satten, full of small oilet holes, at euerie hole the needle hanging by a silke thred with which it was sewed. About his arme he wore an hounds collar set full of Ss of gold, and the tirets likewise being of the same metall.

The court was then at Westminster, where he being entred into the hall, not one of his companie durst once advance himselfe further than the fire in the same hall, notwithstanding they were earnestlie requested by the lords to come higher: but they regarding what they had in commandement of the prince, would not presume to do in any thing contrary thereto. He himselfe onely accompanied with those of the kings house, was freight admitted to the presence of the king his father, who being at that time greivously diseased, yet caused himselfe in his chaire to be borne into his priue chamber, where in the presence of three or foure persons, in whom he had most confidence, he commanded the prince to shew what he had to saie concerning the cause of his coming.

The prince kneeling doونه before his father said: Most redoubted and souereigne lord and father, I am at this time come to your presence as your liege man, and as your naturall sonne, in all things to be at your commandement. And where I understand you haue in suspition my demeanour against your grace, you know verie well, that if I knew any man within this realme, of whom you should stand in feare, my dutie were to punish that person, thereby to remoue that grasse from your heart. Then how much more ought I to suffer death, to ease your grace of that grasse which you haue of me, being your naturall sonne and liege man: and to that end I haue this daie made my selfe readie by confession and receiving of the sacrament. And therefore I beseech you most redoubted lord and deare father, for the honour of God, to ease your heart of all such suspition as you haue of me, and to dispatch me here before your knees, with this same dagger [and withall he delivered unto the king his dagger, in all humble reverence: adding further, that his life was not so deare to him, that he wished to liue one daie with his displeasure] and therefore in thus ridding me out of life, and your selfe from all suspition, here in presence

of these lords, and before God at the date of the general iudgement, I faithfully protest clealie to forgive you.

The king moued herewith, cast from him the dagger, and embracing the prince kissed him, and with shedding teares confessed, that in deed he had him partly in suspition, though now (as he perceived) not with iust cause, and therefore from thenceforth no misreport should cause him to haue him in mistrust, and this he promised of his honour. So by his great wisdom was the wrongfull suspition which his father had conceived against him removed, and he restored to his fauour. And further, where he could not but greivously complaine of them that had slandered him so greatly, to the defacing not onely of his honoz, but also putting him in danger of his life, he humble besought the king that they might answer their vniust accusation; and in case they were found to haue forged such matters upon a malicious purpose, that then they might suffer some punishment for their faults, though not to the full of that they had deserued. The king seeming to grant his reasonable desire, yet told him that he must tarric a parlement, that such offenders might be punished by iudgement of their peeres: and so for that time he was dismissed, with great loue and signes of fathers affection.

Thus were the father and the sonne reconciled, betwixt whom the said pickthanks had sowne diuision, inasmuch that the sonne upon a vehement conceit of vnkindnesse sprung in the father, was in the waite to be worne out of fauour. Which was the more likelie to come to passe, by their informations that priuily charged him with riot and other vnciuill demeanour vnsuemelie for a prince. Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, grolone to audacitie, and had chosen him companions agreeable to his age; with whom he spent the time in such recreations, exercises, and delights as he fancied. But yet (it should seme by the report of some writers) that his behaviour was not offensive or at least tending to the damage of any bodie; sith he had a care to auoid doing of wrong, and to tedder his affections within the tract of vertue, whereby he opened vnto himselfe a redie passage of good liking among the prudent sort, and was beloued of such as could discern his disposition, which was in no degre so excessive, as that he deserued in such vehement maner to be suspected. In whose dispraise I find little, but to his praise verie much, parcel whereof I will deliuer by the waite as a metyard whereby the residue may be measured. The late poet that versified the warres of the valorous Englishmen, speaking of the issue of Henric the fourth, faith of this prince (among other things) as followeth:

procreo qui natus maximus heres
Corpore, progressus cum pubertatis ad annos
Esset, res gestas multas iuueniliter audax,
Asciscens comites quos par sibi iunxerat etas,
Nil tamen iniuste commisit, nil tamen unquam
Extra virtutis normam, sapientibus aequè
At alijs charum.

About the same time, John Drendergest knight, being restored to the kings fauour, with thirtie ships scotized the seas, toke good prizes of wine and vitels, which releued the commons greatly. Amongst other enterprises, he landed vpon the sudden at Craal on the faire day, toke the towne, and robbed the faire, so as they that were come thither to sell their wares, had quicke utterance and slow payment. King Henric vnderstanding that the french king by setting on of the duke of Burgonie in pursuing the contrary faction, had besieged the cite of Burges (as before we haue heard) determined with all speed to aid the duke of Orleans, & so about the feast of the Assumption

The kings words to the prince his son

Eiton.

The princes request to haue his accusers to answer their wrongfull slanders.

Abr. Fl. out of Angl. praes.

In Angl. praes. sub Hen. 4.

Sir John Drendergest restored to the kings fauour is sent to sea.

The duke of Clarence sent to aid the duke of Orleans.

The king of England taketh vpon him to defend the Dyscantall faction.

The earle of Saint Paule assaulteth the castle of Guisnes.

His fortune against Englishmen.

The prince cometh to the kings presence. He supps to his father.

A peace concluded betwixt the two factions of Burgonie & Orleans.

Enguerant.

The earle of
Gloucester and
Richmond
sent to the duke
of Clarence.The duke of
Clarence mar-
ched toward
Guien.

Enguerant.

The lord of
Rambures.The earles of
Kent & War-
wicke sent o-
uer to Calis.Fabian.
Come chan-
ged.Abr. Fl. out of
Fabian pag.
388.
Thee flouds
without ch-
bing between.Abr. Fl. out of
R. Grafton,
pag. 433, 434,
in folio.Whittington
college es-
tablished.

Charitie.

Newgate
builded.S. Bartholo-
mews hospita.

tion of our ladie, he sent ouer an armie of eight hun-
dred men of armes, and nine thousand archers, vnder
the leading of his second sonne the duke of Clarence
accompanied with Edward duke of York, Tho-
mas earle of Dorset, and diuerse other noble men
and worthie captains. They landed in the Baie de la
Vogue saint Maix, in the countrie of Constantine.
The Englishmen swarmed like bees round about
the countrie, robbing and spoiling the same.

Shortlie after their departure from the place where
they landed, there came to them six hundred armed
men of Gascoignes that were inrolled at Burdeaur.
When newes thereof came to the French court, be-
ing then at Auverre, incontinentlie the earles of Ar-
lanfon and Richmond were dispatched to go vnto
the English campe, because they had euer bene par-
takers with the duke of Mleance, to giue them
thanks for their paines, and to aduertise them of the
peace that had bene latelie concluded betwixt the
parties, and therefore to take order with them, that
they might be satisfi'd, so as they should not spoile
the countrie, as they had begun. But where-
as the Englishmen were greedie to haue, and the
duke of Mleance was not rich to paie, they marched
on towards Guien in good order, and that by sac-
king of towne, and ransoming of rich prisoners,
they got great treasure, and manie good priees and
booties.

Being passed the riuer of Loire they spoiled the
towne of Beaulieu, and with fire and sword wasted
the countie of Touraine and Apaine. The lord de
Rambures appointed to resist such violence, was ea-
sily vanquished. Whereouer, to the aid of the duke of
Mleance, the king of England sent ouer to Calis
the earls of Kent and Warwick, with two thousand
fighting men, which spoiled and wasted the countrie
of Bullennois, burnt the towne of Samer de Bois,
and toke with assault the fortreffe of Kussalt, and di-
uerse other. This yeare, the king abased the coines of
his gold and silver, causing the same to be currant in
this realme, at such value as the other was valued
before, where indeed the noble was worse by foure
pence than the former, and so likewise of the silver,
the coines whereof he appointed to be currant after
the same rate. In this yeare, and vpon the twelfth
day of October, were three flouds in the Thames, the
one following vpon the other, nobbing betwene:
which thing no man then liuing could remember the
like to be seene.

In this kings time, and in the eighth yeare of his
reigne (as Richard Grafton hath recorded) a worthie
citizen of London named Richard Whittington,
mercator and alderman, was elected maior of the said
citie, and bare that office three times. This man so be-
stowed his goods and substance, that he hath well de-
serued to be registred in chronicles. First he erected
one house or church in London to be a house of pray-
er, and named the same after his owne name, Whit-
tington college, remaining at this date. In the said
church, besides certeine preests and clerks, he placed
a number of poore aged men and women, and
allowed for them houses and lodgings, and allowed them
wood, coles, cloth, and weeklie monie to their great
reliefe and comfort. This man also at his owne cost
builded the gate of London called Newgate in the
yeare of our Lord 1422, which before was a most oug-
lie and lothsome prison. He also builded more than the
halfe of S. Bartholomews hospitall in west Smith-
field. He builded likewise the beautiful librarie in the
grate friers in London now called Christs hospitall,
standing in the north part of the cloister thereof,
where in the wall his armes be grauen in stone. He
also builded for the ease of the maior of London, his
heir, and the worthiefull citizens, on the solempne

daies of their assemblie, a chapel adioining to the
Guildhall; to the intent that before they entered in
to any of their worlde affaires, they should begin
with prayer and invocation to God for his assistance:
at the end ioining to the south part of the said
chapel, he builded for the citie a librarie of stone, for
the custodie of their records and other booke. He also
builded a great part of the east end of Guildhall, and
did manie other good deeds worthie of imitation. By
a writing of his mans owne hand, which he willed
to be kept as a schedule to his last will and testa-
ment, it appeareth that a pitifull and relenting heart
he had at other mens miseries, and did not onlie
with but also did what he could procure for their re-
leefe. In so much that he charged and commanded his
executors, as they would answer before God at the
daie of the resurrection of all flesh, that if they found
any debtoz of his, whome if in conscience they
thought not to be well worth three times as much as
they owght him, and also out of other mens debt, and
well able to paie, that then they should neuer de-
mand it; for he clearlie forgave it: and that they
should put no man in late for any debt due to him.
A worthie memorie of a notable minded gentle-
man.

We haue heard how the duke of Clarence and his
armie did much hurt in the realme of France, in pla-
ces as he passed: whereupon at length, the duke of
Mleance being earnestlie called vpon to dispatch
the Englishmen out of France, according to an ar-
ticle comprised in the conclusion of the peace, he
came to the duke of Clarence, rendering to him and
his armie a thousand gramercies, and disbursed to
them as much monie as he or his friends might easi-
ly spare; and for the rest being two hundred and nine
thousand frankes remaining unpaid, he deliuered in
gage his second brother, John duke of Angouleme,
which was grandfather to king Francis the first, that
reigned in our daies, sir Sparcell de Burges, and sir
John de Samoures, sir Archembald Willers, and di-
uerse other, which earle continued long in England,
as after shall appeare. When this agreement was
thus made betwixt the dukes of Mleance and Cla-
rence, the English armie with rich priees, booties and
prisoners came to Burdeaur, making warre on the
frontiers of France, to their great gaine. In this
meane while, the lord of Helie, one of the marshals of
France, with an armie of foure thousand men, besie-
ged a certeine fortreffe in Guien, which an English
knight, one sir John Blunt kept, who with three hun-
dred men that came to his aid, discomfited, cha-
ged, and ouerthrew the French polver, toke prisoners
twelue men of name, and other gentlemen to the
number of six score, and amongst other, the said mar-
shall, who was sent ouer into England, and put in the
castell of Calicebet, from whence he escaped, and got
ouer into France, where seruing the duke of Mle-
ance at the battell of Agincourt, he was slaine among
other.

In this fourteenth and last yeare of king Henries
reigne, a counsell was holden in the white friers in
London, at the which, among other things, order was
taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made
readie, and all other things necessarie to be provided
for a boiage which he meant to make into the holle
land, there to recouer the citie of Jerusalem from the
Infidels. For it grewed him to consider the great
malice of christian princes, that were bent vpon a
mischievous purpose to destruye one another, to the
perill of their owne soules, rather than to make war
against the enemies of the christian faith, as in con-
science (it seemed to him) they were bound. He held
his Christmas this yeare at Eltham, being sore ver-
ed with sicknesse, so that it was thought sometime
that

Guildhall
enlarged.

Anno Reg.

The duke of
Mleance
sent to the
duke of
Gloucester.The lord of
Helie
marshal of
France.Sir John
Blunt.Fabian.
The B. moved
to have made
a tourne
against the
Infidels.The king
died
suddenly.1412
parlement.The death of
the duke of
Gloucester.The prince
died
before his
father was dead.The king
died
suddenly.The king
died
suddenly.The king
died
suddenly.The king
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suddenly.The king
died
suddenly.

m. 141.
Guthbait
chapell.

Guthbait
intargeo.

An. Reg. 14.

1413
parlement.

the death of
the king.

Anno Reg. 14.

The duke of
Gloucester cometh to
the king.

The prince
of Wales
cometh to
the king.

The prince
of Wales
cometh to
the king.

The prince
of Wales
cometh to
the king.

The prince
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The prince
of Wales
cometh to
the king.

The prince
of Wales
cometh to
the king.

that he had bene dead : notwithstanding it pleased
God that he somwhat recovered his strength againe,
and so passed that Christmasse with as much joy as
he might.

The morrow after Candlemas daie began a par-
lement, which he had called at London, but he depar-
ted this life before the same parlement was ended :
for now that his provisions were readie, and that he
was furnished with sufficient treasure, soldiers, cap-
tains, vittels, munitions, tall ships, strong galleies,
and all things necessarie for such a roiall iournie as
he pretended to take into the holie land, he was eff-
sones taken with a soze sicknesse, which was not a le-
prossie, Striken by the hand of God (saith maister Hall)
as folish friers imagined; but a verie apoplexie, of the
which he languished till his appointed houre, and had
none other græse nor maladie; so that what man or-
deineth, God altereth at his good will and pleasure,
not giving place moze to the pzince, than to the po-
rest creature living, when he seeth his time to dispose
of him this waie or that, as to his omnipotent pow-
er and diuine prouidence seemeth expedient. During
this his last sicknesse, he caused his crowne (as some
write) to be set on a pillow at his beds head, and sud-
denly his pangs so soze troubled him, that he laie as
though all his vitall spirits had bene from him de-
parted. Such as were about him, thinking verelie
that he had bene departed, couered his face with a
linnen cloth.

The pzince his sonne being hereof aduertised, en-
tered into the chamber, toke a waie the crowne, and
departed. The father being suddenlie reuiued out of
that trance, quicklie perceiued the lacke of his
crowne; and hauing knowledge that the pzince his
sonne had taken it a waie, caused him to come before
his presence, requiring of him what he meant so to
misuse himselfe. The pzince with a god audacitie an-
swered, Sir, to mine and all mens iudgements you
seemed dead in this world, wherefore I as your next
heire apparant toke that as mine owne, and not as
yours. Well saie sonne (said the king with a great
sigh) what right I had to it, God knoweth. Well (said
the pzince) if you die king, I will haue the garland,
and trust to keepe it with the sword against all mine
enemies, as you haue done. Then said the king, I
commit all to God, and remember you to do well.
With that he turned himselfe in his bed, and hostlie
after departed to God in a chamber of the abbats of
Westminster called Jerusalem, the twentieth daie of
March, in the yeare 1413, and in the yeare of his age
46, when he had reigned thirteene yeares, five mo-
neths and 08 daies, in great perplexitie and little
pleasure [for fouretene yeares, as some haue noted,
who name not the disease whereof he died, but refer
it to sicknesse absolutelie, whereby his time of depar-
ture did approach and fetch him out of the world: as
Ch. Orl. saith, whose words may serue as a funerall
epigramme in memorie of the said king Henrie :

*Henricus quartus his septem rexerat annos
Anglorum gentem summa cum laude & amore,
longa senectutis fatalis terminus aui
Ingruuerat, morbus fatalem accerserat horam.]*

Well find, that he was taken with his last sick-
nesse, while he was making his prayers at saint Co-
wards shrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and
so to proceed forth on his iournie: he was so sudden-
lie and greuouslie taken, that such as were about
him, feared least he would haue died presentlie, where-
fore to relæue him (if it were possible) they bare him
into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to
the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a
pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuie
him. At length, he recovered his speech, and under-
standing and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place

which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber
had anie particular name, whereunto answer was
made, that it was called Jerusalem. Then said the
king; Lauds be giuen to the father of heauen, for
now I know that I shall die here in this chamber,
according to the prophesie of me declared, that I
should depart this life in Jerusalem.

Whether this was true that so he spake, as one
that gaue too much credit to folish prophesies & vaine
tales, or whether it was fained, as in such cases it
commonlie happeneth, we leaue it to the aduised rea-
der to iudge. His bodie with all funerall pompe was
conueied vnto Cantuarburie, and there solemnlie bu-
ried, leaving behind him by the ladie Marie daugh-
ter to the lord Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford
and Northampton, Henrie pzince of Wales, Tho-
mas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, Hum-
frie duke of Gloucester, Blanch duchesse of Bawter,
and Philip quene of Denmarke: by his last wife
Jane, he had no children. This king was of a meane
 stature, well proportioned, and forsmallie compact,
quicke and liuelie, and of a stout courage. In his
latter daies he shewed himselfe so gentle, that he gat
moze loue amongst the nobles and people of this
realme, than he had purchased malice and euill will
in the beginning.

But yet to speake a truth, by his proceedings, af-
ter he had attained to the crowne, what with such
taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions as he was
constrained to charge the people with; and what by
punishing such as moued with disdeine to see him vi-
surpe the crowne (contrarie to the oth taken at his
entring into this land, vpon his retorne from exile)
did at sundrie times rebell against him, he wan him-
selfe moze hatred, than in all his life time (if it had
bene longer by manie yeares than it was) had bene
possible for him to haue wooed out & remoued. And
yet doubtelie, worthe were his subiects to tast of
that bitter cup, sithens they were so readie to ioinie
and clappe hands with him, for the depossing of their
rightfull and naturall pzince king Richard, whose
chefe fault rested onlie in that, that he was too boun-
tifull to his friends, and too mercifull to his foes; spe-
ciallie if he had not bene dyatone by others, to seeke
reuenge of those that abused his good and courteous
nature. ¶ But now to retorne to the matter present.
The duke of Clarence immediatlie vpon knowlege
had of his father king Henrie the fourth his death,
returned out of Guen into England, with the earle
of Angolesme, and other prisoners.

Now will we rehearse what writers of our Eng-
lish nation liued in the daies of this king. That re-
nowned poet Geffrie Chaucer is wortheilie named
as pzin cipall, a man so exquisitlie learned in all scien-
ces, that his match was not lightlie found any where
in those daies; and for reducing our English tong to
a perfect conformitie, he hath excelled therein al-
together; he departed this life about the yeare of our Lord
1402, as Bale gathereth: but by other it appeareth,
that he decessed the five and thientith of October in
the yeare 1400, and lieth buried at Westminster, in
the south part of the great church there, as by a ma-
nument erected by Nicholas Bigham it doth ap-
peare. John Colver descended of that wortheilie fami-
lie of the Colvers of Sittenham in Northfolke (as
Leland noteth) studies not onelie the common lawes
of this realme, but also other kinds of literatures, and
great knowledge in the same, namelie hypoteticall
inventions, applieng his inuention with Chaucer, to
garnish the English tong, in bringing it from a rude
imperfection, vnto a moze apt elegancie: for where-
as before those daies, the learned vsed to write onelie
in Latine or French, and not in English, our tong
remained verie barren, rude, and imperfect; but now
by

He is buried
at Cantuarburie.
his issue.

his stature,

John Stow.

8 Fabian.
The king cometh
to the king.

The king is
dressed with
a sicknesse.

by the diligent industrie of Chaucer and Gower, it was within a while greatly amended, so as it grew not onely verie rich and plentifull in words, but also so proper and apt to expresse that which the mind conceived, as anie other vsuall language. Gower departed this life shortly after the decesse of his deere and louing friend Chaucer; to wit, in the yeare 1402, being then come to great age, and blind for a certaine time before his death. He was buried in the church of saint Marie Querries in Southwarke.

Pozeuour, Hugh Legat bozne in Hertfordshyre,
 and a monk of saint Albons, wrote scholies vpon
 Archytrenius of John Huanuill, and also vpon Boe-
 tius *De consolatione*; Roger Allington, chancelor of
 the vniuerſitie of Oxforb, a great ſophiſter, & an enemy
 to the doctrine of Wickliſſe; John Botrell, a logi-
 cian; Nicholas Cozham, bozne in a village of the
 ſame name in Hertfordshyre, a Dominike frier, firſt
 proceeded maſter of art in Orenford, and after going
 to Paris, became the French kings confeſſor; and
 therefore hath bene of ſome taken to be a French
 man; John Killethull, ſo called of a monaſterie in
 the weſt parties of this realme thereof he was go-
 uernour; Walter Wiſſe, ſo called of a towne in
 Dorſolke where he was bozne, firſt a Carmelite
 frier profeſſed in Dorwich, and after going to Cam-
 bridge, he there proceeded doctoꝝ, he was alſo confeſ-
 ſor to the duke of Lancaster, and to his wiſſe the du-
 cheſſe Conſtance, & a great ſetter forth of pope Ar-
 bans cauſe againſt the other popes that were by him
 and thoſe of his faction named the antipapes; Tho-
 mas Waldon, ſo called of the towne of that name in
 Eſſex where he was bozne; John Edo, defended
 out of Wales by lineage, and bozne in Herefordshyre,
 a Franciſcane frier.

Adde to the forenamed, Nicholas Fakingham, bozne in Pozzfolke, a greie frier, proceeded doctor in Wrenford, a great diuine, and an excellent philosopher, ppointual of his order here in England; Lawrence Holbecke, a monke of Ramfe, well sene in the Hebrue towng, and wroze thereof a dictionarie; John Colton, archbishop of Ardmach; John Sparrie, so called of a village in Pozkeshire where he was bozne, a Carmelite of Doncaster; Richard Gesefer bozne in Pozzfolke, a diuine, and an Augustine frier in Pozzwich; John Lathburie, a Franciscane frier of Reading; Nicholas Pount; Richard Scrope bozther to William Scrope, lord treasurer of England, studied in Cambridge, and proceeded there doctor of both the lawes, became an aduocat in the court of Rome, and afterwards was advanced to the gouernement of the see of Couentre and Lichfield, and at length was removed from thence, and made archbishop of Pozke, he wroze an inuectiue against king Henrie, and at length lost his head, as before ye haue heard; John Wrotham, a Carmelite frier of London, and after made warden of an house of his order in Calis.

Furthermore, John Colbie, a Carmelite frier of
Portwich; William Horpe a northerne man borne,
and student in Orenford, an excellent diuine, and an
earnest follower of that famous cleark John Wil-
kiffe, a notable preacher of the tooke, and expelling
his doctrine no lesse in trade of life, than in speach, he
was at length apprehended by commandement of
the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell,
and committed to prison in Saltwode castell, where
at length he died; Stepan Patrington, borne in

John kethire, a frier Carmelite, provinciall of his order through England, of which booke there were at that season 1500 within this land, he was bishop of saint Dauides, and confessor; to king Henrie the first, about the fift yeare of whose reigne he decessed; Robert Pascall, a Carmelite frier of Aulobus, confessor also to the said k. who made him bishop of Hereford; Reginald Langham, a frier minor of Norwich; Actonus Dominicans; Thomas Palmer, warden of the Blacke friers within the cite of London; Boston of Wurt, a monke of the abbeye of Wurt in Suffolke, wrote a catalog of all the wyters of the church, and other treatises.

Successor, Thomas Beuerell, a frier Carmelite,
 borne in Suffolke, he was advanced to the see of
 Worcester in Ireland by Richard the second, and after
 by pope Boniface the ninth remoued to London
 in Wales, and from thence called by Henrie the fourth
 with consent of pope Gregorie the twelfth, to go
 uerne the see of Worcester, and so continueth bishop
 of that cite, until he ended his life in the yeare of
 our Lord 1418, which was about the first yeare of the
 reigne of king Henrie the sixth; John Purueie, an
 excellent diuine, proceeded master of art in Oxen-
 ford, he was apprehended for such doctrine as he
 taught, contrarie to the ordinances of the church of
 Rome, and was at length compelled by Thomas
 Arundell, archbishop of Cantuarburie, to recant at
 Pauls crosse seuen speciall articles, he wrote di-
 uerse treatises, & was the second time committed to
 prison in king Henrie the sixth his daies, by Henrie
 Chicheleie, that succeeded Arundell in gouernement
 of the church of Cantuarburie; William Holme, a
 greie frier (and a good physitian for curing diseases
 of the bodie, whatsoeuer his physicke was for) the soule
 he liued untill Henrie the sixth his daies, and deceased
 about the fourth yeare of his reigne; Nicholas
 Bafard, a blacke frier, a doctor of diuinitie profess'd
 at Oxenford; Thomas Rabburne, archdeacon of
 Sudburie, and bishop of saint Dauids in Wales,
 succeeding after Stephan Warrington, he wrote a
 chronicle, and certeine epistles (as Iohn Bale noteth.)

Finalitie and to conclude, Nicholas Wilson, who being sore grieved in mind, as diuerse other in those daies, to consider what inconuenience rebounded to the church, by reason of the strife and bzingling among the prelates for the acknowledging of a lawfull pope two or thre still contending for that dignitie, wrote a booke, intituled *De tollendo schismate*; John Walter, an excellent mathematician, being first brought top of a scholer in the college of Wyndhesler, and after studied at Orenford; Thomas of Newmarke, taking that surname of the towne in Cambridgeshire where he was borne, he for his worthinesse (as was thought) was made bishop of Careleill, well sene both in other sciences, and also in diuinitie; William Auger a Franciscane frier, of an house of that order in Bzidgewater; Peter Audell a graie frier, and of his order the ppsouciall here in England; John Langton, a Carmelite; Robert Whantham a monke of Cernelle in Dorsetshire, wrote a booke in verse, of the originall and signification of words; William Doxton, a Franciscane frier of Couentrie; Hugh Sneyth, a blacke frier, and a great preacher; Richard Ffolsham a monke of Boxwith; Robert Wimbeldon, a singular diuine, and an excellent preacher, as appeareth by the sermon which he made vpon this text, *redder rationem villicationis sue*.

Thus farre Henrie Plantagenet sonne to Iohn of Gaunt
duke of Lancaster.

Henric

**Acts and mo-
ments of John
Fox.**

See matter
Fox, in his
booke of Bees
and mon-
uments.

Wil. Patten.
Nathan
Scotticar.
10.

Moniage de
la. Henri
de his
nation.

The day of
the generation
the temp
ous day